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Newman, John Henry, 1801-
1890

Letters and diaries



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The Letters and Diaries
of
John Henry Newman

The Letters and Diaries of John Henry Newman

Edited at the Birmingham Oratory
with notes and an introduction

by

Charles Stephen Dessain

of the same Oratory

and

Edward E. Kelly, S. J.

Volume XXI

The Apologia

January 1864 to June 1865

NELSON

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Preface

WITHOUT the gradual building up at the Birmingham Oratory of a very full collection of Cardinal Newman's correspondence (an account of which will be found in the Introduction to Volume XI), the present work could not have been undertaken. Its aim is to provide an exhaustive edition of Newman's letters; with explanatory notes, which are often summaries of or quotations from the other side of the correspondence. Some of these letters *to* Newman, when they appear to have particular importance, or to be necessary for following a controversy, are inserted in the text. Every one of the letters written *by* Newman is included there, in chronological sequence. Should there eventually be any of his letters, whose existence is known to the editor, but of which he has failed to obtain a copy, this will be noted in its place. On the other hand, no attempt has been made to include a list of letters written by Newman and now lost, nor the brief *précis* he occasionally made of his reply, on the back of a correspondent's letter, although these are utilised for the annotation.

In order that the text of each letter may be as accurate as possible, the original autograph, when it still exists, or at least a photographic copy of it, has been used by the editor as his source. (The very few cases in which he has been content with an authenticated copy will be noted as they occur.) Always the text of the autograph is reproduced, or, when the autograph has disappeared, that of the copy that appears most reliable. When only Newman's draft exists, that is printed. The source used in each case is to be found in the list of letters by correspondents.

Such alterations as are made in transcribing the letters aim, without sacrifice of accuracy, at enabling them to be read with ease. Newman writes simply and has none of those idiosyncracies which sometimes need to be reproduced for the sake of the evidence of one kind or another which they provide.

The following are the only alterations made in transcription:

ADDRESS AND DATE are always printed on the same line, and at the head of the letter, even when Newman puts them at the end. When he omits or gives an incomplete date, the omission is supplied in square brackets, and justified in a note unless the reason for it is obvious. The addresses, to which letters were sent, are included in the list of letters by correspondents. The information derived from postmarks is matter for annotation.

THE CONCLUSION of the letter is made to run on, irrespective of Newman's separate lines, and all postscripts are placed at the end.

NEWMAN'S CORRECTIONS AND ADDITIONS are inserted in their intended

place. His interlinear explanations are printed in the text in angle brackets <>, after the word or phrase they explain. His erasures are given in footnotes when they appear to be of sufficient interest to warrant it. Square brackets being reserved for editorial additions; all Newman's brackets are printed as rounded ones (the kind most usual with him).

NEWMAN'S PARAGRAPHS AND PUNCTUATION are preserved, except that single quotation marks are printed throughout, and double ones for quotations within them. (Newman generally used the latter in both cases.) Further, a parenthesis or quotation that he began with the proper mark but failed to complete, or completed but did not begin, is supplied. All other punctuation marks supplied by the editor are enclosed in square brackets. Newman's dashes, which frequently do duty either for a full stop, a semicolon or a comma (especially when he is tired or writing hurriedly), are represented by a '—' with a space before and after. His spelling and use of capitals are left unchanged, but 'raised' letters are lowered in every case.

NEWMAN'S ABBREVIATIONS are retained in the case of proper names, and in the address and conclusion of each letter, since these are sometimes useful indications of his attitude at the time. In all other cases, abbreviations are printed out in full, where Newman employs them.

When he uses the initials of proper names, the full name is normally inserted in square brackets after the initials, at the first occurrence in each letter, and more often if it seems advisable in order to avoid confusion. No addition of the full name is made in the case of Newman's correspondent, whether his initials occur at the beginning of the letter or in the course of it.

When Newman uses only a Christian name, the surname is sometimes added in square brackets for the reader's convenience. The Christian names of members of the Oratory, since they are of frequent occurrence, are listed in the index of proper names and the reader is referred to surnames.

When transcription is made from a PRINTED SOURCE, typographical alterations clearly due to editor or printer are disregarded.

Sometimes Newman made HOLOGRAPH copies of his letters or of portions of them, when they were returned to him long after they had been written. In order that the reader may be able to see how much he copied and what changes he introduced, the copied passages are placed in quarter brackets '⌈', and all additions of any importance included in the text in double square brackets, or, where this is impracticable, in the annotation.

Newman's letters are printed in CHRONOLOGICAL ORDER, with the name of his correspondent at the head (except that those of each day are arranged alphabetically), and, when more than one is written to the same person on the same day, numbered I, II. In the headings the name of the correspondent is given in its most convenient form, sometimes with Christian names in full, sometimes only with initials.

THE LIST OF LETTERS BY CORRESPONDENTS, at the end of each volume, shows

whether the source used was an autograph, draft, printed source or copy, and in the last case, whether a holograph made by Newman later; and gives the present location of the source, as well as of any additional holograph copies or drafts. When a letter, or a considerable portion of it, has been printed in a standard work, references are given; but mistakes or omissions in these previous publications are noticed, if at all, in the annotation.

THE LETTERS WRITTEN TO NEWMAN, when inserted in the text, are printed in type smaller than that used for Newman's own letters, and headed by the name of the correspondent. These letters are not arranged in chronological order, but are placed either just before or just after the letter of Newman to which they are related. A list of them is given at the end of each volume in which they occur. These and the quotations from letters in the annotation are always, unless otherwise stated, printed from autographs at the Birmingham Oratory, and are transcribed in the same way as Newman's letters.

NEWMAN'S DIARIES COVER THE YEARS 1824 to 1879 (with a gap from July 1826 to March 1828). They are written in a series of mottled copy books, $12 \times 18\frac{1}{2}$ centimetres, printed for a year each, and entitled *The Private Diary: arranged, printed, and ruled, for receiving an account of every day's employment . . .* with the exception of the four periods July 1847–May 1850, January 1854–January 1861, January 1861–March 1871, March 1871–October 1879, each of which is contained in a somewhat thicker copy book.

These diaries are printed complete for each day in which Newman has made an entry, except that the lists of people to whom he has written or from whom he has received letters are omitted, as not being of sufficient general interest. The original diaries are, of course, available for consultation. At the end of each diary book are various notes, lists of addresses, of people to be prayed for, accounts, etc. These, also, are omitted, except for occasional dated notes of events, which are inserted in their proper place. Of the rest of the notes, some are theological and will be reserved for a volume of Newman's theological papers, and others will perhaps have room found for them in any fuller edition of *Autobiographical Writings*.

Newman compiled with his own hand, on quarto sheets sewn together, a book of *Chronological Notes*, drawn largely from the diaries. Any new matter in these *Notes* is printed in italics with the appropriate diary entry. (It should be noted that the diary entries themselves were sometimes written up considerably later than the events they record.)

Each volume is preceded by a brief summary of the period of Newman's life that it covers. Summary, diaries and annotation give a roughly biographical form to the whole, and will, it is hoped, enable the ordinary reader to treat it as a continuous narrative.

THE BIOGRAPHIES OF PERSONS are collected in the index of proper names

at the end of each volume, in order to simplify the annotation of the letters. Occasionally, when a person is mentioned only once or twice, and a note is required in any case, biographical details have been given in the notes, and a reference in the index. Volume XXI, being the first of a new period in Newman's life, contains an account of every person mentioned, with the exception of a few for whom a notice seemed unnecessary, and of still fewer who have not yet been identified. The indexes of subsequent volumes will contain notices of persons who appear in them for the first time, and references back, in the case of those who have been noticed in an earlier volume. (The editor will be grateful for information as to persons not identified.)

These notices have been compiled from such various sources — books of reference, letters at the Oratory, information supplied by the families or religious communities of the persons concerned, and by librarians and archivists — that the giving of authorities would be a very complicated and lengthy process. Like others faced with the same problem, the editor has decided usually to omit them. References are given, however, to *The Dictionary of National Biography*, or *The Dictionary of American Biography*, in all cases where there is an article there, and failing them, to Boase's *Modern English Biography* or Gillow's *Bibliographical Dictionary of the English Catholics*. When all the volumes of letters have been issued, a final index volume will be compiled for the whole work.

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Abbreviations in Volume XXI

THE abbreviations used for Newman's works are those listed in Joseph Rickaby, S.J., *Index to the Works of John Henry Cardinal Newman*, London 1914, with a few additions.

References to works included by Newman in his uniform edition are always, unless otherwise stated, to that edition, which was begun in 1868 with *Parochial and Plain Sermons*, and concluded in 1881 with *Select Treatises of St Athanasius*. From 1886, until the stock was destroyed in the 1939-45 war, all the volumes were published by Longmans, Green and Co. They are distinguished from other, usually posthumous, publications by having their date of inclusion in the uniform edition in brackets after the title, in the list of abbreviations below. The unbracketed date is, in every case, the date of the edition (or impression) used for giving references. (Once volumes were included in the uniform edition the pagination usually remained unchanged, but there are exceptions and minor alterations.)

<i>Add.</i>	<i>Addresses to Cardinal Newman with His Replies etc.</i> 1879-82, ed. W. P. Neville, 1905.
<i>Apo.</i>	<i>Apologia pro Vita Sua</i> , (1873) 1905.
<i>Ari.</i>	<i>The Arians of the Fourth Century</i> , (1871) 1908.
<i>Ath.</i> I, II	<i>Select Treatises of St Athanasius</i> , two volumes, (1881) 1920.
<i>A.W.</i>	<i>John Henry Newman: Autobiographical Writings</i> , ed. Henry Tristram, 1956.
<i>Call.</i>	<i>Callista, a Tale of the Third Century</i> , (1876) 1923.
<i>Campaign</i>	<i>My Campaign in Ireland, Part I</i> (printed for private circulation only), 1896.
<i>D.A.</i>	<i>Discussions and Arguments on Various Subjects</i> , (1872) 1911.
<i>Dev.</i>	<i>An Essay on the Development of Christian Doctrine</i> , (1878) 1908.
<i>Diff.</i> I, II	<i>Certain Difficulties felt by Anglicans in Catholic Teaching</i> , two volumes, (1879, 1876) 1908.
<i>Ess.</i> I, II	<i>Essays Critical and Historical</i> , two volumes, (1871) 1919.
<i>G.A.</i>	<i>An Essay in aid of a Grammar of Assent</i> , (1870) 1913.
<i>H.S.</i> I, II, III	<i>Historical Sketches</i> , three volumes, (1872) 1908, 1912, 1909.
<i>Idea</i>	<i>The Idea of a University defined and illustrated</i> , (1873) 1902.
<i>Jfc.</i>	<i>Lectures on the Doctrine of Justification</i> , (1874) 1908.
<i>K.C.</i>	<i>Correspondence of John Henry Newman with John Keble and Others</i> , 1839-45, ed. at the Birmingham Oratory, 1917.
<i>L.G.</i>	<i>Loss and Gain: the Story of a Convert</i> , (1874) 1911.
<i>M.D.</i>	<i>Meditations and Devotions of the late Cardinal Newman</i> , 1893.
<i>Mir.</i>	<i>Two Essays on Biblical and on Ecclesiastical Miracles</i> , (1870) 1907.
<i>Mix.</i>	<i>Discourses addressed to Mixed Congregations</i> , (1871) 1909.
<i>Moz.</i> I, II	<i>Letters and Correspondence of John Henry Newman</i> , ed. Anne Mozley, two volumes, 1891.
<i>O.S.</i>	<i>Sermons preached on Various Occasions</i> , (1870) 1927.

ABBREVIATIONS IN VOLUME XXI

<i>P.S.</i> I-VIII	<i>Parochial and Plain Sermons</i> , (1868) 1907-10.
<i>Prepos.</i>	<i>Present Position of Catholics</i> , (n.d. 1872) 1913.
<i>S.D.</i>	<i>Sermons bearing on Subjects of the Day</i> , (1869) 1902.
<i>S.E.</i>	<i>Stray Essays on Controversial Points</i> , (private) 1890.
<i>S.U.</i>	<i>Sermon Notes of John Henry Cardinal Newman</i> , 1849-1879, ed. Fathers of the Birmingham Oratory, 1913.
<i>T.T.</i>	<i>Tracts Theological and Ecclesiastical</i> , (1874) 1908.
<i>U.S.</i>	<i>Fifteen Sermons preached before the University of Oxford</i> , (1872) 1909.
<i>V.M.</i> I, II	<i>The Via Media</i> , (1877) 1908, 1911.
<i>V.V.</i>	<i>Verses on Various Occasions</i> , (1874) 1910.

* * *

<i>Boase</i>	Frederick Boase, <i>Modern English Biography</i> , six volumes, Truro 1829-1921.
<i>Butler</i>	Cuthbert Butler, <i>The Life and Times of Bishop Ullathorne</i> , two volumes, London 1926.
<i>de Lisle</i>	E. S. Purcell, <i>Life and Letters of Ambrose Phillipps de Lisle</i> , two volumes, London 1900.
<i>D A B</i>	<i>Dictionary of American Biography</i> , London, 1928-36.
<i>D N B</i>	<i>Dictionary of National Biography</i> , to 1900, London, reprinted in 1937-8 in twenty-two volumes, the last being a Supplement, <i>D N B</i> , Suppl.
<i>D N B</i> , 1901-II	<i>Dictionary of National Biography</i> , 1901-II, three volumes in one.
<i>D R</i>	<i>Dublin Review</i> .
<i>D T C</i>	<i>Dictionnaire de Théologie Catholique</i> , Paris 1903-50.
<i>Gillow</i>	Joseph Gillow, <i>Bibliographical Dictionary of the English Catholics</i> , five volumes, London 1885 and later.
<i>Harper</i>	Gordon Huntington Harper, <i>Cardinal Newman and William Froude, F.R.S. A Correspondence</i> , Baltimore 1933.
Liddon's <i>Pusey</i> I-IV	H. P. Liddon, <i>Life of Edward Bouverie Pusey</i> , four volumes, London 1893-7.
<i>MacDougall</i>	Hugh A. MacDougall, <i>The Acton-Newman Relations</i> , New York 1962.
<i>Purcell</i>	E. S. Purcell, <i>The Life of Cardinal Manning</i> , two volumes, London 1895.
<i>Trevor</i> I	Meriol Trevor, <i>Newman the Pillar of the Cloud</i> , London 1962.
<i>Trevor</i> II	Meriol Trevor, <i>Newman Light in Winter</i> , London 1962.
<i>Ward</i> I, II	Wilfrid Ward, <i>The Life of John Henry Cardinal Newman</i> , two volumes, London 1912.

Introductory Note

1 January 1864–30 June 1865

THE majority of the letters in this volume are concerned with two themes, the story of the *Apologia*, including the second edition, *History of my Religious Opinions*, and Newman's first attempt to found an Oratory at Oxford, frustrated by Wiseman and Manning.

On 30 December 1863 Newman wrote his protest to *Macmillan's Magazine*, in whose pages he was accused of teaching that truth for its own sake need not and on the whole ought not to be a virtue with the Roman clergy. He was amazed to learn that Charles Kingsley was the author of this 'grave and gratuitous slander'. The latter, beyond referring generally to one of the Anglican sermons, could not substantiate his charge, and would only offer an insinuating apology, which Newman's friends held to be inadequate and offensive. In February 1864, Newman published the correspondence, with two pages of his own 'Reflections' (printed here in a note to the first letter of 5 February to Edward Badeley), *Mr. Kingsley and Dr. Newman: a Correspondence on the Question whether Dr. Newman teaches that Truth is no Virtue*. The pamphlet caused a literary sensation; it also brought out the latent sympathy of English Catholics for Newman. Among the first evidences of this was an address signed by more than a hundred priests of the Westminster diocese, thanking their defender. It almost became a demonstration against those Catholics with authority or influence, who distrusted Newman, and he had to compose his acknowledgement with care.

Kingsley's reply, *What then does Dr. Newman mean?*, published on 20 March, proved to be both violent and unscientific in its numerous charges. Even before it appeared Newman realised that, since his honesty was being impugned by so prominent a person, here was the occasion, long anticipated, when he must defend the work of his life. Hope-Scott urged him to give a course of lectures in London, but that medium was quite unsuitable for his defence as he planned it. As Newman wrote at the time to W. J. Copeland, to the popular mind the whole strength of what Kingsley said lay 'in the antecedent prejudice that *I was a Papist while I was an Anglican*. . . . The only way I can destroy this is to give my history, and the history of my mind, from 1822 or earlier, down to 1845.' Kingsley's pamphlet came out on the first day of Holy Week. Newman waited until after Easter before beginning his work. Some of his papers up to 1836 had been put in order, but for the crucial period after that he was quite unprepared. Old Anglican friends came to his aid, Church, Copeland, Keble, Rogers, and lent him letters. Sir John Acton

also wrote, hoping that Newman would throw 'light on the difficulty which many seem to feel in the practice of proscribing truth and positively encouraging falsehood in the Church'. The reply came, 'As to the points you mention, you may be sure I shall go as far as ever I can,' a promise fulfilled in the final chapter of the *Apologia*. The parts of what became a book of over five hundred pages came out regularly each week for seven weeks, from April to June.

It became clear at once that Newman had vindicated himself before his fellow countrymen, and in time, that he had effected a change in their attitude towards the Catholic Church. There were many witnesses who could testify to the accuracy of the history Newman recounted; among those who did so were John Keble and William Palmer of Worcester. To Keble Newman wrote, 'It has been my great reward to please readers in both communions.' Not all Catholics were pleased. Manning published his criticism without mentioning Newman directly. In the spring of 1865 Newman brought out the second, definitive edition of the *Apologia*, omitting what he regarded as the ephemeral polemic against Kingsley. His remarks about the Church of England had offended some Catholics, and in deference to the wishes of his friend Bishop Moriarty, he slightly modified them. When, however, another friend, Dr Russell of Maynooth wanted him to withdraw the statement that the Pope in ecumenical council was the normal seat of infallibility, or to hesitate in his conviction that certain Italian devotions to our Lady were not suitable for England, he refused absolutely. Similarly, although requested by Dean Stanley, he declined to alter substantially his assertion that it was the liberals who drove him from Oxford.

Meanwhile, early in August 1864, there seemed to be an opening where Newman could exercise his newly-recovered power and influence in aid of Catholic higher education. A Catholic at Oxford had just bought the five-acre site of the old workhouse there (now Wellington Square), and offered it to Newman. English Catholics were beginning to send their sons to Oxford, and the Bishops, since there was no Catholic provision for higher education, had decided that they would not interfere with this. Newman was anxious not to let slip so unique an opportunity of obtaining land there. He did not mean to use it immediately himself. It was likely that in a few years the Bishops would be glad to see a Catholic college established as a safeguard against 'Mixed' education. Later in August, however, Bishop Ullathorne, in whose diocese Oxford lay, and who was anxious that a suitable church should be built there, offered Newman the Catholic mission. This suggested that he himself might use the site. He was not in favour of a college, which was not what most Catholics wanted for their sons at Oxford, and he feared it would either be ineffectual or controversial. The best practical solution was for Catholics to mix with their fellow countrymen in the existing Colleges, and to have their faith and morals safeguarded by a group of priests who had themselves been educated at the universities, that was to say by the foundation of an Oratory.

Newman never intended to live there regularly himself. Only the previous month he had reminded Monsignor Talbot that 'Birmingham people have souls'. When he accepted the Catholic mission, he hoped to be able to found a second Oratory in Oxford, which might attract recruits, not only for itself, but also for his depleted Oratory at Birmingham.

In October 1864, with the help of friends, including some of his own Oratorians, Newman bought the Oxford site. It seemed that at last Catholics would be able to receive higher education, and take their place in English life, their Catholicism safeguarded by an Oratory founded and supervised by Newman. Manning, however, supported by ultramontanes among the converts, held any form of Oxford education to be harmful, and as it transpired, thought Newman's influence more dangerous still. He had won over Cardinal Wiseman to his views, and now secured the interposition of the Roman Congregation of Propaganda which ordered an extraordinary meeting of the English bishops. The upshot was that the idea of a Catholic College was rejected, and the rule laid down that 'parents ought to be in every way dissuaded' from sending their sons to 'Protestant Universities'. A widely signed memorial from the laity, which Newman encouraged, was taken to Propaganda, without deflecting that body from the course it had sanctioned. Newman could not found an Oxford Oratory for Catholics who were not supposed to be there, and was obliged to sell the expensive site which he had purchased. He did however invest in some houses opposite Christ Church in the hope that the logic of facts might lead to a change of policy in the future. Shortly afterwards, in February, Cardinal Wiseman died, and in May Manning was appointed by Pius IX to succeed him as Archbishop of Westminster.

In spite of the activity necessitated by the writing of the *Apologia* and by the first Oxford attempt, Newman found time to write many letters of advice and instruction. At one moment he was involved in correspondence about the supposed vocation of a young son of William Froude, who wanted at once to join a religious order, at another he was taking endless trouble to smooth the way out of her convent for an Anglican nun, who felt it her duty to become a Catholic, and whom he received into the Church at Birmingham. He also encouraged Fanny Margaret Taylor, the foundress of the *Month* in 1864, gave her *The Dream of Gerontius* to publish in it, and continued to advise her successor, H. J. Coleridge, when it was taken over after a year, by the Jesuits.

Summary of Events covered by this volume

1864

- | | |
|-----------------|---|
| 12 February | Newman publishes the correspondence arising out of Charles Kingsley's attack on his truthfulness in <i>Macmillan's Magazine</i> for January 1864. |
| 20 March | Kingsley replies with the pamphlet <i>What then does Dr. Newman mean?</i> |
| 21 April-2 June | The seven weekly parts of the <i>Apologia</i> come out each Thursday. |
| 16 June | Newman publishes the Appendix to the <i>Apologia</i> . |
| 7 August | Newman is offered the five-acre site of the old workhouse at Oxford. |
| 23 August | Bishop Ullathorne offers the Catholic mission at Oxford to Newman, who accepts it a month later. |
| 24 October | Newman buys the five-acre site at Oxford. Bishop Ullathorne encourages him to collect money for a church there. |
| 13 December | Extraordinary meeting of the English bishops, at the instance of Propaganda, to consider the question of Catholics at Protestant universities. |
| End of December | In view of the disapproval by Propaganda of the presence of Catholics at the universities Newman sells the five-acre site. |

1865

- | | |
|----------------|--|
| End of January | Lay memorial presented to Propaganda, asking that Catholics continue to be allowed to attend Protestant universities. |
| 18 February | Death of Cardinal Wiseman. |
| 23 March | Formal decision by the English bishops that parents ought to be in every way dissuaded from sending their sons to the Protestant universities, and against establishing Catholic colleges in them. |
| May | <i>History of My Religious Opinions</i> , the definitive edition of the <i>Apologia</i> , is published. |
| May and June | <i>The Dream of Gerontius</i> is published in the <i>Month</i> . |
| 8 June | Newman attends the consecration of H. E. Manning as Archbishop of Westminster in succession to Cardinal Wiseman. |

The Letters and Diaries
of
John Henry Newman

TO WILLIAM FROUDE

The Oratory Bm Jan'y 2. 1864

My dear William,

It is natural to begin by wishing you and yours, as I do from my heart, all blessings during the year we have just begun. A new year is an awful thing at all times — but, as one gets on in life, too solemn a thought almost for words. I recollect how I was oppressed when I was advancing to my lesser climacteric; and now I am close upon my greater!

....²

Ever Yours affectly John H Newman

William Froude Esqr

TO MRS JOHN MOZLEY

The Oratory, Bm Jan'y 2. 1864

My dear Jemima,

I am sorry and disappointed you do not give a better account of yourself after so many months; but, if you are really improving, sad as the delay is, it is a great satisfaction.

For myself, I am not sure that damp is not worse than frost — but at present my thoughts are turned in another direction — for it seems as if a new cycle of the winds had begun of late, and with it a new cycle of complaints. The damp and fever go together — and for the last year and a half we have had continued apprehension of scarlet fever getting into the School. Last year at Oscott they lost a boy, and the boys were sent down. By extreme vigilance we have kept it off — but at the beginning of this term a little boy, just come, (son of the famous Cabrera) was attacked with it.³ His mother was sure that it was not scarlet fever, for he had had it scarcely five years ago, when a child — the physician declared it was — It was very mild, and we tided over it. Now just as the Term was ending, Mr Arnold, our classical Master, was taken with it — and will be hors de combat till Easter — and a boy, who left us well, had it (slightly) as soon as he got home. All this is an enormous responsibility. I have heard my dear Mother say that Bankers had all the responsibility of all pursuits and trades upon them, for, whenever any one was in pecuniary difficulty, he went to his Banker. And so a schoolmaster has the anxieties of

¹ Newman had received William Robert Brownlow into the Church on 15 Nov. 1863.

² The rest of the letter has been omitted by the copyist. The grand climacteric is reached at the age of 63 and the lesser at 49.

³ Ramon Cabrera, who became Count de Morella and Marquis del Tir, was at the Oratory School from Sept. 1863 to 1870. He was the eldest son of Ramon Cabrera (1806–77), the ferocious Carlist general, who retired from politics and settled in England in 1849. He married a rich Protestant lady and had four sons.

all the parents of his boys — and more so — for parents would not blame themselves, if their children fell ill at home — but they are naturally disposed to think that school-carefulness which they do not see to judge of, might be greater than it is. We are obliged to have the bedrooms of a whole House re-papered and whitewashed, merely because a boy, who was not ill then, *was* ill when he got home.

I was very glad to have John's Essay, and wrote to him to Cambridge to acknowledge it. I have only looked into it as yet — it seems to have a good deal of thought in it.¹

With the best wishes of the New Year to you and yours,

I am, Ever Yrs affly John H Newman

NOTE EXPLAINING THE LETTER WHICH FOLLOWS

Jan'y 4. 1864

N.B.

As soon as Arnold fell ill, and asked for his salary for Michaelmas Term, I sent him besides £50 in advance — (on his asking for £20)

I at once proposed to Ambrose to give him leave of absence till Easter and his full salary for Lent without deduction. When I found that this startled Ambrose, I thought it would startle other Fathers; and said nothing about it.

Soon after Ambrose met Mrs Arnold, and having by this time come round to my opinion, from effusion of heart, expressed to her his hope that Arnold should not return till Easter.

He then came to me and said 'I am afraid I have said too much.' I said 'Yes, you have you must undo it so far as this — viz to say that we must provide a substitute, when we shall pay £50 out of Arnold's £133.'

Ambrose wrote to Arnold to this effect from London.

Then William came to me and said 'It will never do to have Arnold's boys back — they probably gave the fever to Hornyold —'² I saw the force of what he said and wrote to Arnold a line to say that, in addition to what Ambrose had written to him, we thought the parents of the boys would not be satisfied, if his sons came back at the beginning of Term. Let it be recollected that we had so acted in the case of Fitzgerald, Wilfrid Wilberforce and Cabrera.³

Upon this Arnold wrote me the letter of January 2,⁴ in answer to which I wrote thus:

¹ Jemima's second son, John Rickards Mozley, was a Fellow of King's College, Cambridge, 1861-9. He won the Le Bas Prize in 1863, with an essay on 'The Study of Classics regarded as an instrument of Education', evidently the one to which Newman refers.

² This was the boy who developed scarlet fever, when he arrived home, after the autumn term.

³ See above, and Volume XX.

⁴ In his letter of 2 Jan. 1864, Arnold protested against the proposal to make a deduction from his salary, and maintained that his three sons, who were in Westmorland, could not possibly carry infection if they returned to the Oratory School as boarders.

4 JANUARY 1864

TO THOMAS ARNOLD

Jany 4. 1864

My dear Arnold

I have brought your letter before the Congregation.

We will cheerfully give you your full salary for Lent Term, as you wish.

We are sorry you should use such serious words as Remonstrance and Protest on occasion of the friendly letters which Fr St John and I wrote to you.

As to your suggestion that we have an *arrière pensée*, I do not know how we have deserved it.¹ What have I done to be visited with so unkind a suspicion? I am ever ready to speak openly with you about yourself. I know your value, but you can hardly think that you have taken a natural way to lead me to acknowledge it.

I am conscious to myself that my wish that you should be free from work till Easter was inspired by the purest desire of acting considerably towards you. It arose in my mind spontaneously, independently of all thought of our boys; for I had heard that your medical adviser prescribed a long rest to you. In like manner my original purpose was to beg you to take your whole salary for the Term without any deduction: if I did not act upon this impulse, it was because on reflection I thought I had no right to do so.

Some of the Fathers understand that you are not yourself going to the North; in that case we do not refuse to take your boys into our house at the beginning of the Term, that is, on the 25th.

As to your own return to us, we will be guided by Dr Evans our medical adviser whom at present we cannot consult.

As to my own wish that you should not return till Easter, you yourself justify it. For you think that Henry Wilberforce and Cabrera were the primary cause of your fever. Now it is 5 months since Wilfrid Wilberforce was ill, and four months since Harry left him for Edgbaston. It is three months since Cabrera had his illness which his mother did not allow to be scarletina. If they could deliver over the complaint to you after such intervals, you too may continue it in the school if you return at an earlier date.²

JHN

¹ Arnold ended his letter as follows: 'Before I conclude, I must return once more to the proposal of making this large deduction from my salary. I am afraid there is some further meaning behind it. I am told that even in the case of lawyers' or merchants' clerks, who may happen to fall ill, their employers never think of mulcting them of any part of their salary, unless in the case of individuals whom they may think not worth keeping, and to whom they intimate in this way their estimate of the value of their services. If such is the opinion which the Fathers of the Oratory entertain respecting my services at the school, I only beg that I may be distinctly informed of it, and I will take the most effectual steps I can to relieve them of my presence at the earliest possible period. . . .'

² Arnold replied on 5 Jan., 'Your kind language makes my serious vein seem almost absurd. But men with large families, who are dependent on their salaries, are always extremely touchy, and I think justifiably so, on the subject of reduction of pay. . . .' See also Newman's letter of 15 Jan. to Arnold.

4 JANUARY 1864

TO MISS M. R. GIBERNE

The Oratory Bm Jan 4/64

My dear Sister M. Pia,

A happy new year to you — to you indeed it will be a wonderful new year and the beginning of eternity.¹

We will send you the £800 and the £100 in all £900, at once. That at least is what we wish to do, but we will not send it in half bank notes — you must, please, name some other way. Cannot we pay it into a Paris Bank? The exchange is in favour of France — so that £900 here is more than £900 with you.

Fr. William has been knocking his brain about, and cannot do more in the matter of the Pyx veil than he has done. He thinks the measurements he sent you quite the right thing and the natural thing to do.

Some hard frost here — I hope you are not suffering

Ever Yours affly in Xt John H Newman of Oratory

Jan 5. We neither of us forget this day, 36 years ago.²

TO BARTHOLOMEW WOODLOCK

The Oratory Bm 'Jany 4. 1864'

My dear Dr Woodlock,

All the blessings of the New Year upon you and all your work. May they prosper in the best ways, and may you see the fruit and have the merit of them.

I send you overleaf the Form, for which you ask, and think your proposal in its substance quite satisfactory of 'having three copies made and signed by the Archbishops of Dublin and Armagh, one of which you will send to me, another you will post in the Sacristy, and the third you will consign to the keeping of the Secretary of the University.'³

The only alteration which I should propose is 'that two, not three papers should be signed by the Archbishops, one for the Secretary of the University

¹ See letter of 29 Jan. 1864 to Miss Giberne.

² i.e. the day on which Newman's sister Mary, who died on 5 Jan. 1828, was suddenly taken ill. Miss Giberne was staying with the Newman family at the time. *Moz.* I, pp. 176–8.

³ This refers to the weekly Mass to be said in perpetuity at Newman's University church at Dublin, for those who had contributed towards its erection. See letters of 10 Nov. and 1 Dec. 1862 to Archbishop Leahy. The brass plate for which Newman stipulated is still in the sacristy of the church.

6 JANUARY 1864

the other for me, and, instead of the third, there should be a copy of [the] document with its signatures on brass, to be fastened up in the Sacristy.¹

I make this alteration in consequence of what has been told me of the English practice in such a case, which I am advised to follow. (If you want any alterations, let me know)

Very sincerely Yours in Xt John H Newman of the Oratory
The Very Revd Mgr Woodlock

TO CATHERINE ANNE BATHURST

The Oratory, Bm Jany 6/64

My dear Sister M. Philip

What the Congregation has said is 'We should like exceedingly to oblige Sister M. Philip in any wish of hers; therefore let us give her boy a trial.'

If you ask *me*, I have misgivings upon the experiment succeeding. Boys let out all about their parents, rank in life, associates etc etc. He is fourteen, a considerable age — he may have *experience*, and not a pleasant one. He may soon get to be looked down upon.

However, this is future. What we say at present is this: — send down the boy *at once*; he will be for three weeks in our house before the School re-assembles — and we shall know what he is like. You need not make preparation of clothes.¹

Ever Yrs affly J H Newman

TO AMBROSE ST JOHN

The Oy Bm Epiphany 1864

My Dear Ambrose,

I have not known how to catch you with a letter, even if I had any thing to say: and now you don't give your direction in Brighton. So this, when written, must wait till I get it.

I can understand how trying your Norwood visit must have been.² It is 36 years yesterday, since I lost my dear Sister, and shortly after, on my return home, I slept in her bed — and I thought what a sweet saint had died there. It is just half the time, 18 years, that you and I walked out of the House at Maryvale, in our way to the Rosminians at Ratcliffe.³

¹ Catherine Bathurst was now working as a nun in London, where St John had visited her. She wanted to send one of her protégés, a boy named Francis Wing, said to be a first-rate musician, to the Oratory School. See letter of 24 Jan. to her.

² St John's eldest brother, Frederick, who lived at Norwood, died in 1863.

³ See diary for 5 Jan. 1846.

6 JANUARY 1864

I hope you have not too much work. Think of me; I have had a scrimmage [sic] with W. G. Ward, with Arnold, and with Kingsley! Of course I think all my letters very good — but how it teazes and wears one. I have had an amicable tilt with Sir Justin [Sheil].

Mr Bretherton, as I suppose you have heard, has been close on death, but is better. Godwin has returned, and I have some amusing things to tell you. Brownlow is returned — La Serre is taking holyday —

I have nothing to tell you. No news is always good news. I suppose you would not have time for Sir Justin 13 Eaton Place, when you go to Cabrera. The Bowdens are on the look out for you. I have had a very good letter from Mrs Hornyold — and (as always) an overflowing one from Mrs Powell, who may do us good in Liverpool.¹ Farquharson has not been well; I suppose it is connected with his old ailments.

I may bite my pen for any time, as I have been doing these ten minutes, but nothing will come.

Ever Yrs affly John H Newman

Jan'y 8. Your letter just come — This has been waiting for your direction. No news. Skating the only subject of thought. The Bakers are to be away for half a Term, which somewhat floors the *Phormio*.² Arnold better and worse — not well enough to get off; the weather against him. Edwin has given notice; we can't tell whether to keep him or not. William grave with a bilious headache — but is hungry.

J H N

TO SIR JUSTIN SHEIL

The Oratory, Bm Jan 6/64

My dear Sir Justin,

Your criticisms are always welcome, and it will be welcome to me also, if I succeed to your satisfaction in answering them.

As Mr St John is away, I will explain about the Greek Grammar, as far as I can, without him. First, I should say that, when books are once given to the boys, it is difficult, without incurring the criticism of parents, to give them the additional expense of substitutes for them. Next, the matter of Greek grammars has a difficulty of its own. When I was a boy, the Eton Grammar was in fashion, which assigned to nouns ten declensions. For myself, I grumble at the new fashions, and think it hard for myself and for the Greek language to forfeit seven of them, or whatever be the number taken away, which varies with various writers. But the difficulty is this, that the best books, those that

¹ These were all parents of boys at the Oratory School.

² Newman wanted the boys at the Oratory School to act Terence's *Phormio*. See diary for 25 Jan. 1864. It was performed at the end of May 1865.

are most serviceable for the boys, delectuses etc etc proceed upon different theories — so that, if you confine yourself to the ten declensions-theory, or the three, or the any other number, you are obliged to put up, in this case or that, with second-rate books. This is the explanation, as far as I know it; though I do not pretend to be as accurate or complete in my statement of it, as another might be.

As to the History of England, here again we are under cross fires, and I should be glad indeed, if you could recommend us a History of England which is *not* objectionable. According to the story, either the boy must ride the ass over the bridge, or the father, or neither of them, and there are plenty of remonstrants among spectators, whichever plan is pursued. We have lately been attempting 'the School Hume,' and a number of boys have actually got it — but we find we must summarily eject it from the School; it is so flippantly irreligious.¹ We would publish one ourselves, if we had the money; for it would not command a sale, and would be shown up as uncatholic into the bargain. The whole question of School books and School prizes is an enormous difficulty to Catholics.

Yours, My dear Sir Justin, Most truly John H Newman

TO W. G. WARD

Epiphany 1864²

My dear Ward,

Thank you for sending me your pamphlet.³

I don't see that when Montalembert speaks of 'experiencing an invincible horror etc etc' he need mean more than the common saying means, which Cardinal Soglia calls 'tritum illud sermone adagium,' giving it his own adhesion, 'ecclesia *abhorret* a sanguine.' If the Church's 'abhorrence' implies her sense of the injustice of 'blood,' then lawfully may Montalembert's; if it does not, then need not Montalembert's.⁴

¹ i.e. *The Student's Hume, A History of England from the Earliest Times to the Revolution of 1688, abridged and continued down to 1858*, London 1859.

² The draft of this letter is printed in Wilfrid Ward, *William George Ward and the Catholic Revival*, London 1893, together with Ward's letter of 4 Jan., on the back of which it was written. Newman kept a copy of the final version of his letter, which is that here printed.

³ W. G. Ward sent Newman his pamphlet, *Civil Intolerance of Religious Error, M. de Montalembert at Malines*, London 1863, which was unsigned. In the accompanying letter on 4 Jan. Ward wrote, 'You will see from its form that it was written for the *Dublin Review*. But when in type, most (though not quite all) who saw it thought that in a country like England it might kick up a row. I am quite disposed to think them right; and at all events profoundly distrust my own judgment in all practical matters. I therefore withdrew it. . . .

My own notion in writing the article was that everyone knew that the Catholic Church had sanctioned "persecution"; but that few Englishmen had considered how much is to be said for it. . . .' *William George Ward and the Catholic Revival*, p. 458. Ward objected to Montalembert's teaching on religious liberty.

⁴ On p. 28 of his pamphlet Ward quoted from Montalembert's speech, *L'Eglise Libre dans l'Etat Libre*, 'I declare, then, I experience an invincible horror for all the violences inflicted

You speak of his eloquence as cloudy; this is a common fault of orators; but it seems fair, when the orator is all that you say of *him*, viz one 'for whose personal character you express respect and for whose past services to the Church earnest gratitude,' to give his words the benefit of this cloudiness, and to interpret him in meliorem partem.¹

I fear I must say, you are not going the way to heal divisions in the [Church] or to give strength to its traditions. Excuse me for this.²

With best wishes of the new year &c.

FROM CHARLES KINGSLEY

Eversley Rectory, Winchfield. January 6. 1863 [sic]

Reverend Sir

I have seen a letter of yours to Mr Macmillan, in which you complain of some expressions of mine in an article in the January Number of Macmillan's Magazine.³

That my words were just, I believed from many passages of your writings; but the document to which I expressly referred was one of your sermons on 'Subjects of the Day,' Number XX, in the Volume published in 1844, and entitled 'Wisdom and Innocence.'

It was in consequence of that sermon, that I finally shook off the strong influence which your writings exerted on me; and for much of which I still owe you a deep debt of gratitude.

I am most happy to hear from you that I mistook (as I understand from your letter) your meaning; and I shall be most happy, on your showing me that I have wronged you, to retract my accusation as publicly as I have made it.

I am, Reverend Sir Your faithful servant Charles Kingsley

on humanity, *under pretext* of serving or defending religion. *The piles lighted by a Catholic hand inspire me with as much horror as the scaffolds on which Protestants have immolated so many martyrs.* The gag thrust into the mouth of whoever speaks with a brave heart to preach his faith, *I feel it between my own lips, and I shudder with the pain of it.* (The italics are Ward's).

Ward commented, 'By the "horror" which the Count describes himself to feel at a misbeliever's punishment, he plainly does not intend to express the grief which a tenderhearted man suffers in the thought of human suffering, but the indignation which a rightminded man experiences at the thought of unjust suffering,' p. 29.

Newman quotes from Cardinal Giovanni Soglia's *Institutiones Juris Publici Ecclesiastici*, fifth edition, Paris 1853, p. 168. The book, the fruit of twenty-four years of lecturing in Rome on Canon Law, was prefaced by laudatory letters from Gregory XVI and Pius IX. Soglia wrote: 'Sequimur proinde eorum judicium, qui corporalem gladium ab Ecclesia removere, quo vel corpus perimitur, aut sanguis funditur. Nicolaus Pontifex Albino Archiepiscopo can. *inter haec* caus. 33 q. 2 ita scribit: "Ecclesia gladium non habet nisi spiritualem, non occidit sed vivificat:" Unde tritum illud sermone adagium: "Ecclesia abhorret a sanguine."' Newman quoted the passage in *A Letter to the Duke of Norfolk*, Diff. II, p. 291.

¹ *Civil Intolerance of Religious Error*, pp. 3 and 30.

² In a note on p. 33 of his pamphlet Ward criticised William Monsell for referring in the House of Commons to intolerance in Spain as due to 'the prejudices of the Spanish people.' Newman made a pencil note in his copy of Ward's pamphlet, 'By "prejudices" I understand "unfounded fears that toleration would do harm etc etc"' adding that the Popes were not involved. Newman had inspired Monsell's speech. See letter of 17 June 1863 to him

³ See letter of 30 Dec. 1863 to Macmillan and Co.

7 JANUARY 1864

TO CHARLES KINGSLEY

The Oratory, Birmingham, January 7, 1864.

Reverend Sir,

I have to acknowledge your letter of the 6th, informing me that you are the writer of an article in Macmillan's Magazine, in which I am mentioned, and referring generally to a Protestant sermon of mine, of seventeen pages, published by me, as Vicar of St. Mary's, in 1844, and treating of the bearing of the Christian towards the world, and of the character of the reaction of that bearing upon him; and also, referring to my works *passim*; in justification of your statement, categorical and definite, that 'Father Newman informs us that truth for its own sake need not, and on the whole ought not to be, a virtue with the Roman clergy.'

I have only to remark, in addition to what I have already said with great sincerity to Messrs. Macmillan and Co., in the letter of which you speak, and to which I refer you, that, when I wrote to them, no person whatever, whom I had ever seen or heard of, had occurred to me as the author of the statement in question. When I received your letter, taking upon yourself the authorship, I was amazed.

I am, Reverend Sir, Your obedient Servant, John H. Newman.

TO BARTHOLOMEW WOODLOCK

The Oratory Bm January 7. 1864

My dear Dr Woodlock

I hereby acknowledge the receipt of Eight Hundred Pounds, being the second Instalment of the Two Thousand Four Hundred, due to me for my Church, the first instalment being Six Hundred, and a Thousand remaining to be paid

I am, Sincerely Yours in Xt John H Newman¹

P.S. I grieve to hear of Dr Meyler's death, and shall say Mass for his soul as soon as possible and Dr Yore's approaching death also.²

¹ The signature was written over a penny stamp.

² Walter Meyler and William Yore were already Vicars General in the Archdiocese of Dublin, when Newman was founding the Catholic University.

8 JANUARY 1864

TO ALEXANDER MACMILLAN

The Oratory, January 8, 1864.

Dear Sir,

I thank you for the friendly tone of your letter of the 5th just received, and I wish to reply to it with the frankness which it invites.¹ I have heard from Mr. Kingsley, avowing himself, to my extreme astonishment, the author of the passage about which I wrote to Messrs. Macmillan.² No one, whose name I had ever heard, crossed my mind as the writer in their Magazine; and, had any one said that it was Mr. Kingsley, I should have laughed in his face. Certainly, I saw the initials at the end; but, you must recollect, I live out of the world; and I must own, if Messrs. Macmillan³ will not think the confession rude, that, as far as I remember, I never before saw even the outside of their Magazine. And so of the Editor: when I saw his name on the cover, it conveyed to me absolutely no idea whatever. I am not defending myself, but merely stating what was the fact; and as to the article, I said to myself, 'Here is a young scribe, who is making a cheap reputation by smart hits at safe objects.'⁴

All this will make you see, not only how I live out of the world, but also

¹ Macmillan wrote that he had postponed his reply to Newman's letter of 30 Dec. until after he had talked with Kingsley. 'The importance of the matter and the exceeding kindness and courtesy of your letter demanded that I should reply with care and with corresponding courtesy. Precious memories of more than twenty years since, when your Sermons were a delight and blessing shared and thereby increased with a dear brother no longer here . . . would add strong weight to my desire to answer such a letter from you with peculiar care and reverence.'

I cannot separate myself in this case from whatever injustice, and your letter convinces me as indeed it apparently did himself that there was injustice, in Mr Kingsley's charge against you personally. I have read the passage, and I will confess to you plainly that I did not even think at the time that you or any of your communion would think it unjust. It is many years since I had intercourse with members of the Church that holds us heretics. My intercourse then was mainly with young men — some of them as noble and good as I have ever known. On the point alluded to in Mr Kingsley's article . . . I received an impression that it was generally true that their Catholic way of looking at these matters was what Mr Kingsley says it is. . . . While they were talking of English Christian gentlemen as wolves towards whom the combinations of serpentine wisdom and the innocence of the dove was the proper line of conduct, those who felt that they were not wolves but sought to live and think as Christian men ought, may have seen only the former quality without the redeeming one. . . . I am sure that Mr Kingsley and Mr Masson both will do all in their power to repair any wrong and print a full retraction of what you feel unjust.'

David Masson was editor of *Macmillan's Magazine* from its foundation, in 1859, until 1867.

² In the draft, and in the letter as sent, Newman originally wrote 'to you.' The text reproduced is that in Newman's pamphlet *Mr. Kingsley and Dr. Newman: a correspondence On the Question whether Dr. Newman teaches that Truth is no Virtue*, where Macmillan, who wished to remain anonymous, was described as 'X.Y. Esq. a gentleman who interposed between Mr Kingsley and Dr Newman.' See letter of 28 Jan. to Macmillan.

³ Newman again altered his original 'you,' and at the end of the sentence, 'your magazine'.
⁴ David Masson's name figured prominently on the cover of *Macmillan's Magazine* for Jan. In the table of contents on the cover, the review of J. A. Froude's *History of England* was attributed to 'Rev. Professor Kingsley'. This was in small print, and Newman evidently did not see that the offending review, with its author, was listed among the articles on the cover.

how wanton I feel it to have been in the parties concerned thus to let fly at me. Were I in active controversy with the Anglican body, or any portion of it, as I have been before now, I should consider untrue assertions about me to be in a certain sense a rule of the game, as times go, though God forbid that I should indulge in them myself in the case of another. I have never been very sensitive of such attacks; rarely taken notice of them. Now, when I have long ceased from controversy, they continue: they have lasted incessantly from the year 1833 to this day. They do not ordinarily come in my way; when they do, I let them pass through indolence. Sometimes friends send me specimens of them; and sometimes they are such as I am bound to answer, if I would not compromise interests which are dearer to me than life. The January number of Magazine was sent to me, I know not by whom, friend or foe, with the passage on which I have animadverted, emphatically, not to say indignantly, scored against.¹ Nor can there be a better proof that there was a call upon me to notice it, than the astounding fact that you can so calmly (excuse me) 'confess plainly' of yourself, as you do, 'that you had read the passage, and did not even think that I or any of my communion would think it unjust.'

Most wonderful phenomenon! An educated man, breathing English air, and walking in the light of the nineteenth century, thinks that neither I nor any members of my communion feel any difficulty in allowing that 'Truth for its own sake need not, and on the whole ought not to be, a virtue with the Roman Clergy;' nay, that they are not at all surprised to be told that 'Father Newman had informed' the world, that such is the standard of morality acknowledged, acquiesced in, by his co-religionists! But, I suppose, in truth, there is nothing at all, however base, up to the high mark of Titus Oates, which a Catholic may not expect to be believed of him by Protestants, however honourable and hard-headed. However, dismissing this natural train of thought, I observe on your avowal as follows; and I think what I shall say will commend itself to your judgment as soon as I say it.

I think you will allow then, that there is a broad difference between a virtue, considered in itself a principle or rule, and the application or limits of it in human conduct. Catholics and Protestants, in their view of the substance of the moral virtues, agree, but they carry them out variously in detail; and in particular instances, and in the case of particular actors or writers, with but indifferent success. Truth is the same in itself and in substance to Catholic and Protestant; so is purity. both virtues are to be referred to that moral sense which is the natural possession of us all. But when we come to the question in detail, whether this or that act in particular is conformable to the rule of truth, or again to the rule of purity; then sometimes there is a difference of opinion between individuals, sometimes between schools, and sometimes between religious communions. I, on my side, have long thought, even before I was a Catholic, that the Protestant system, as such, leads to a lax observance of the rule of purity; Protestants think that the Catholic system, as such, leads to a

¹ See letter of 27 Feb. 1864 to William Pope.

lax observance of the rule of truth. I am very sorry that they should think so, but I cannot help it; I lament their mistake, but I bear it as I may. If Mr. Kingsley had said no more than this, I should not have felt it necessary to criticize such an ordinary remark. But, as I should be committing a crime, heaping dirt upon my soul, and storing up for myself remorse and confusion of face at a future day, if I applied my abstract belief of the latent sensuality of Protestantism, on *à priori* reasoning, to individuals, to living persons, to authors and men of name, and said (not to make disrespectful allusion to the living) that Bishop Van Mildert, or the Rev. Dr. Spry, or Dean Milner, or the Rev. Charles Simeon 'informs us that chastity for its own sake need not be, and on the whole ought not to be, a virtue with the Anglican clergy,' and then, when challenged for the proof, said, '*Vide Van Mildert's Bampton Lectures and Simeon's Skeleton Sermons passim;*' and, as I should only make the matter still worse, if I pointed to flagrant instances of paradoxical divines or of bad clergymen among Protestants, as, for instance, to that popular London preacher at the end of last century who advocated polygamy in print;¹ so, in like manner, for a writer, when he is criticizing definite historical facts of the sixteenth century, which stand or fall on their own merits, to go out of his way to have a fling at an unpopular name, living but 'down,' and boldly to say to those who know no better, who know nothing but what he tells them, who take their tradition of historical facts from him, who do not know *me* — to say of *me*, 'Father Newman informs us that Truth for its own sake *need not be, and on the whole ought not to be*, a virtue with the Roman clergy,' and to be thus brilliant and antithetical (save the mark!) in the very cause of Truth, is a proceeding of so special a character as to lead me to exclaim, after the pattern of the celebrated saying, 'O Truth, how many lies are told in thy name!'

Such being the state of the case, I think I shall carry you along with me when I say, that, if there is to be any explanation in the Magazine of so grave an inadvertence, it concerns the two gentlemen² who are responsible for it, of what complexion that explanation shall be. For me, it is not I who ask for it; I look on mainly as a spectator, and shall praise or blame, according to my best judgment, as I see what they do. Not that, in so acting, I am implying a doubt of all that you tell me of them; but 'handsome is, that handsome does.' If they set about proving their point, or, should they find that impossible, if they say so, in either case I shall call them *men*. But, — bear with me for harbouring a suspicion which Mr. Kingsley's letter to me has inspired, — if they propose merely to smooth the matter over by publishing to the world that I have 'complained,' or that 'they yield to my letters, expostulations, representations, explanations,' or that 'they are quite ready to be convinced of their

¹ This was Martin Madan (1726–90), a first cousin of Cowper the poet, who became a Calvinistic methodist, and a follower of Lady Huntingdon. He was obliged to resign his chaplaincy of the Lock Hospital, near Hyde Park Corner, in 1780, after he published *Thelyphthora or a Treatise on Female Ruin*. In it he argued that polygamy was in accordance with the principles of Christianity properly understood, and a protection for those who would otherwise become prostitutes. Cf. *Ess.* I, pp. 415–19.

² In the draft Newman first wrote 'the Editor and the writer', and then altered it.

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mistake, if I will convince them,' or that 'they have profound respect for me, but really they are not the only persons who have gathered from my writings what they have said of me,' or that 'they are unfeignedly surprised that I should visit in their case what I have passed over in the case of others,' or that 'they have ever had a true sense of my good points, but cannot be expected to be blind to my faults,' if this be the sum total of what they are to say, and they ignore the fact that the *onus probandi* of a very definite accusation lies upon them, and that they have no right to throw the burden upon others, then, I say with submission, they had better let it all alone, as far as I am concerned, for a half-measure settles nothing.

January 10. — I will add, that any letter addressed to me by Mr. Kingsley, I account public property; not so, should you favour me with any fresh communication yourself.

I am, Dear Sir, Yours faithfully, John H. Newman.

TO AMBROSE ST JOHN

['Sunday Jany 10/64']

My dear A

No never. I wrote to you Friday.¹ 'Come back with your side quite well.' Basil Wilberforce unwell, going to Nice — Can you suggest a Tutor for him?² 'Wm [[William is]] recovering from a bilious attack — Brownlow and Stokes on the sick list. This has made the early Sacristy hard upon me — but I am quite well, and take the Shower bath.'¹

Ever Yrs affly J H N

TUESDAY 12 JANUARY 1864 Formby came

TO AMBROSE ST JOHN

The Oy Bm Jany 12. 1864

My dear Ambrose

I am sorry to tell you, we waited till last night (the 11th) for the Class Papers, and then could wait no longer. Edward has wanted some of the Parents' money this *three weeks* — so go the bills must. This morning the Papers are come. Wm [William] telegraphed to your cousin on Saturday to ask *when* they would come. Instead of answering this plain question, she

¹ This letter of 8 Jan. is not to be found.

² The eldest son of the Emancipator, also named William Wilberforce, wanted a tutor for his own grandson, William Basil Wilberforce (1850–1913). The latter had been at the Oratory School from Sept. 1862 to Dec. 1863. See next letter.

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answered giving the *reason why* they had *not* come already — viz. because she was moving.¹ And now that they are come, neither Wm nor I can make head or tail of them. I don't think *one* parent will understand the paper. *I* can't. Another time I do hope you will let me or some one see the proofs — and that you will print in Birmingham, not in London. Wm is thinking (I find) to send them all off in separate letters. This will be the *third* letter the parents will have had! You will say I am pitiless — well, I *am*, about such needless imbroglios. If you had said to me 'I wish you would get this done,' I would have got it done, and by Christmas Day.

Basil Wilberforce is so delicate that his grandfather is sending him to Nice for the winter. His mother and sister accompany him. He will give £100 for the half year, preferring a Priest — he says nothing about board, lodging, or travelling. Can you think of any one?

William has been made quite excited and restless by those unhappy Lists. He sends them to you to know if he shall send them out with certain additions. The date is not given! nor the *object*! a *class* may mean any thing — you mean classification for honors

Ever Yrs affly John H Newman

TO MARIANNE BOWDEN

The Oratory Bm Jany. 14. 1864

My dear Child,

I have let the whole sacred season, even up to the Octave of the Epiphany, run out without writing to you — but I thought [I] never should manage it, from the vast many things I have had to do. We are fewer than we were, and have more work — and I am older and more easily tired — Besides the ordinary work of a Priest, I am sacristan — and then, we have a school of above 70 boys — and I have had to examine them, and send letters to their parents. And I have had a good deal to do with Christmas bills — and have had some controversial letters forced upon me. And I am sadly in arrears. Then again, I wanted to tell you that I had said the Masses for you, and my intentions just now had not been so free as I wished. However, now I have said Mass for your two holy sisters departed, and for your Anniversary — ten year's! what a time!² It is well to think and trust that we are so much nearer to our Eternal House. God grant it may be so. How pleasant it is to think of those who have gone and are secure. Your account of your Sisters was very interesting. I say Mass for you continually. There are eight ladies, you make

¹ St John's cousin, who was moving her printing office to 8 Symonds Inn, Chancery Lane, had agreed to print class lists for the Oratory School.

² Newman preached the sermon when Marianne Bowden was professed in the Visitation Convent at Westbury-on-Trym, 12 Jan. 1854. See Placid Murray, *Newman the Oratorian*, his unpublished Oratory Papers, Dublin 1969, pp. 270-81.

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a 9th, whom I call my faithful friends — and for whom I say Mass at short intervals. It is a probable opinion that, the Mass being of infinite value, it avails as much for each of a number of persons as if no others were mentioned. And, besides this, I take them by turns, and make my intention for A and 8 others — or for B and 8 others (naming them) as the case may be. So that each in turn comes first. And there are certain days besides, on which I always say Mass for you, and for your Revd Mother or community — such as St Francis and St Jane Fr. [Frances] However, I shall not be able to say Mass for you on the 29th, since I have promised Miss Giberne, who is to be professed on that day.¹

Pray thank your Revd Mother for the copies of the beautiful devotion which she sent me, and ask her for her prayers for us²

Ever Yours my dear Child, Most affly in Xt
John H Newman of the Oratory

P.S. I wish you had told me how you were.

TO THOMAS ARNOLD

Jan. 15. 1864

My dear Arnold,

I have delayed answering your letter of the 5th, because I did not like to plague you with any thing more from me, till you were stronger.

I am glad you have withdrawn the latter part of your first letter. 'This includes the paragraph in which you impute your fever to Wilberforce and Cabrera.'³

As to what you have said in both letters on the question of your substitute, we cannot consent to relinquish our right of supplying your absence. Our engagement is with you, and no one else.

Father St John's message and letter to you are not yet properly estimated by you, as I think you will see, when I tell you how they were occasioned:

When he met Mrs Arnold, being aware of what Mr Carter⁴ had pleaded about you, and knowing and sharing my own earnest desire for the establishment of your strength, he expressed a hope and our wish that you would remain away till Easter. Then, on getting home, he came to me and said, 'I fear I have said more than I have a right to say.' I answered, 'Yes, you have; it

¹ See letter of 29 Jan. to Miss Giberne.

² Marianne Bowden wrote on 4 Jan. and enclosed a paper on devotion to the Sacred Heart.

³ See Newman's letter of 4 Jan. to Arnold, who replied next day that he withdrew the concluding portion of his letter of 2 Jan., and regretted having written it.

⁴ This was Arnold's doctor.

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is a Congregation matter. You must, for safety, limit your words, and say that we will get a substitute and pay him £50 out of the £133.' Accordingly he wrote to you to that effect from London

I am &c J H N

Thos Arnold Esqr

TO EDWARD BADELEY

The Oratory Bm Jany 15/64

My dear Badeley,

I have got an excuse for wishing you in writing a happy New Year; unless it is an absurdity to ask the Sages of the *Law* to decide a point of honor.

Now is it not a shame to begin thus with insulting you, when I want your answer to a *Case*?

I inclose it.¹ My question is whether I may reckon that Mr Kingsley does enough.

Of course it would be an immense *bore* to go further.

If he has not gone far enough, and I could not get him to do more, two courses are open to me.

1. To write a pamphlet — Well, I could make a short but telling one, out of the correspondence which has passed, consisting principally of *my* letters to Macmillan. But Cui bono? If they would have gone on, speaking of 'Roman duplicity,' 'St Alfonso,' or my own delinquences in *act*, such as Number 90, Whately's charge against me of remaining a crypto-papist in the Anglican Church etc etc. then, I could have written what would have been *worth*

¹ This was the enclosure:

'Mr Kingsley's words in Macmillan's Magazine for this month, in a Review of Froude's History of England — *Elizabeth*.

"So again of the virtue of truth. Truth, for its own sake, had never been a virtue with the Roman clergy. Father Newman informs us that it need not, and on the whole ought not to be; that cunning is the weapon which heaven has given to the Saints wherewith to withstand the brute male force of the wicked world which marries and is given in marriage. Whether his notion be doctrinally correct or not, it is at least historically so."

I wrote to Messrs Macmillan and Co to know *where* I had "informed" the world, that "Truth for its own sake need not, and on the whole ought not to be a virtue with the Roman clergy;" or rather I *protested* against this being stated, *without any sort of reference as to where* I have said it.

They propose the following reparation: "To the Editor, etc

'Sir, In your last number I made certain allegations against the teaching of the Revd Dr Newman, which were founded on a Sermon of his, entitled Wisdom and Innocence (published by him, as Vicar of St Mary's in 1844) < Sermon on subjects of the Day Number 20. >

Dr Newman has, by letter, express[ed] in the strongest terms his denial of the meaning which I have put upon his words.

No man knows the use of words better than Dr Newman. No man, therefore, has a better right to define what he does, or does not, mean by them.

It only remains, therefore, for me to express my hearty regret at having so seriously mistaken him; and my hearty pleasure at finding him on the side of Truth, in this, or any other matter.

Is this sufficient?

(signed) Charles Kingsley"

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writing, both as regards the doctrine of Truth, and my own history. But this apparently is not on the cards.

2. I may do *nothing* at *present*, but reserve the said correspondence for an appendix to my Lectures on Catholicism in England, on the next Edition — telling Macmillan *now*, that I am not satisfied.

But I want the opinion of a man of the world, living out of controversy, and versed in disputation nevertheless; and a lawyer is that man. So, please, to say Yes or No.¹

I hear a very good account of you, as regard your perfect recovery. You must some time come and see this Oratory, before I die. I am sure I have been in the Temple often enough. Some autumn, when you tour, you must pass this way, and see all about us.

Ever Yours affectly John H Newman

E. Badeley Esqr

TO THOMAS SCRATTON

The Oratory Birmingham January 16. 1864

My dear Scratton

I have received your letter containing a Bill at seven days of the date, from the Rector of the Catholic University, for Five Hundred Pounds, being the Third Instalment of the Sum due to me from the Trustees in payment for my Church and I hereby give a receipt for it

Yours very truly John H Newman²

Thos Scratton Esqr

FROM CHARLES KINGSLEY

Eversley Rectory January 14/64

Reverend Sir

I have the honour to acknowledge your answer to my letter.

I have also seen your letter to Mr Macmillan.³ On neither of them shall I make any comment, save to say, that if you fancy that I have attacked you because you were, as you please to term it 'down,' you do me a great injustice. And also, that the suspicion expressed in the latter part of your letter to Mr Macmillan, is needless.

The course which you demand of me is the only course fit for a gentleman; and, as the tone of your letters (even more than their language) makes me feel, — to my very deep pleasure — that my opinion of the meaning of your words was a mistaken one, I shall send at once to Macmillan's Magazine the few lines which I enclose.⁴

You say, that you will consider my letters as public. You have every right so to do.

I remain, Reverend Sir, Yours faithfully C. Kingsley

¹ Badeley replied on 17 Jan. that Kingsley's apology was totally inadequate. See letters of 22 Jan. to Messrs Macmillan, and 31 Jan. to Badeley.

² Woodlock was ill, and Scratton sent the bill for £500, saying, 'Do me the favour to send a receipt. Believe me most faithfully Yrs.' See last note to second letter of 6 Dec. 1858 to Ormsby.

³ Letter of 8 Jan. The answer to Kingsley was that of 7 Jan.

⁴ These are quoted in first note to letter of 15 Jan. to Badeley.

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TO CHARLES KINGSLEY

The Oratory, January 17, 1864.

Reverend Sir,

Since you do no more than announce to me your intention of inserting in Macmillan's Magazine the letter, a copy of which you are so good as to transcribe for me, perhaps I am taking a liberty in making any remarks to you upon it. But then, the very fact of your showing it to me seems to invite criticism; and so sincerely do I wish to bring this painful matter to an immediate settlement, that, at the risk of being officious, I avail myself of your courtesy to express the judgment which I have carefully formed upon it.

I believe it to be your wish to do me such justice as is compatible with your duty of upholding the consistency and quasi-infallibility which is necessary for a periodical publication; and I am far from expecting any thing from you which would be unfair to Messrs. Macmillan and Co. Moreover, I am quite aware, that the reading public, to whom your letter is virtually addressed, cares little for the wording of an explanation, provided it be made aware of the fact that an explanation has been given.

Nevertheless, after giving your letter the benefit of both these considerations, I am sorry to say I feel it my duty to withhold from it the approbation which I fain would bestow.

Its main fault is, that, quite contrary to your intention, it will be understood by the general reader to intimate, that I have been confronted with definite extracts from my works, and have laid before you my own interpretations of them. Such a proceeding I have indeed challenged, but have not been so fortunate as to bring about.

But besides, I gravely disapprove of the letter as a whole. The grounds of this dissatisfaction will be best understood by you, if I place in parallel columns its paragraphs one by one, and what I conceive will be the popular reading of them.

This I proceed to do.

I have the honour to be, Reverend Sir, Your obedient Servant,
John H. Newman.

Mr. Kingsley's Letter.

1. Sir, — In your last number I made certain allegations against the teaching of the Rev. Dr. Newman, which were founded on a Sermon of his entitled 'Wisdom and Innocence,' preached by him as Vicar of St. Mary's, and published in 1844.

Unjust, but too probable, popular rendering of it.

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2. Dr. Newman has, by letter, expressed in the strongest terms his denial of the meaning which I have put upon his words.

3. No man knows the use of words better than Dr. Newman; no man, therefore, has a better right to define what he does, or does not, mean by them.

4. It only remains, therefore, for me to express my hearty regret at having so seriously mistaken him, and my hearty pleasure at finding him on the side of truth, in this or any other matter.

2. I have set before Dr. Newman, as he challenged me to do, extracts from his writings, and he has affixed to them what he conceives to be their legitimate sense, to the denial of that in which I understood them.

3. He has done this with the skill of a great master of verbal fence, who knows, as well as any man living, how to insinuate a doctrine without committing himself to it.

4. However, while I heartily regret that I have so seriously mistaken the sense which he assures me his words were meant to bear, I cannot but feel a hearty pleasure also, at having brought him, for once in a way, to confess that after all truth is a Christian virtue.

TO MRS T. W. ALLIES

The Oratory Bm Jan. 18/64.

My dear Mrs Allies,

Your kind letter made me smile. I have not had one day's holiday, nor am likely to have. I can only thank the good God who *enables* me to work. I feel quite what you say. I am likely to lose my manners, likely to get a great reluctance to stir from home, especially if my health gets weaker, but what can I do? I am over oppressed with a thousand little works, and, when I have an hour or two for anything else, I have not vigour enough to use them.

We are fewer in number than we were, and, independently of this, our work is *absolutely* far greater than it ever was. Fancy! I am *sacristan*, and though I cannot move platforms or decorate cribs, yet it involves a good deal of little work, and little teasing sollicitudes, things to remember, orders to give. I have had to write to all the parents of the boys, as usual at the end of the half year, and my hand does not run so fast as it once did, and it sooner gets tired. I have had to have my eye upon the Terminal accounts, have had a number of petty school matters, which only can be attended to in the Vacation, and which make Vacation a busier time to me, as regards the School, than Term. I have had to go through and arrange the past years bills as regards sacristy, church decoration, and my private expenses. I have had to balance payments and receipts by banker's books. I have my share in church spiritual duties. I have a great lot of teasing controversy, with friends, with opponents, barren letters which take time, and which I may or may not have to publish, but which must be written with the caution which the chance of publishing requires. I have a good deal of private correspondence. I have community duties, meetings of

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the congregation, and the ordinary observances of the day, which cut up my time. I am printing an expurgated edition of Terence's *Phormio* for boys. I am on the point of taking some of Arnold's classes in the School, on the boys' return, since he has had scarlet fever and is away.

And your husband asks me if I am writing on Nature and Grace!¹ and you ask me what bones I am cracking? the bones of old jackalls and hyenas, of foxes, rats, and mice, in some ancient palæontological cave. What can I do? If you can tell me how to better myself, I will make you (as St Philip says) a very handsome present.

Ever yours affectly in Xt John H Newman of the Oratory

TO THOMAS ARNOLD

The Oratory Jan 18/64

My dear Arnold

I have spoken to Dr Evans about you, but he has not given in his answer to me. I don't expect it for a day or two. When I have it, I will write to you.

Hoping the change of air which [will] quite set you up I am &c

J H N

P.S. You cannot be surprised, since you still think that Cabrera had something to do with your illness, and since we naturally have kept away Cabrera up to this time, and did the same with Fitzgerald, so that he did not return to us at all, that Mothers (*and one has already written on the subject,*) should be afraid of you. If we had any fresh case, they would say it was you.

TO AMBROSE ST JOHN

Jan 18/64

My dear A

Your letter has come. I have written to the Bowdens to explain why you could not go to them — and especially for this reason — we certainly do want you here. William and I have been sadly worked without a day's holy day. We have a number of things to talk to you about and we shall think it very hard, if you leave us only one day to do so in, while you are running about after Mrs Poncia, Miss Roberts, the Thomases, and all your penitents. It is entirely a disappointment to me that you are not coming till Thursday.

Ever Yours affly John H Newman

¹ Allies wrote on 1 Jan., 'There is a supposition that you have long been engaged on that subject . . .'

20 JANUARY 1864

P.S. Francis Ward does not return. I suspect neither of them have done well, from O'Hagan's blarney.¹ You see you ought to be here — there is so much to talk about

TUESDAY 19 JANUARY 1864 Lord E. Howard called. O'Sullivan called. Copeland came suddenly

WEDNESDAY 20 JANUARY Mr Bretherton died

TO MRS T. W. ALLIES

The Oratory Bm Jan'y 20./64.

Private

My dear Mrs Allies,

We shall be rejoiced to have the flowers which you kindly think of making for us.

As to Nature and Grace, I solemnly assure you that, not only have I not been writing on the subject, but the thought of doing so never once (as I can recollect) came into my mind, nor is ever likely to do so. Nor did I ever hear any one say that I was thinking of it, till Mr Allies mentioned it.

I have never got over the Rambler being taken out of my hands, and I do not think I shall; not, I trust, from any resentful and other similar feeling, but it has been the same shock to my nerves that a pat from a lion would be. Great powers ought not lightly to be brought into exercise. If writers say what they should not say, let other writers tell me so, or at least their equals, but, when authority interferes, one seems to feel one's breath taken away. It must be remembered too I have hardly ever written for writing sake, but from the occasion, i.e. from having been forced, or vigorously stimulated, to write by circumstances. If I had continued the Rambler, I dare say I should have knocked myself up. I took it exceedingly against the grain, and to me *personally* the Bishop could not himself have done what was more welcome. And I should have made many mistakes, had I continued it, and I should have lost reputation, but I think I should have done a work, if bodily strength allowed me. I should have been forced to ventilate a hundred questions. You must take men for what they are; — they must do good (if they can do good) in their own way. I said all this, almost prophetically, in a Dublin Lecture in 1855, though the Rambler matter did not occur till 1859.²

All this is private.

Ever yrs affly John H Newman

¹ This refers to the master at the Oratory School who had been preparing Francis Ward for the Woolwich examination in which he failed, and who had also been teaching his younger brother Richard. St John replied that Francis Ward's failure and removal were due to his health.

² 'Christianity and Scientific Investigation,' *Idea*, pp. 456-79. Cf. *Apo.* pp. 267-8.

20 JANUARY 1864

TO EDWARD BADELEY

Oy Bm Jan 20/64

*Not sent*¹

My dear Badeley

Your letter has been a great service to me.

I have just received the following Letter from him. Tell me how it leaves things.

First, I quote a sentence of *my* letter to *him*, commenting on the proposed apology which I sent to you.

'Its main fault is, that, quite contrary to your intention, it will be understood by the general reader to intimate that I have been confronted with definite extracts from my works, and have laid before you my own interpretations of them. Such a proceeding I have indeed challenged, but have not been so fortunate as to bring about.' (This was sent, before I got your letter)

I then went on, to object to Paragraphs 3 and 4 as open to misinterpretation of a worse kind.

He answers by this morning's post as follows:

'I do not think it probable that the good sense and honesty of the British Public will misinterpret my apology in the way which you expect.

Two passages in it, which I put in in good faith and good feeling, may, however, be open to a bad use, and I have written to Messrs Macmillan to omit them; viz the words "No one knows the use of words better than Dr Newman." and those "and my hearty pleasure at finding him in [sic] the truth on this or any other matter."

'As to your article 2' (viz *Paragraph 2*) 'it seems to me, that, by referring publicly to the Sermon on which my allegations are founded, I have given, not only you, but every one an opportunity of judging their injustice. Having done this, and having frankly accepted your assertion that I was mistaken, I have done as much as one English gentleman can expect from another.'

Ever Yours affly John H Newman of the Oratory

E. Badeley Esqr

THURSDAY 21 JANUARY 1864 Copeland went Ambrose returned

TO MICHAEL 'O SULLIVAN

The Oratory Bm Jany 21/64

My dear Mr O'Sullivan

I have thought over your affair, and am sorry that, owing to the sudden

¹ Newman sent this to Badeley with his second letter of 5 Feb.

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coming of that friend of mine when we were conversing, my memory is partly in fault as to¹

Jany 24. The above will be enough to show my good intentions. I have been thinking of your case since our conversation — but I have been overpowered with work. On Friday I was from half past 8 A M to 8 P M, writing letters or talking, with the exception of $\frac{1}{2}$ an hour at noon, and 35 minutes for dinner. And now I expect to be at letters all day, except a visit to poor Mrs Bretherton, and the time of Benediction.

I have read your letter,² and think it very much to the purpose. The quotations from Paley, (who singularly enough has been, for another case in which I have been interested, just now a good deal in my mind) are very cogent. It was stupid in me not to mention him — and I am very glad you thought of him.³

I should not wonder if you found you had no need to write again. You have, I see, many defenders, and very likely they have less to do than you have, and find it a pleasure to wage war. Therefore, if you will allow me to say, what without my saying you are not likely to forget, you should not say a word more than is necessary for these two objects, to satisfy your people, and to blunt the edge of Mr Harrison's onset. Others, I dare say, will complete the latter object, towards which you have already done so much — and perhaps you have satisfied your people already.

If, however, you are forced to say more, I shall be truly glad to see your MS, and hope you will send it, if convenient to you

Ever Yours very sincerely in Xt John H Newman of the Oratory
The Revd M O'Sullivan

TO MESSRS MACMILLAN AND CO

The Oratory, January 22, 1864.

Gentlemen,

Mr. Kingsley, the writer of the paragraph to which I called your attention on the 30th of last month, has shown his wish to recall words, which I considered a great affront to myself, and a worse insult to the Catholic priesthood.

¹ It had been proposed to appoint O'Sullivan, who was the priest at Stafford, Catholic chaplain to the gaol there. O'Sullivan wrote to Newman on 18 Jan. that 'A very rampant low Church Parson,' Thomas Harrison, Vicar of Christ Church, Stafford, had protested. 'In his letter he makes, against us, very heinous charges of idolatry, disregard of oaths, upholding of the Pope as supreme Lord of Kings etc. which he attempts to prove from St. Liguori's "Glories of Mary" and Theology and from the Decretals.'

² i.e. O'Sullivan's public reply in the *Staffordshire Advertiser* for 23 Jan. See letter of 1 Feb. to him.

³ Newman was to make use against Kingsley of William Paley's teaching on lies in *The Principles of Moral and Political Philosophy*. *Apo.* pp. 274-6; also first edition, Appendix, pp. 105-06.

He has sent me the draft of a Letter which he proposes to insert in the February number of your Magazine; and, when I gave him my criticisms upon it, he had the good feeling to withdraw two of its paragraphs.

However, he did not remove that portion of it, to which, as I told him, lay my main objection.

That portion ran as follows:—

‘Dr. Newman has by letter expressed in the strongest terms his denial of the meaning which I have put upon his words.’

My objection to this sentence, which (with the addition of a reference to a Protestant sermon of mine, which he says formed the ground of his assertion, and of an expression of regret at having mistaken me) constitutes, after the withdrawal of the two paragraphs, the whole of his proposed letter, I thus explained to him:—

‘Its (the proposed letter’s) main fault is, that quite contrary to your intention, it will be understood by the general reader to intimate, that I have been confronted with definite extracts from my works, and have laid before you my own interpretation of them. Such a proceeding I have indeed challenged, but have not been so fortunate as to bring about.’

In answer to this representation, Mr. Kingsley wrote to me as follows:—

‘It seems to me, that, by referring publicly to the sermon, on which my allegations are founded, I have given, not only you, but every one, an opportunity of judging of their injustice. Having done this, and having frankly accepted your assertion that I was mistaken, I have done as much as one English gentleman can expect from another.’

I received this reply the day before yesterday. It disappointed me, for I had hoped that, with the insertion of a letter from him in your Magazine for February, there would have been an end of the whole matter. However, I have waited forty-eight hours, to give time for his explanation to make its full, and therefore its legitimate impression on my mind. After this interval, I find my judgment of the passage just what it was.

Moreover, since sending to Mr. Kingsley that judgment, I have received a letter from a friend at a distance, whom I had consulted, a man about my own age, who lives out of the world of theological controversy and contemporary literature, and whose intellectual habits especially qualify him for taking a clear and impartial view of the force of words. I put before him the passage in your January number, and the writer’s proposed letter in February; and I asked him whether I might consider the letter sufficient for its purpose, without saying a word to show him the leaning of my own mind.¹ He answers:

‘In answer to your question, whether Mr. Kingsley’s proposed reparation is sufficient, I have no hesitation in saying, Most decidedly not. Without attempting to quote any passage from your writings which justifies in any manner the language which he has used in his review, he leaves it to be in-

¹ Letter of 15 Jan. to Badeley, whose reply of 17 Jan. Newman proceeds to quote. See also letter of 31 Jan. to Badeley.

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ferred that the representation, which he has given of your statements and teaching in the sermon to which he refers, is the fair and natural and primary sense of them, and that it is only by your declaring that you did not mean what you really and in effect said, that he finds that he had made a false charge.'

This opinion thus given came to me, I repeat, *after* I had sent to Mr. Kingsley the letter of objection, of which I have quoted a portion above. You will see that, though the two judgments are independent of each other, they in substance coincide.

It only remains for me then to write to you again; and, in writing to you now, I do no more than I did on the 30th of December. I bring the matter before you, without requiring from you any reply.

I am, Gentlemen, Your obedient Servant, John H. Newman

TO CATHERINE ANNE BATHURST

The Oy Bm Jan'y 24/64

My dear Child,

I have not so pleasant an answer to make to you, as I should like, about your boy — but I have partly prepared you for it in my former letter.¹

We cannot let him into the school. I am sure he would not pass muster. And, as I anticipated, he will let out his antecedents.

Moreover, he does not seem to me to be the cut of a boy, who has, or will have, a vocation.

Moreover, we have various experience of nice-mannered boys, who have had unfortunate antecedents in the way of circumstances etc. And I distrust their inward innocence. It would be most cruel to make this a positive reason against a fresh boy who had shown nothing to merit the suspicion, but it may fairly operate in creating in us a disinclination [sic], or at least a slowness, to listen to the project of giving admittance to such boys altogether. I mean, a boy ought to be something out of the way; he ought to have positive recommendations of his own personally, to make us think of him — and I do not discern those special tokens of piety and strictness in him, though I do not see any thing to the contrary.

Then it struck us whether he could be in our house — attending the school lessons, and otherwise being apart from the school, serving in the Sacristy etc etc. but then who is to look after him? how is he to employ his day?

On the whole then, unwilling as I am to say it, I conclude it would be better for him to look for his education elsewhere.

Ever Yours affly John H Newman

Sister M. Catharine

¹ See letter of 6 Jan. and also that of 10 Feb. to Catherine Bathurst.

24 JANUARY 1864

TO EDWARD BELLASIS

The Oratory Bm Jan'y 24/64

My dear Bellasis

I was pleased to get your letter with so good an account of your boys. We will be ready for Mr Hostage.¹

As to foreign boys, you know how careful we have been. Of our transatlantic ones, two are Yankees, and one an Irish boy who has lived in Cuba. They are all promising boys, and, as far as we can see, in no respect different from English boys.

I ought before now to have sent you the following extract of a letter I had from Monsell — of course it is private.

Rome Decr 3

'Cardinal Barnabò tells me that two Bishops, one he thinks was Dr Amherst' (yes, the Bishops of the two Universities Dr A. and our Bishop) 'have called the attention of the Propaganda to the Oxford question, who have referred it for report to the Cardinal in London, but nothing is yet decided in the matter. Mgr Talbot spoke to me upon it. He does not appear to me to be very hostile to the Hall project. He asked me whether you were in favour of it. I said that I believed that you saw no objection in principle, although you did see considerable difficulties in the way of carrying it out; that it was untrue that you had expressed any opinion publicly as to the matter, but that on the danger of Catholics going to the present Colleges you had the strongest possible opinion. Manning arrived yesterday.

Dr Smith, who knows well the mind of Propaganda, is strongly opposed to any denunciation of the Hall project. Altogether, my impression is, that *at present* the authorities here are not disposed to condemn it.'²

But Manning will decide, I think, both the Pope and the Cardinal; that is, unless the Catholic laity through England express strongly an opposite view.

J H N

TO HENRY WILBERFORCE

The Oy Bm Jan'y 24/64

My dear Henry

I am very sorry that you should have so much anxiety about dear Wilfrid. However, it is my deliberate judgment, that you should not let him come

¹ John Hostage thought of sending his sons to the Oratory School. In a letter to Bellasis he complained of the harm done when foreign boys, Spanish and Portuguese, were admitted to St Edward's College, Liverpool. He was anxious to see a Catholic college affiliated to one of the old Universities. His son, John, came to the Oratory School in Sept. 1864.

² See letter of 27 Dec. 1863 to Monsell.

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here, till he is much better than he is. We have felt for some time, that, both for his sake and the sake of his schoolfellows, it is bad to have a boy who is half in the school and half out of it. It becomes a principle of irregularity in his form, and it is a great oppression to those who are over him. I assure you that Ambrose was made so nervous by it, that I only waited for the beginning of term to say, that I trusted, if Wilfrid returned now, he would be well enough to be on the footing in all matters of any other boy.¹

I am very sorry so to thwart a plan of yours, but school rules are tyrannical, and we cannot relax them at our will, sincere as that will may be.

I am glad to hear a good account of Harry² — he has had some cold weather, but then in the North coal is quite a drug.³

Ever Yours affectly John H Newman

H W Wilberforce Esqr

MONDAY 25 JANUARY 1864 School met Arnold away (after Scarlet fever this term). I took a large class in the Phormio, which I had expurgated and printed.

TO SOPHIA RYDER

The Oratory Bm Jany 27/64

My dear Child

You must have thought it very unkind in me not to have written to you — but you don't know how busy I am. It would make you laugh if I told you what and how many things I have to do. But I did not neglect your wish: I said Mass for the intention you named to me.

I suppose you too are very busy, and have many anxieties — and much consolation to support you under them. I think of Keble's words, 'When the shore is gained at last, who will count the billows past?'⁴ This day 15 years ago I came into Birmingham and began our abode here. Fifteen years may be called a fourth of a man's life. What a time! Why it was only 15 years, from 1830, when the first steps were laid towards the Oxford movement, to 1845, when, for me, it ended. And then to think what has one been doing all this time?

I was so glad Fr Ambrose managed to give you a call.⁵ Did not you think

¹ Henry Wilberforce's son, Wilfrid, was suffering from St Vitus's Dance. His father suggested that he himself should come as a guest to the Oratory, and share a room with his son, who would attend lessons in the School.

² Henry Wilberforce's son, who had left the Oratory School for Ushaw College, Durham.

³ Drug in the market.

⁴ *The Christian Year*, 'St John the Evangelist,' fifth stanza.

⁵ St John called on Sophia Ryder, Sister Mary of the Sacred Heart, at the Good Shepherd Convent, Glasgow, in Aug. 1863.

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him an old man? he has suffered much from asthma, and he has done far too much.

May our dear Lord bring us all together at the last into His Presence for an eternal rest

Ever Yours affectly in Xt John H Newman of the Oratory

TO EDWARD BELLASIS

The Oratory Bm Jany 28/64

My dear Bellasis

I had intended before now to send you my true congratulations on the prospective event which you have so kindly communicated to me.¹ But I have been busy and wearied out — not neglectful, for I dreamed of you and it last night, with a feeling of great shame that I had not written to you yet.

I wish both you and Mrs Bellasis joy of it with all my heart. Parents alone can sympathise with parents — and therefore I do not pretend to more than to be a spectator and diviner of the joy which you must feel at having the future of one so specially dear to you determined, and that with such happy auguries. I know Dr Charlton only by reputation — but that is no slight or unimportant knowledge, when the reputation is of such a kind as belongs to Dr Charlton.

Mind and give my special congratulations to your daughter, and beg her to let me know the day that I may offer the Holy Sacrifice for her upon it.

Your account of your boys is a great satisfaction to me

Ever Yours affectly John H Newman of the Oratory

Mr Serjeant Bellasis.

TO ALEXANDER MACMILLAN

Jan'y 28. 1864

Private

Dear Sir

I thank you for the February Number of your Magazine just received.

As I think it likely I may have to print my letter to you of January 8, I should be obliged, if you will tell me whether you would like it addressed to

¹ On 24 Jan. Bellasis wrote announcing the engagement of his eldest daughter Margaret to Edward Charlton, of an old Catholic family, a doctor at Newcastle-on-Tyne. They were married on 5 April.

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you by *name*, or to 'X.Y. Esqr' — If you prefer the latter I will take care that there is nothing in the body of my letter to disclose who my correspondent is¹

Yrs faithfully J H N

A. Macmillan Esqr

TO W. RIVINGTON

The Oratory Birmingham Jan 28/64

Private

My dear Sir,

I wish to print a pamphlet, not of theological controversy, but of personal explanation, in answer to a writer of considerable repute in the Established Church. And I want to know whether you will undertake it — and, if so, whether you can print it *at once*.²

Very faithfully Yours John H Newman

W Rivington Esqr

P.S. I do not think it will take two whole sheets.

TO MISS M. R. GIBERNE

The Oratory Bm Jan 29/64

My dear Sister M. Pia

So now you really are our Lord's own possession.³ We have all said Mass for you this morning, and I have been thinking of you, as the day went on. Now you have begun what will last to Eternity — one day, which has no ending. May our dear Lord who has so wonderfully brought you to this, and His Blessed Mother who has brought it about, guide you on safely through all trials till you see them in heaven.

Ever Yours affly in Xt John H Newman

P.S. Your £800 is lodged in Mr Wilberforce's name in his Paris Bank. As to the £100, we have kept it back, because none of us can make head or tail of your letter and its directions. It is a mixture of Mr Wilberforce, Lady Georgiana [Fullerton], iace, francs, and I don't know what besides.

¹ Alexander Macmillan replied on 29 Jan., 'The appearance of my name in connection with this discussion would not I think serve any good end. I will avail myself of the promise you kindly made to consider my letter confidential.'

I have been so busy and occupied in mind that I have not been able to answer the long kind letter with which you honoured me. I confess I am sorry it is to be published — if it is to be — it is an answer to what ought to have been more articulately and carefully expressed on so important a subject and conveys I fear a wrong meaning.'

² Rivington replied on 29 Jan., agreeing to print without delay.

³ Miss Giberne made her profession on 29 Jan. 1864, the feast of St Francis of Sales, in the Visitation Convent at Autun.

29 JANUARY 1864

TO BARTHOLOMEW WOODLOCK

The Oratory, Bm Jan'y 29/64

My dear Dr Woodlock,

I thank you very much for all your zeal and trouble for me in the matter now happily completed, and beg you to convey my acknowledgement to the Episcopal Board for coming into my wishes with such condescending exactness and carrying them through. By this post I send back to Mr Maxwell the deed of Assignment with *a receipt in full*.¹

As, however, you may wish it, I also send you a receipt for the £500 which I have just received of you being the concluding portion of the £2400

I think the plan of Halls etc which you mention to me admirable²

With every kind thought & prayer, I am, My dear Dr Woodlock

Yours most sincerely John H Newman of the Oratory

The Very Revd Mgr Woodlock

SATURDAY 30 JANUARY 1864 Formby went

TO WILLIAM LONGMAN

Jany 30/64

My dear Sir

I have read your kind letter with much pleasure;³ and shall inform Mr Rivington of 52 St John's Square, who prints my pamphlet, of your House being the publishers of it.

It will not run, I suppose, to as much as two sheets, and I must ask you to be so good as to fix the price.

It goes up to the printer Sunday night, and you may begin advertising it as soon as you think fit. I wish it very largely advertised. I have a difficulty to determine the number of copies to be printed, being too much out of the world to form any anticipation of the sale. I shall direct Mr Rivington to ask

¹ On 27 Jan. 1864 Woodlock sent Newman the last instalment of the money due to him by the Irish bishops for the University church in Dublin.

Newman commented, '[[Thus this anxious matter ended. At first sight, on reviewing the correspondence, I seem to myself to have been hard on the Archbishops and not to have entered into their difficulties — but £5600 is a large sum to lose, and, unless I had followed up my rights sharply and perseveringly, those difficulties would have caused me to lose my money. Decr. 16 1872.]]'

² Woodlock, who had acquired a University site north of Dublin, thought that the lecture halls should be within the city, for the benefit of extern undergraduates.

³ Longman had written the previous day, 'Pray do not hesitate to put our name to your pamphlet. We shall be happy to publish it for you.'

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you the question, in case you may be able to give an opinion Its title runs thus: 'Mr Kingsley and etc'¹

I am &c J H N

TO W. RIVINGTON

Jan 30/64

My dear Sir

By Sunday's post I shall send you up the copy of my pamphlet.

I should like a somewhat larger type selected for it. I am much perplexed to determine the number of copies which should be printed of it. If you will take the trouble of asking Messrs Longman, who publish it, and to whom I have written on the point, perhaps they will decide for me. If they cannot, I must ask you the difference of expense press work, paper etc between 500 and 1000 copies²

Very truly Yours J H N

W Rivington Esqr

TO EDWARD BADELEY

The Oratory Bm Jan 31/64

My dear Badeley

I am publishing the correspondence which has passed between Mr Kingsley and me. I don't think you will object to my retaining the following passage, which occurs in one of the letters:³

'Moreover, since sending to Mr Kingsley that judgment, I have received a letter from a friend at a distance, whom I had consulted, a man about my own age, who lives out of the world of theological controversy and contemporary literature, and whose intellectual habits especially qualify him for taking a clear and impartial view of the force of words. I put before him the passage in your January Number, and the writer's proposed Letter in February; and I asked him whether I might consider the letter sufficient for its purpose, without saying a word to show him the leaning of my own mind. He answers:

"In answer to your question, whether Mr Kingsley's proposed reparation is sufficient, I have no hesitation in saying, Most decidedly not. Without

¹ *Mr. Kingsley and Dr. Newman: A Correspondence on the Question whether Dr. Newman teaches that Truth is no Virtue?*

² Rivington wrote on 11 Feb. that at Longman's wish 500 copies were printed. On 27 Feb. Rivington wrote that there had been two further impressions each of 250 copies. On 7 April Longman wrote that 1737 copies had been sold.

³ Letter of 22 Jan. to Macmillan.

I FEBRUARY 1864

attempting to quote any passage from your writings which justifies in any manner the language which he has used in his review, he leaves it to be inferred, that the representation, which he has given of your statements and teaching in the Sermon to which he refers, is the fair and natural and primary sense of them, and that it is only by your declaring that you did not mean what you really and in effect said, that he finds that he made a false charge."¹

The pamphlet will not extend to beyond a sheet and a half. I will send it to you on its appearance.

Ever Yours affectly John H Newman of the Oratory

E Badeley Esqr

TO MICHAEL O'SULLIVAN

The Oratory, Bm Febr'y 1/64

My dear Mr O'Sullivan

After reading the letters in Saturday's Paper,² which you have kindly sent me, it seemed to me (under correction of local circumstances, about which of course I know nothing) that you had no need to write again.

You have effected your object. You have shown that a *case* may be made out for Catholics. You can't expect to prove the truth of their religion, much less to convert the Protestants of Stafford by a letter, or twenty letters, in a Newspaper; but you can show them, and this you have done, that it is not so easy to show Catholicism is false, or that it is not as good as Protestantism, as some people think. 'Common Sense' sums up — and you get off very well.

Of course your weak point is the cultus of our Lady — but so it will be, if you are bound to take St Alfonso's words as *de fide*. I think they would, (taken in the lump,) startle, not to say shock, most Catholics of our latitude (52° N.L.) if the said Catholics were left to themselves — and I do not see why that scandalum should be Pharisaëorum. They may be very well for the South. However, this you cannot say, but there is one thing you may do, — quote two passages one from a very high-church writer, the other a Calvinist, both great authorities. Bishop Hall says something to the effect that Mary may have paid her all worship possible that does not make her God (*I have not given the right words*).³ Keble says, 'Ave Maria, thou whose name, *All but adoring love* may claim.'⁴ I say all this, in case you should think it *necessary* to say more on this branch of your subject. I think it *not* necessary. You must

¹ Newman quotes from Badeley's letter of 17 Jan. Cf. also letter of 3 Feb. to Badeley.

² i.e. in the *Staffordshire Advertiser* for 30 Jan.

³ Joseph Hall (1574-1656), Bishop of Norwich, a Calvinist and anti-Catholic controversialist, wrote, 'O blessed Mary, he cannot bless thee, he cannot honour thee too much, that deifies thee not!' *Contemplations on the Historical Passages of the New Testament*, Book I, Contemplation ii.

⁴ *The Christian Year*, 'The Annunciation of the Blessed Virgin,' ninth stanza.

write a long book to answer Protestants — and for your own people they either see no difficulty in St Alfonso's words, and then nothing is necessary for them — or they do, and then (under our circumstances), nothing is practicable. What is beautiful as devotion, is harsh as dogma — St Alfonso is devotional — but if people do not spontaneously *run with* that devotionality, then it looks to them like dogma and startles them. Subjectively received, it is pleasant — objectively contemplated, it is perplexing

Yours very sincerely John H Newman

TO EDWARD BADELEY

The Oratory Bm Febr 3. 1864

My dear Badeley,

Your letter led me to ask myself whether I ought not to tell you what had happened since I first wrote to you about Mr Kingsley. I forced him to withdraw paragraph 3 and the latter part of paragraph 4, of his letter. Therefore the insolent taunt *went out*. This is why I have not added what you said in your letter on that part of the subject.¹ However, I do not think that omission affects that portion of your criticism which I am publishing. It seems to me that every word of that portion stands as forcible as ever against his letter, as it remains *after* the withdrawal of the paragraphs.

But further, to avoid any mistake, I have noticed at the foot of the page that your criticism is made to the original Letter, which I give in extenso, because I gave him notice, and he acquiesced, that *whatever* he sent me was liable to publication — for of course I could have no private correspondence with a man who had called me a Teacher of Lying, till he had withdrawn that statement.

But now I want to ask you another question. When I first thought of publishing, I said 'I will *reprint* the Sermon on "Wisdom and Innocence."' Then I said to myself decidedly, 'No. That it would damage Mr Kingsley is certain; but then, would it not *practically* damage me too? Let well alone — I have a strong case against him — but, if I reprint the Sermon, I am putting weapons into people's hands against me — I have plenty of ill wishers, and, if I re-print the Sermon at the end of the Pamphlet, they may say "We can't defend Mr K — but still he has something to say for himself. There is an unpleasant, suspicious tone, about the Sermon etc etc." On the other hand, by *not* publishing it, do I not imply that there is something in it which I am

¹ Badeley wrote on 1 Feb., 'I almost wish that you had added to the extract what I said about the insulting and ungentlemanlike paragraph with which Mr K's letter concluded.' The extract from Badeley's letter of 17 Jan., quoted in Newman's letter to him of 31 Jan., continued as follows: 'And so far from making any proper apology, he concludes with a most offensive and insolent sneer — Such an apology, I think, would not be deemed sufficient in any Court of Justice, or in any society of Gentlemen, and I have no hesitation in declaring that I consider it a disgrace to the writer.' Kingsley's letter is that quoted in note to letter of 15 Jan. to Badeley.

ashamed of ? that my case against Mr K. is only 1. the *date* of the Sermon — 2. his not producing passages from it? — leaving the fact, viz: *what* the doctrine of the Sermon is, undecided.

Now let me have your opinion. If you are *against* my publishing, that will *decide* me against it — but if you are for it, I am not quite sure I shall at once be for it too. I'll tell you *whose* opinion I should like to have, viz: Rogers's. Do you know he called here last Summer, and we had a day together? I should like his opinion, 'Whether it would do me *good or harm to publish it*,' not only because he is a shrewd hard headed man, but again because he has what I call a morbid dread of lying; I mean, he suspects ill of Catholic doctrine etc unreasonably, and judges unfairly. If he said, 'This will do him (i.e. *me*) no good,' I would not publish it. If he said, 'He ought to publish it,' I would.

For a second reason I am indisposed to go simply by your judgment here, — not only because you are so warm a friend, but secondly because I want to know, not only what my words do legitimately mean, but also what men who live in the world would say that they *practically imply or suggest*; and Rogers, I take it for granted, lives more in the world than you. But if you can think of any one else, who is 1. not my friend. 2. not a hermit in London, it will fulfil my desideratum.

As to Rogers, my only difficulty in writing to him is this, that he would feel very awkward in giving me his opinion, if it was against me. No one, indeed, who knows me would fancy I had said what Mr K. imputes to me, but a man *might* think 'Well, I don't like the drift of his sermon, and, without even meaning it, the Author certainly has suggested what he should on the contrary have guarded against.' I should have no objection to say 'My dear R. will you send to *Badeley* your judgment, whether, in view of Mr Kingsley's charge,' quoting to him the words of it, 'you think the republication of this Sermon would do more good or harm. I had rather you wrote to *Badeley* not to me.' But then I don't know whether you are on those terms with Rogers to like me to do this.

And now I have said all I have to say — and, hoping you will excuse the rigmarole and the trouble,

I am, My dear Badeley, Ever affectionately Yours,

John H Newman of the Oratory

E. Badeley Esq

P.S. I inclose a letter for you to send as you advise or not. Read it; and don't do any thing unpleasant to yourself.¹

¹ When Badeley was reading Newman's letter of 3 Feb. he received a telegram from Newman, 'My question of last night is too late. I reserve it for a second edition.' Badeley's opinion was that it was not for Newman to republish his sermon, which was already *publici iuris*.

3 FEBRUARY 1864

TO SIR FREDERIC ROGERS

The Oratory, Bm Febr 3. 1864

My dear Rogers,¹

Mr Kingsley has said in Macmillan's Magazine

'Truth, for its own sake, had never been a virtue with the Roman clergy. Father Newman informs us that it need not, and on the whole ought not to be . . . etc'

I am *tempted to re-publish* the Sermon, to which he refers me, in justification of this statement, viz Number XX of my Sermons on Subjects of the Day, 1844 p 331

That I have not said any such thing in that Sermon, I suppose is plain — and is not the question on which my publishing or re-publishing would turn. But there is another and broader question, viz 'Whether on the whole the republication of the Sermon would *do me good or harm* in the controversy with Mr Kingsley, looking at it as a practical question.' It is quite possible for an adviser to say, 'It would expose Mr Kingsley, but I don't think it would do you good with the world. Leave *him* to produce it, and then answer it. Else, you are in some way taking the onus probandi on yourself.'

A glance at the Sermon, such as you can take, will decide the matter — and if you like to take it and if you have an opinion, will you send your answer, *not to me*, but to Badeley at the Temple

Ever Yours affectionately John H Newman

Sir F Rogers Bart

THURSDAY 4 FEBRUARY 1864 H. Gaisford ill

TO EDWARD BADELEY I

Febr 5/64

My dear Badeley

Your letter just come. I write a line to save the post.

I shall have the *whole* sent to you in Revise, before I publish.

You may not like my last three pages of 'Reflections.' If you didn't, I should be tempted to leave them out. But I don't know how I could substitute any thing else for them, because, if one wrote at all, one ought to write *con amore*² Thank you for your advice

¹ Newman wrote afterwards on the autograph, 'sent up to Badeley but not sent on to Rogers, but back here to me.'

² Newman ended his *Mr. Kingsley and Dr. Newman: a Correspondence . . .* with Kingsley's

Ever Yrs affly John H Newman

E Badeley Esq

letter of apology, as it appeared in *Macmillan's Magazine*, (Feb. 1864), p. 368, addressed to the editor:

'Sir,

In your last number I made certain allegations against the teaching of Dr. John Henry Newman, which I thought were justified by a Sermon of his entitled "Wisdom and Innocence" (Sermon 20 of "Sermons bearing on Subjects of the Day"). Dr. Newman has by letter expressed, in the strongest terms, his denial of the meaning which I have put upon his words. It only remains, therefore, for me to express my hearty regret at having so seriously mistaken him.

Yours faithfully,
(signed) Charles Kingsley.

Eversley, January 14, 1864.'

Newman then summarised the correspondence in three pages of 'Reflections on the above:' 'I shall attempt a brief analysis of the foregoing correspondence; and I trust that the wording which I shall adopt will not offend against the gravity due both to myself and to the occasion. It is impossible to do justice to the course of thought evolved in it without some familiarity of expression.

Mr. Kingsley begins then by exclaiming, — "O the chicanery, the wholesale fraud, the vile hypocrisy, the conscience-killing tyranny of Rome! We have not far to seek for an evidence of it. There's Father Newman to wit: one living specimen is worth a hundred dead ones. He, a Priest writing of Priests, tells us that lying is never any harm."

I interpose: "You are taking a most extraordinary liberty with my name. If I have said this, tell me when and where."

Mr. Kingsley replies: "You said it, Reverend Sir, in a Sermon which you preached, when a Protestant, as Vicar of St. Mary's, and published in 1844; and I could read you a very salutary lecture on the effects which that Sermon had at the time on my own opinion of you."

I make answer: "Oh . . . *Not*, it seems, as a Priest speaking of Priests; — but let us have the passage."

Mr. Kingsley relaxes: "Do you know, I like your *tone*. From your *tone* I rejoice, greatly rejoice, to be able to believe that you did not mean what you said."

I rejoin: "*Mean* it! I maintain I never *said* it, whether as a Protestant or as a Catholic."

Mr. Kingsley replies: "I waive that point."

I object: "Is it possible! What? waive the main question! I either said it or I didn't. You have made a monstrous charge against me; direct, distinct, public. You are bound to prove it as directly, as distinctly, as publicly; — or to own you can't."

"Well," says Mr. Kingsley, "if you are quite sure you did not say it, I'll take your word for it; I really will."

My *word*! I am dumb. Somehow I thought that it was my *word* that happened to be on trial. The *word* of a Professor of lying, that he does not lie!

But Mr Kingsley re-assures me: "We are both gentlemen," he said: "I have done as much as one English gentleman can expect from another."

I begin to see: he thought me a gentleman at the very time that he said I taught lying on system. After all, it is not I, but it is Mr. Kingsley who did not mean what he said. "*Habemus confitentem reum*."

So we have confessedly come round to this, preaching without practising; the common theme of satirists from Juvenal to Walter Scott! "I left Baby Charles and Steenie laying his duty before him," says King James of the reprobate Dalgarno: "O Geordie, jingling Geordie, it was grand to hear Baby Charles laying down the guilt of dissimulation, and Steenie lecturing on the turpitude of incontinence."

While I feel then that Mr. Kingsley's February explanation is miserably insufficient in itself for his January enormity, still I feel also that the Correspondence, which lies between these two acts of his, constitutes a real satisfaction to those principles of historical and literary justice to which he has given so rude a shock.

Accordingly, I have put it into print, and make no further criticism on Mr. Kingsley.

J.H.N.'

5 FEBRUARY 1864

TO EDWARD BADELEY II

The Oratory Bm Febr'y 5/64

My dear Badeley

I wrote to you a hasty line this morning in answer to yours of yesterday. I shall send you my revise, if you will take the trouble to read it.

You may easily understand that my maxim is 'Let well alone.' I have a very good case, and I don't wish to spoil it. If then you decide on sweeping out the last three pages, do so. Or, if there is any *word* in them you don't like, tell me.

As to writing any thing else instead, it will be a great difficulty to me — but I will try, should you wish me.

As you will see by the inclosed, I wrote to you the day I received Mr Kingsley's amended Letter.¹ Then I said to myself 'Why am I bothering Badeley about this, when it does not remove the main difficulty, and I know his opinion?' I now think it would have been better to have sent it to you — However, I don't see that any harm is yet done.

Ever Yours affly John H Newman of the Oratory

E Badeley Esqr

P.S. My volume is *dated* Novr 1843. But was not published till the beginning of the new year. Whether it came out before the year ended, I can't tell; but Rivingtons have put 1844 in the Title page.²

I have been attempting all the morning to write something instead of my last three pages of 'Reflections' which you will find in print — and wished to send them up to you — but they are as flat as ditch water, and, after writing them out three times, I cannot get myself to send them up. So, if you think what I have said too strong (and I *really* wish your judgment) I will leave them out, and put nothing instead.

I cannot say to a busy man like you, 'It would be great thing, since there is no Sunday post, to write to me tomorrow —' but I shall understand your kindness, if you can.³

TO THOMAS GAISFORD

The Oratory Bm Febr'y 5/64

My dear Mr Gaisford,

I am sorry to say that Horace is ill. The night before last he was sick. Yesterday morning there was a redness on his chest. We at once put him into

¹ Letter of 20 Jan. to Badeley.

² Badeley wrote on 4 Feb. that Kingsley had wrongly given the publication date of Newman's sermon as 1844. In fact the first edition is dated 1843.

³ For Badeley's reply, on Sunday 7 Feb., see letter of 8 Feb. to him.

5 FEBRUARY 1864

a house separate from the School, though at hand, with a nurse where he is well taken care of. Dr Evans, our doctor, has not even yet said what it is. Before this goes, I shall be able I suppose to tell you. Of course we fear scarlatina. He says two things —

1. that he did not catch it here, if it is the complaint —
2. that he is going on very well.

There is every reason for saying he will have it lightly, if it is the complaint. Of course you shall hear from us continually.

I grieve thus to have to write to you.

Yours very truly John H Newman

T. Gaisford Esqr

7 P M. Even now Dr Evans is unable to say that it is Scarlatina — There is a rash, that alone he knows.

FRIDAY 6 FEBRUARY 1864 his [Gaisford] illness pronounced to be scarlatina

FROM WILLIAM MONSELL

Hotel de la Minerve — Rome Jan 29. [1864]

My dear Father Newman,

The Pope spoke to me of himself about the Oxford hall project — I explained it to him and he said but why should the College altho connected with the University be in the town?

Would it not be better to have it in another place and for the students to come up for examination — My object in going to him was to speak to him on a subject even more important therefore I did not continue the conversation — Manning has now spoken to me of a new project — to take a palace here — to have English tutors and staff — to keep the expenses of education up to £300 a year for each student to make use of scientific lectures given here but as I have said before the whole collegiate staff English — to begin with nine or ten young men of 18 or 19 of good families — The system of education to be based on that of Oxford — The young men would have the entrée into all the best houses here — The English Protestants who wish above all things to get into Roman Society would be at their feet — I give you his description of the scheme and should be very much obliged for your opinion upon it — I am obliged to write in a hurry and want to reserve some space for the more important question about which I had a long conversation with the Pope — There is here an active and most numerous party including, I believe almost all the entourage of the Pope, who have been pressing for the condemnation of the doctrines advocated by Montalembert at Malines — You have probably seen Ward's pamphlet, privately printed — not published¹ — Numerous copies have been sent to Talbot and others here — Every one you speak to almost without exception holds the same views as Ward — You imagine that the President of the Irish College at least will understand the evils of persecution — you go to him and he gives you Muzzarelli on toleration to read and laughs at the idea of any Catholic holding any other doctrine —²

¹ See letter of 6 Jan. to W. G. Ward.

² Tobias Kirby was Rector of the Irish College, Rome, 1848 to 1894. Alfonso Muzzarelli (1749-1813), was an Italian Jesuit and defender of the Papacy, whose chief work *Il buon uso della logica in materia di religione*, Foligno 1787, included a treatise, later reprinted separately, on Toleration, which he equated with indifferentism.

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The defenders of liberal views can be counted on the fingers of one hand, but one of them the Bishop of Orleans is so energetic and able that he is a host in himself — When we meet I will recount to you my long conversation with the Pope — but now I will only tell you how the question stands — The idea of condemning Montalembert has I believe been given up — It is intended to issue a brief or bull containing certain propositions and condemning them — I use the word intended because I believe that the intention exists but I have strong hopes that either it will not be done or that it will be done in a very modified form —¹

My reasons for this hope are that it is shared by the Bishop of Orleans and one other most intelligent man — at present by the Bishop's desire I am endeavouring to get together every authoritative statement that can be found in favour of liberty of conscience —

Of course the work given me is one that I am utterly unfit for but literally no one else can be found to do it — Those who would agree with me would be compromised by the knowledge that they were engaged in such a work [.] Could you give me any passages or references to any bulls brief or statements of theologians that will be useful to me — If we could produce ever so little, the Bishop might fairly ask for delay in order that full researches might be made by competent persons — It seems to me that the real thing to have done would be, 1st to collect authorities and then to subject the theory of persecution to the test of induction — to get some one well up in the history of the last 3 hundred years to investigate the results of persecution in the different countries where it has been tried — I think it would be found as a matter of fact that where the state interferes in religious matters it does more harm than good — State theologians develop into Tanuccis and Pombals and Choiseuls² — Spain the country of the Inquisition and Austria the home of Josephism are the two countries in the world that contribute the least to Peters pence — I have had good opportunities lately of knowing much of the state of things in Naples — It appears that the Piedmontese are hated there and that if only the Catholics were allowed to vote all the town councillors would be elected from the anti Piedmontese party — but they are so hostile here to the idea of an appeal to popular election that I dare say the experiment will not be tried — Surely 90 anti Piedmontese municipal councillors would do more to break down the existing system than the arrival of Austrian troops at Turin — The triduos here to make reparation for the insults offered to our Lord by Renan have been really magnificent' you can have no idea of the crowds that attended them and of the real fervour that pervaded them — I have written this letter in too much haste and I am afraid that it deals very incompletely with the subjects it touches upon.

Ever your affect W M

TO WILLIAM MONSELL

The Oy Bm Feby 6/64

My dear Monsell

I have just received your fearfully important letter and I say what occurs to me at the moment. From what you say I suppose you stay where you are some time; so I will write again. But tell me, for I have not faith in foreign post offices, how am I to know that my letters are not opened?

¹ Thanks to the efforts of Félix Dupanloup, the Bishop of Orleans, this was what happened. Pius IX, after various hesitations, early in March 1864, ordered Cardinal Antonelli to send private letters of complaint and censure to Cardinal Sterckx, Archbishop of Malines, where Montalembert had delivered his *Discourses*, and to Montalembert himself.

² Eighteenth century statesmen who opposed the Church in Naples, Portugal and France respectively.

³ The publication of Joseph Ernest Renan's *La Vie de Jésus*, in 1863, caused a sensation throughout Europe.

Till St Augustine theologians were against using physical force in spiritual matters. He was first against it, then he changed his mind. Then there is the further question about blood. Some divines give the Church the power of the sword — on the other hand there is the famous saying *Ecclesia abhorret a sanguine*, by which I interpret Montalembert's 'abhorrence.' Ward argues that 'abhorrence' implies a sense of shedding of blood being an *injustice*; but I should answer, either it does or it does not; if it does, then the Maxim implies it; if it does not, then Montalembert need not imply it. Cardinal Soglia in a work approved by Pius ix adopts the maxim.¹ He seems to make the Church's power like the paternal — the Father has not power of life and death — but he can punish in ways short of it. Certainly I take this view — and I should think the Pope does. But then I take for granted that the Church has only power over her *children*.

But then comes a further question, which I suppose will be *the* question, Whether the *civil power* may (i.e. has the right) put to death etc etc for religion, *as* religion. The affirmative is *consistent* with the assertion that the Church holds gentleness to be *its own* duty. Well, my notion is that you must hold the affirmative here, in spite of St Athanasius's attacks upon the persecuting Arian Emperors.

Now observe, there never was a man who had his reading so far from well about him as I. I read and forget — and besides, this is a subject to which I had given no special attention.

Of course the Bishop of Orleans knows by heart the case of Belgium and the distinction there made between civil toleration and religious toleration after a hard struggle on the part of the Bishops in favour of the former — who was the hero of it? an Archbishop? Furstenbergh? or what was his name? What a shame I should not know. A book or pamphlet has been written on the subject within the last 15 years.²

But the great question is the *expedience or inexpedience*; for it is the practical question, which is all that we need care for. If we are allowed to say 'I think non-toleration a bad thing,' and 'I will do all I can to promote toleration all over the world,' it is enough. And I can't conceive anything coming out at Rome to interfere with this. Yet it is plain that nothing can be more desirable than to *show* the inexpediency of persecution by instances. But this requires an historian. Acton would do it best. Döllinger has a good deal on the subject in his 'The Church and the Churches.'³

¹ See third note to letter of 6 Jan. to W. G. Ward.

² The reference is to the period after 1815 when Belgium was under Dutch rule. Among other things an oath was demanded of the clergy, accepting religious toleration and the equality of religions. Eventually the Bishops permitted the oath, as being a recognition of the civil toleration of religion. Newman was perhaps confusing this struggle with that for the freedom of the Church in the Austrian Netherlands against Joseph II. It was led by the Cardinal von Frankenberg, and Augustin Theiner wrote a monograph on the subject, *Der Cardinal Johann Heinrich Graf von Frankenberg, Erzbischof von Mecheln, Primas von Belgien und sein Kampf für die Freiheit der Kirche und die bischoflichen Seminarien unter Kaiser Joseph II*, Freiburg-im-Breisgau 1850, French translation, Paris 1852.

³ Cf. letter of 17 June 1863 to Monsell and McDougall, pp. 150-1.

There is another ground of expedience, which of course would create wry faces, if mentioned to your friends and therefore inadmissible; but I believe very true; and that is that the presence of Protestantism, where it is tolerated, stirs up Catholics and keeps them from sinking into a low carnal state, into tyranny, superstition, and immorality. It is a *sort of persecution* against Catholics; and a very profitable one. It is unpleasant here in Birmingham, to be mistrusted and misrepresented, but even in this extreme state of things we gain great good from it.

But observe what Gregory xvi says in a Brief in 1832 (of course it is not binding on our faith,) 'Atque ex hoc putidissimo indifferentismi fonte absurda illa fluit ac erronea sententia, seu potius deliramentum, assertendam esse ac vindicandam cuilibet libertatem conscientiae. Cui quidem pestilentissimo errori viam sternit plena illa atque immoderata libertas opinionum, quae in sacrae et (N.B.) *civilis* rei labem, late grassatur, dictitantibus per summam impudentiam nonnullis, aliquid ex eâ commodi in religionem promanare.'¹

But then Lacordaire in 1835 says 'La société civile, profondément divisée repose aujourd'hui sur un principe absolument contraire, la pleine et entière liberté des cultes.' Conférences vii²

Would not Brownson's works give some good references?

Stanislas [Flanagan] I dare say would help you with references, but I did not like, without your permission, to think of mentioning the subject to him.

As to a College *out of* Oxford dependent on Oxford. 1. The University does not allow of such a thing, and, till things are much changed, will not. 2. Catholic Gentlemen will not care for such a College; they wish their sons to go to *Oxford*.

As to the plan of a Roman English University, I think the projectors of it must be mad.³

Ever Yrs affly J H N

TO MRS WILLIAM FROUDE

The Oratory, Bm Febr. 7. 1864

My dear Mrs Froude,

As to dear Mary, I cannot be surprised at your being down about her.⁴ As to your anxiety about her religion, I think you may simply dismiss it from

¹ Encyclical *Mirari vos*, 15 Aug. 1832, against Lamennais. Denzinger-Schönmetzer, *Enchiridion Symbolorum*, 2730-1.

² *Conférences de Notre Dame de Paris*, I, Paris 1849, p. 151.

³ Monsell wrote from Rome on 5 March, about a meeting there to discuss Catholic university education in England. Manning told him that 'the object of the meeting was to consider the best plan of founding a Catholic university in England and that any discussion of any other plan, such as that of a Catholic college at Oxford, would not be permitted.'

⁴ Mrs Froude's second daughter, Mary Catherine (1848-64) had the family disease, tuberculosis, and died on 30 May.

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your mind. Of course it is indescribably better in every way, in this life, and on the death bed, and between death and judgment, and after that in eternity, to have been in Catholic communion, but it cannot be said that she is old enough or has seen or thought enough to have *rejected* grace offered her — and, while you do all you can to make her a Catholic, up to the point of teasing or unsettling her, which would only be so much harm, you must leave her to that God who loves her more than you can love her, and as to whom you can only say that, while He loves her, He has shown greater mercies to her sister and brothers. It still may be His purpose to convert her, but you may have a cheerful hope about her even though she died a Protestant. I will do my best to second your prayers for her.¹

Ever Yrs affly John H. Newman

TO EDWARD BADELEY

The Oratory Bm Febr'y 8/64

My dear Badeley

Your letter just received is a great relief to me.² I was employed still concocting ditch water to my great disgust instead of the champagne when your letter greeted me. It is a real comfort to have the opinion of another person, and especially yours.

I much fear, or rather know, that that Advertisement is printed off.³

I feel the want of some notice on my part about the Sermon, but I did not put it into the Correspondence, because it would be putting myself on the defensive. If I can bring any thing in, I will.

As to the extract from Kingsley's Article, I think it will disgust multitudes

¹ Mrs Froude wrote on 19 Feb. after a bad report on her daughter's health, 'I cannot prevent myself from regretting that the dear child is not a Catholic, as I know she loses *that* which would sustain and cheer her through all she may have to suffer. I feel hopeful that she is careful about saying her prayers, — and she is very regular in wishing to have the Psalms and Lessons read to her, which I read every morning to her the first thing; — and then, if she is tolerably well, she always wishes for a "Newman," which (as you may suppose) is one of your sermons, — which she always enjoys greatly, — and quite appreciates and seems to enter into the arguments.

We have got on to the middle of the 5th volume: — and when we have finished, she intends me to begin again, and read them through. Her power of entering into them makes me think that, if her life had been spared, she would have joined us.'

² Badeley wrote on 7 Feb., 'I have read the Pamphlet twice, and see no necessity for any alteration — still less for omitting the "Reflections" — I do not think them at all too strong, and, as I told you yesterday that I expected to find them, they are *Champagne* rather than "ditchwater."

³ Badeley thought Newman had not spoken strongly enough in the Advertisement at the beginning of his pamphlet. It said, 'To prevent misconception, I think it necessary to observe, that, in my Letters here published, I am far indeed from implying any admission of the truth of Mr. Kingsley's accusations against the Catholic Church, although I have abstained from making any formal protest against them.'

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of Protestants, if they read it; Puseyites, antiquarians, and latitudinarians. It is simple ultra-Protestant blasphemy¹

Many, many thanks

Ever Yrs affly John H Newman

TO CHARLES SCOTT STOKES

Febr 8/64

My dear Mr Stokes

I ought to have written to you several days before this. We had a consultation about John on the 2nd.²

We think this of him: — that at present he gives good promise of having a vocation, and we are ready and desirous to keep him on. But there comes this difficulty; boys change; what will he do, if he finds (say) three years hence that his views are not what they were, and he has no longer a desire for the ecclesiastical life? This will be no reproach to him, and it often happens. Will he not in that case have lost the three years for the purposes of any secular pursuit, and have to begin life again?

We cannot satisfactorily answer this question. Both he and we too must have full liberty, as time goes on, to form a judgment on the point, whatever it may be. All I can say is this, that we will take care to advance his education while he is with us, so that he will not have lost even for secular objects so important a portion of his youth, should it be God's will that such should be his vocation.³

I am &c J H N

TO WILLIAM LONGMAN

Febr 9/64

Dear Sir

I do not know what your custom is, whether to send copies of books which you publish to the journals and periodicals, or to supply them as each applies for them. But do with my pamphlet as you do ordinarily.

¹ Badeley wished Newman could have omitted from his pamphlet, pp. 5–8, the long preliminary extract from the review of Froude's *History of England*, in which Kingsley had made his attack, *Macmillan's Magazine*, (Jan. 1864), pp. 216–17.

² John Scott Stokes had been at the Oratory School 1859–62, and had then gone to work in the Portuguese Office in London. He wanted to be a priest, and at the end of 1863 came to the Oratory in the hope of being able to study there for the purpose. Newman promised to settle the matter on 2 Feb. 1864. See also letter of 24 Feb. to Allies.

³ Charles Scott Stokes replied on 14 Feb. that the time his son passed at the Oratory 'will have been of more practical benefit to his mental and moral training — and therefore to his future worldly prospects — than if he had spent the same number of months in the daily drudgery of an office.' John Scott Stokes continued his education at the Oratory, and taught for a while in the Oratory School, until he left to make a career in the Post Office.

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I should like a copy sent to 'Messrs Macmillan,' and one to 'Revd Charles Kingsley, care of Messrs Macmillan.'

Yours very faithfully John H Newman

W Longman Esqr

TO W. RIVINGTON

Febr 9/64

My dear Sir

I should like 50 copies of my Pamphlet sent down to me here, in one or two parcels as is most convenient to you. Perhaps you will be good enough to write on one of them the number of copies printed.

Very truly Yours J H N

W Rivington Esqr

TO CATHERINE ANNE BATHURST

The Oratory, Bm Febr. 10/64

My dear Child,

I have had a conversation with young Wing, and told him the arrangement, that he was to go to Clifton next Monday. I told him that his backwardness in Latin would be a real difficulty in the School here. We can speak very well of him — he has been excellently behaved, and we all like him.¹

I feared that it was so that you had had a great loss — It must have been great suffering to you. I will say a Mass for your intention²

Ever Yrs affly John H Newman of the Oratory

Sister M. Catharine

TO ALEXANDER MACMILLAN

Febr'y 10/64

Dear Mr Macmillan,

I have directed Messrs Longman to send you a copy of my Pamphlet, and one for Mr Kingsley, which I should feel obliged by your forwarding to him.

It is a great pain to me, as much as it can be to you, that I should be forced

¹ See letters of 6 and 24 Jan. 1864 to Catherine Bathurst. Francis Wing now left the Oratory School for the Catholic Grammar School at Clifton.

² Catherine Bathurst's mother, Caroline, daughter of Earl Castle Stewart, died on 15 Jan. 1864.

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to this public protest and record on the subject of his language about me. At my age, and with my occupations controversy bears hard upon me. For a while, I tried hard to make myself contented with the private remonstrance which I was making and with his apology in the Magazine, whatever it should be —, — though from the first I contemplated the possibility of publication. But my deliberate judgment revolted from what I felt would be cowardice. Had Mr Kingsley shown a particle of the frankness which your own letter displayed, my trouble would have been spared. All of us are liable to error; it is a pity when any of us forget it. For myself, I can truly say that, had he, in his justification, been able, contrary to my expectation, to produce any passage from any work of mine, of an ambiguous character, I should have felt obliged to him for giving me the opportunity of explaining it; and the candour, which I feel I could have shown myself, when assailed, I had a right to expect in him, the assailant. The absence of it in him has obliged me to be severe; but, after all, my severity in my necessary defence is far less than the severity of his unprovoked attack.

The beginning of strife is like the letting out of waters; a conflict upon a narrow field often leads to discursive controversy. I earnestly trust this will not be verified in the present instance; but I am prepared for any issue, and shall cheerfully sacrifice my time and trouble to an irksome duty, should it unhappily be such.

Meanwhile, I shall retain a pleasant recollection of yourself and am &c

J H N

FRIDAY 12 FEBRUARY 1864 my Pamphlet in answer to Kingsley appeared¹

TO T. W. ALLIES

The Oratory Bm Feb. 12./64.

My dear Allies,

I return to you the clever and shocking Article which you have sent me. I had already heard of it, but had not seen it. It is worse than shocking. I mean, it is fearful and formidable. Fearful, because it expresses a growing opinion, formidable, because it requires large views of things to meet it. Of course a Christian mind revolts from it, but, if we must go to argument, it requires a treatise. For this reason, at first sight, I doubt whether I should *dare* to publish it, as a mere illustration of what of old was the heathen view, lest it

¹ *Mr. Kingsley and Dr. Newman: A Correspondence.* The correspondence was preceded by the long extract from Kingsley's review of Froude's *History of England*, and followed by the 'Reflections' printed in note to first letter of 5 Feb. to Badeley.

should do harm to young and curious minds, but I only give this as my *primâ facie* opinion.¹

Most Private

Why then, you will say, do not such persons as myself take it up as the theme of a dissertation? Do not show such poor consideration for me as to think I cannot tell the difference between a lion's pat and a gnat's sting.² The more I know of Döllinger's views (I mean in his German works) the more I find I agree with him. I agree with the SUBSTANCE of what I know of Montalembert's views. I could not write a book and not *show* this; as well might a bird fly without wings, as I write a book without the *chance*, the *certainty* of saying something or other (not, God forbid! against the Faith) but against the views of a particular school in the Church, which is dominant. I cannot accept as of faith, what is not of faith; who can? I cannot, as I said before, work without elbow room. I cannot fight under the lash, as the Persian slaves. To be the slave of Christ and of His Vicar, is perfect freedom; to be the slave of man is

¹ Allies wrote on 11 Feb. to Newman, 'You have only one lecture now to read — would you put with it as a note to be attached to it the article which I enclose from the *Saturday Review*, an admirable sketch of the prevailing antagonist view.' The lecture Newman had still to read was one on the moral revolution wrought by Christianity, now Lecture IV in *The Formation of Christendom*, London 1865, pp. 216–71.

The article Allies enclosed, and which he did not in the end attach to his Lecture, was evidently 'The Auto da Fé at Santiago,' the *Saturday Review*, (6 Feb. 1864), pp. 156–7. In the evening of 8 Dec. 1863, just as devotions in honour of the Immaculate Conception were beginning in the Jesuit church at Santiago in Chile, fire broke out. The church, which had a wooden roof, was festooned with thousands of lights and the flimsiest decorations. There were three thousand people in the crowded church, three-quarters of them women, mostly young and including nearly all those belonging to the wealthier classes of the city. Very soon the doors were blocked and two thousand people were burned to death, their rescuers and relatives outside powerless to help them. Cf. letter of 12 Feb. to Miss Holmes.

This hideous catastrophe was the occasion of the article in the *Saturday Review*, which spoke of the Immaculate Conception as 'the most powerful doctrine which has ever been invented for working on the physico-religious emotions of women. An hysterical doctrine will never be without a crowd of female devotees. The Month of Mary is but the revival of the mystical orgies of Cybele. . . . It is no justification of the Chilian priesthood that the Chilian women are in intelligence, or in taste, little above those who used to weep for Thammuz.'

The final paragraph stated: 'The moths who flutter round the Roman candle have been perhaps for a moment singed into common-sense. But the doctrine to the promulgation of which the Santiago conflagration is directly to be traced goes deeper into the human heart than its outside glare and theatrical bustle. It represents the last aggression made by an authority which has committed many treasons against the mind of man, against human feelings, and against the most sacred relations of humanity. Failing in its grasp on the intelligence of man, Rome has thought, by redoubling its care of the cultus of the Virgin to secure that hold on the passions of women which it can no longer maintain over the human reason. . . . If religion attempts to gain an indirect and sinister influence by ministering or pandering to the follies, the weakness, the ignorance, or the passions of any part of the social body; if it draws or attempts to draw the line between man's reason and woman's sentiment, stimulating the one and affecting to despise the other; if it tampers with family relations, if it calls up fanaticism or plays with the abject terrors of religious fear, it may be popular, but its popularity will end in showers of living fire. . . .'

² See letter of 20 Jan. to Mrs Allies. Allies wrote on 11 Feb. 'I am very sorry you have not been writing on Nature and Grace. . . . I don't like that you should take the puncture of a gnat for the scratch of a lion. But nature and grace was no invention of mine — it had been said for a long time that you had been engaged on some great work.'

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as bad in the mind as in the body. Never, as I know, was it so with the Church, as it is now, that the acting authorities as [at] Rome (you must not draw conclusions from what I say. It is difficult to say neither too little nor too much) have acted on the individual thinker without buffers. Mere error in theological opinion should be met with argument, not authority, at least by argument first.

Ever Yrs J H N.

P.S. I congratulate you on your diligence, and hope my slowness in writing has not embarrassed it. I never objected to what you said of the slave-system of the 'high born Roman nobles' or 'Whigs,' but the slave system generally.¹

N.B. The Cardinal has *suo periculo* given out I was engaged in some great work, when he could know NOTHING about it, because it was not true. Here it has been put about generally.

TO EDMUND BURKE

Febry 12/64

My dear Sir

I return your Son's natural and touching letter. We have no difficulty in receiving him; but, while we do so, I think it will be satisfactory to you, if I make the following remarks.²

He is older than we commonly take boys. Moreover, each school has its own system; if he came here, he might find himself at a disadvantage from the circumstance that our standard and course of studies may be different from what he had been used to. And I am not certain, from the tone of his letter, whether he might not find any new school acquaintance whatever strange to him at his age, so that it might in the event turn that he was as uncomfortable here as at Oscott.

Accordingly we should wish you to allow us to tell you frankly at a suitable interval what we think of the expediency of his remaining here.

We shall be pleased to see you next week, as you propose³

I am, My dear Sir, Faithfully Yours John H Newman

Edmund Burke Esqr

¹ See letters of 8 and 10 Nov. 1863 to Allies.

² Edmund Burke's only son, Henry, after five years at St Edward's School, Liverpool, had been sent in Sept. 1863 to school at Oscott. From there, his father told Newman on 9 Feb., 'he writes he feels downright unhappy and miserable.' Burke, who was Deputy Lieutenant for the City of Cork, asked that his son might be admitted to the Oratory School.

³ Henry Burke, when the choice was put to him, preferred to remain at Oscott.

12 FEBRUARY 1864

TO MISS M. R. GIBERNE

The Oratory, Bm Feby 12/64

My dear Sister M. Pia,

Father Edward will send you the £100 directly. He could not do it before, *because*, till your letter of this morning, we did not know whether you wanted it *sent* to you, *or* whether you wanted *us* to *pay bills* with it to Lady G. Fullerton, Mrs Wilberforce etc etc. It was not a matter of writing English, but of giving us a plain direction

Ever Yours affly in Xt John H Newman of the Oratory

Sister M. Pia.

TO MISS HOLMES

The Oratory Bm Feby 12/64

My dear Miss Holmes,

I am very well, thank you — and thought my silence would tell you so. It would be very good news to hear that your prospects were settled for you.

It is odd to me that you should ever be comparing Gothic with other styles. I go into any Church, and can be happy there, whatever the style of architecture is. As to those poor Chilians, they say that they *would* have so many lights — that it was simply the people's doing — though whose madness it was to have camphine, I don't know. As to the muslin, I suppose it is the bad taste of an half educated people as operatic music is.¹

We have had a fright of scarlatina in the School — but I trust it is going off. I think Schoolmasters have the cares of all parents at once on their head, with a responsibility to the parents besides.

I have nothing to tell you. Thank you for Mrs Leigh's kind message, and with all friendly regards to her and Mr Leigh, I am, My dear Miss Holmes,

Affectly Yours in Xt John H Newman of the Oratory

Miss Holmes

TO EMILY BOWLES

The Oratory Bm Feby 13/64

My dear Sister Emily

It is very sad indeed to hear you have been so ill. I thought of course you were abroad. Well, it seems a token of God's will towards you. What trials you

¹ The Jesuit church at Santiago in Chile, the scene of the calamity on 8 Dec. 1863, was described as a sea of muslin and drapery, festooned with thousands of oil lamps. Camphine is 'the commercial name of an illuminating oil procured by distillation from common turpentine.' O.E.D.

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have had! I do hope you are getting well. Please, keep me au courant about yourself. Oh what a thing life is! and how objectless to most of us, unless there were a future! We seem to live and die as the leaves; but there is One who notes the fragrance of every one of them, and, when their hour comes, places them between the pages of His great Book.

And the book you have sent me is a kind of type of that rich Book of Life.¹ I wonder over the vast toil which it implies — and don't know how enough to thank you for the love towards me it shows[,] to have wrought out a present so beautiful and so perfect. How many hours must I have been, at least virtually and by implication, in your thoughts! I feel how very unworthy I am of such kindness — and I only hope that that minute, persevering diligence, which is but another form of a multitude of prayers for me, may bear fruit in my own soul, and return in numberless blessings upon your head. May we all meet, who 'love the Lord Jesus Christ in incorruption,'² where there is no separation and no change!

I have nothing to tell you about myself. Mr Arnold has had the scarlatina and is away. In consequence I am helping to take his place, and have printed an expurgated Edition of Terence's *Phormio*, and am lecturing a lot of boys in it. We are as yet very fortunate in our boys — and, if I could believe it to be God's will, would turn away my thoughts from ever writing any thing, and should see, in the superintendence of these boys, the nearest return to my Oxford life — for, to my surprise, I find that Oxford 'men' and schoolboys are but varieties of one species, and I think I should get on with the one as I got on with the other — but no one will, or ventures to say to me 'Give up writing' — so I am between two bundles of hay

Ever Yours affectly, John H Newman

TO SAMUEL TIMMINS

Febr 15/64

Dear Sir

I beg you will have the kindness to present on my behalf my best thanks to the President and Members of the Shakespeare Club for the honor of their invitation of me to their Soiree on the 22nd of April next, in commemoration of the Tercentenary of Shakespeare's birth.³

It would have given me great pleasure to accept it, were it in accordance with my habits of life to take part in any proceedings of a public nature; but as this is not the case, I lose no time in signifying to you, as you wish me to do, that it will not be in my power to avail myself of it.

J H N

¹ Emily Bowles had just sent Newman a service book for Benediction, made by herself.

² *Ephesians*, 6:24.

³ This was to be held at the Royal Hotel, Temple Row, Birmingham. Timmins wrote that Newman was invited 'as representing Literature'.

16 FEBRUARY 1864

TO EDWARD BADELEY

The Oratory Bm Febr'y 16/64

My dear Badeley

I have taken your hint and sent the Pamphlet to the Clubs¹

As to the emendations, I could not do more than I did. I thought over the idea of declaring Mr K's [Kingsley] reference to the matter of Sermon XX to be *absurd* — but I could not find a place, at which it might naturally be introduced — and then besides, the whole Pamphlet is *negative* on my part — I put *him* on his *onus probandi*.

This is why I altered the Advertisement no more than I did — More would have interfered with its logic, which any how is not very clearly expressed.² What I meant to say was 'No one must *infer* from the circumstance that I do not *notice* Mr K's ecclesiastical views, that *therefore* I agree with them. I was only guarding myself against an *inference* — not *deducing* any thing at all. To have put a *Protest* against his views into the Advertisement would have been opening a new line of discussion. The question was not about what *he* said, but about what *I* did *not* imply. I put it in, strictly and solely, to *defend* myself — not by way of attacking him. However, I am only explaining how I have come to do no more, not standing up for its being the best thing I could have written

Ever Yrs affly John H Newman

E. Badeley Esqr

TO MRS HENRY BOWDEN

The Oratory Bm Febr'y 16/64

My dear Mrs Bowden

Mrs Wootten has shown me your letter. It is true that young Gaisford has had the scarlatina. It was off him before we had well known what it was. Dr Evans is clear he did not catch it here. He was separated from the School premises two days before it declared itself. Had there been any real cause for alarm, we should have let the parents know. I wrote a long letter to Mrs [F.R.] Ward a day or two ago, asking her to make use of it, if necessary. Will it be asking you too much to beg you to ask it of her? It is close upon post time, and I have only just seen your letter, or I would say more.

¹ Badeley on 15 Feb. recommended that copies of *Mr. Kingsley and Dr. Newman* should be sent to 'the Athenaeum Club, the University Club, and the Oxford and Cambridge Club — perhaps also the Stafford (Catholic) Club'.

² Cf. second note to letter of 8 Feb. to Badeley.

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He was taken ill a fortnight ago, the day after tomorrow. Every boy is as well as he possibly can be.

Ever Yours affectly in Xt John H Newman of the Oratory

Mrs Bowden

P.S. Willie looks to me better than when he came back — but I know very little how to judge of his looks, and am sorry to hear what he tells you of his headaches.

TO MRS HENRY BOWDEN

Febry 17/64

My dear Mrs Bowden

This morning I am in possession of a copy of my Letter to Mrs Ward. I inclose it. Hitherto every thing confirms Dr Evans's opinion, that Gaisford brought the complaint with him; and, since he was removed off our premises before it took the form of Scarlatina, Scarlatina has never been in the School

Ever Yours most sincerely in Xt John H Newman of the Oratory

Mrs Bowden

TO THOMAS HARPER, S.J.

The Oratory Bm Febry 18/64

My dear Fr Harper

I thank you with all my heart for your kind letter, and I shall keep it as a pledge of what you say, that there are many, though I am removed from them, who do not forget me, nor the special needs which a person of my age has on their religious thoughts and good prayers.

When I say that I am 'unpopular' and 'down,' I state what is a simple fact, but not at all in the way of complaint or regret.¹

It is impossible that the thought of me should remain so steadily in the minds of the religious parties who do not agree with me, if I were not still doing work. I accept it as a token that I am still feared, because I am still abused, and, to take the case of Oxford itself, I have within this week been shown the following most astonishing extract from the letter of an *Ultra-liberal* resident there of high name — In quoting it, I must beg you not to show it about, as it was written in the confidence of private friendship: 'We

¹ Harper wrote on 17 Feb. to express his 'disgust at the shameless and wanton insult offered you by the Revd C. Kingsley' and to thank Newman for his Pamphlet.

Harper added, in reference to the letter of 8 Jan. to Macmillan, 'I would not dare to obtrude my own opinion against your own judgment that you are unpopular and down; but I think I may safely say that there are multitudes still in the city of confusion who look out wistfully now, as in past years, for the writings of Dr Newman.'

18 FEBRUARY 1864

are all becoming High Church again as fast as we can, a fact which it is difficult for the country to understand. It is so nevertheless. England will awake one morning, astonished to find itself Tractarian.'

But further than this, let me say to you, (what I trust I may say without taking a liberty in speaking so personally about myself,) that I take this long penance of slander and unpopularity, which has been on me for thirty years, nay rather I have taken it almost from the time when that thirty years began, — and have said so indeed more or less clearly in print, — as the price I pay for the victory, or at least the great extension, of those principles which are so near my heart; — and, I think, while I live, I shall go on paying it, because I trust that, even after my life, those principles will extend

Very sincerely Yrs John H Newman

TO PATRICK LEAHY, ARCHBISHOP OF CASHEL

The Oratory, Bm Feby 18/64

My dear Lord

I ask your acceptance of a small pamphlet which I send by this post, hoping that it will recall your kind thoughts of me, and gain for me your blessing.

It gives me an opportunity of thanking you for the termination of the long negotiation about my Church, which troubled me so much, and which I have at length got through, in great measure through your persevering kindness.

I am, My dear Lord, Yr affte Servt in Xt
John H Newman of the Oratory

His Grace The Lord Archbp of Cashel

TO MRS T. W. ALLIES

The Oratory, Bm Feb. 20./64

My dear Mrs Allies,

Thank you for the beautiful lace which you have worked for me. It is not the way to make me give up the Sacristy, thus to bribe me to stay there. But I would gladly give it up, but, when you talk as you do about it, *you do not realize our great want of hands.*¹ We have the home mission which includes Harborne. We have Smethwick with schools on it, two miles off. We have the work house with 600 general confessions a year in it, and with old men and women, young careless women, and a lot of children. We have poor schools at the Oratory. We have the duties of the Church and the confessional, with a host

¹ Mrs Allies said on 21 Jan., 'Your friends want you to write upon some subject of the day . . .'

22 FEBRUARY 1864

of penitents who live out of our parishes and must be visited in sickness. We have the gentlemen Boy's School with 60 to 80 boys and its masters, dames and servants; we have our own Community duties including Fr Minister's, Sacristan's, Prefect of Music's, Novice Master's and the Ruling Deputatio — none of these duties sham, — and together with me we have but seven Fathers. The consequence is that we are all over worked. The day before yesterday two Fathers had to go to bed, and a third had to go to a doctor.

Ever Yrs most sincerely J H Newman

TO RICHARD HOLT HUTTON

The Oratory Birmingham Feby 22. 1864

Dr Newman presents his compliments to the Editor of the Spectator Newspaper, and hopes that he is not taking a liberty by offering him his best thanks for the flattering notice he has taken of him in his remarks last week upon his recent Pamphlet.¹

The Editor of the Spectator Newspaper

TO JOHN WALLIS

The Oratory Birmingham Feby 22. 1864

My dear Mr Wallis

I thank you for the very kind notices of my Pamphlet which you have put in to the Tablet.² It is a pleasure to me to be brought in to your thoughts, for it enables me to ask you for your good prayers for one who has now passed his great climacteric

Yours very sincerely in Xt John H Newman

TO W. J. COPELAND

The Oratory, Bm Feby 23/64

My dear Copeland

Thank you for your affectionate letter. It is awful to be such an age.³ It is indeed a calm and quiet time, like the little summer of St Martin's — and, had I not too much to do, and were not I haunted with misgivings that I ought to do more in the way of writing books, than I am doing, I should be

¹ For the *Spectator* article and Hutton's reply to Newman see at 26 Feb.

² The *Tablet*, (20 Feb. 1864), pp. 120 and 122-3, contained a leading article on *Mr. Kingsley and Dr. Newman*, and a review.

³ Copeland wrote on 20 Feb., 'Having, as I trust, reached in health your grand Climacteric! long may you yet be spared!'

too happy. Also, I have anxious thoughts, as I suppose most old men have, what will become of those who are nearest to me, when I am gone.

Many, many thanks for the trouble to which you are putting yourself about Rivington.¹ I don't know his worth now, as a publisher. The copyrights of the Sermons are mine — i.e. virtually. I transferred them to William Froude, merely for convenience, some years ago — and he was kind enough to take them. As to Rivington, I want *him* to take the edition, because I have not money to undertake it myself — but, if he makes it a favour, I should be inclined to look elsewhere. You see, a publisher's *undertaking* it, is the token of its being likely to sell. If I were sure of the money coming *back* to me, and that tolerably soon, I would try to raise the money myself; but the very fact that a publisher cannot be found, is an argument against that certainty. Longman would not undertake it, I am sure — I doubt not he would let me *publish* with him, I bearing all the expenses — but then comes the question, *what* publisher will command the widest sale for them, being what they are? will Longman? In this respect, I think Rivington would be the best. I don't know what you mean by 'Few words to Montalembert?'² If it is Ward's, I wrote to express my strong dissent from it. It is a received maxim in the Church, 'Ecclesia abhorret a sanguine —' and I can't conceive why M. may not give utterance to it.

Thanks for your trouble about the Christian Remembrancer. *We want Number 56, April 1847*, the second half of volume 13. Those which *we have* are as follows

vol 11 Numbers 51, 52	Jany June 1846
12 53, 54	July Decr 1846
13 55 +	Jany + 1847
14 57, 58	July Dec 1847

Ever Yrs affly John H Newman

We send you our best love.

TO MRS JOHN MOZLEY

The Oratory, Bm Feby 23/64

My dear Jemima,

Thank you for your affectionate letter. I have now passed my great climacteric, and am older than my Mother when she died. Hitherto old age has

¹ Copeland had, at Newman's request, discussed with John Rivington the republication of *Parochial and Plain Sermons*. Rivington thought the demand might be limited, but Copeland wrote, 'should he on whatever ground demur, Longman would probably undertake the matter, but all depends upon how the matter stands about the copyright'. Newman had transferred the copyright of his Anglican works to William Froude. See letter of 11 March 1853 to him.

² Copeland wrote, 'I have been reading a certain "*Few Words*" to Montalembert: On Civil Intolerance and Religious Error, and well may ask, Cui Bono? Methinks all Christendom has had enough and more than enough to do with civil governments for good or for evil.' See letter of 6 Jan. 1864 to W. G. Ward.

come on me like the falling snow, so gently that I cannot realize it. I am better now than I have been for years, judging by any phenomena which I can detect. That I am getting thinner and thinner, is the exception, its outward indication, if it be one. I get up earlier than I used to do at Oxford — earlier perhaps than any time of my life, except when I was a boy at Alton, and used to read every morning at a spell from 5 till 9. The last two years I have, at my own suggestion, taken to the shower bath, which I used in Oriel — When I was an undergraduate, I used to bathe through the winter in the cold baths at Holywell — and indeed no medicine is like it. It requires indeed to be well to be able to stand it — that I am able to use the shower bath now, is a proof how substantially strong I am. I take it not later than six o'clock, and this is the second winter which I have gone through with it. It has done me wonderful good in various ways; and among others in preserving me from cold. I do not know whether you recollect, that, when I was young, I never used a great coat in winter, and used to go up to London outside the coach with nothing but my ordinary coat on. I could not do that now — I am very warmly clad from head to foot. There is a lady, whom I have never seen, who is ever throwing flannels and silks at me, in spite of my protesting, and sometimes sending them back.¹ I could not carry more clothes, without becoming a beast of burden, nor could I do with less. I go as far as I can go without passing the line of demarcation. Slender clothing then is not my boast — but the shower bath has wonderfully kept me from colds. I have not had a really bad one for all but two years — though I have had several bad threatenings and need to be very careful. I wish I heard from you a better account of yourself.

Ever Yrs affly J H N

TO T. W. ALLIES

Feb. 24/64

My dear Allies,

I cannot better in a few words set right your notion about my relations towards the man you mention, than by saying that I have given him no testimonial, nor has he asked me for one, nor did I know that he was standing.²

When we first knew Bm [Birmingham], say 18 years ago, he was a sub sacristan or devotional server at St Chad's or the Convent. When he [we]

¹ This was Jane Todd, a friend of Canon Walker, at Scarborough. She felt that she owed her spiritual life and peace to Newman. See Index.

² Allies wrote on 23 Feb. to Newman that a new Catholic School Inspector was about to be appointed, who would have to be approved by the Catholic Poor School Committee, of which Allies was secretary. One of the candidates was Charles Scott Stokes. (His name has been carefully cut out in the correspondence, but the letters make quite clear who is meant.) Henry Wilberforce, who was himself a candidate, had written confidentially to Allies, evidently raising objections to Stokes, and ended by suggesting that the case should be referred to 'some judicious adviser of' Stokes. Allies, in writing to Newman, enclosed Wilberforce's letters.

came to Alcester Street, he was, I think, one of our penitents. But whether he had any one Father for his Director, I do not know. He made a handsome offering to the Sacristy in St Philip's name. I suspect the Great Firm (Crystal Palace builders?) broke, before we came to Edgbaston or about that time, and he left Birmingham, and his family too, I suppose.¹ I never saw them, nor heard of any house they had here. Then he went to France. His brother took care of his children, and sent one of them to our school.² He left and got into an office in London within this two years. Within this half year his Father called on us. We had not seen him for 10 or 12 years, except perhaps once when he was for a day in Birmingham. He asked us to let us have his son about the Oratory, with the *chance* of his having a vocation. As he is quite a boy I gave him little hopes of his having one, but from our great want of hands, we took him as a helper in the Sacristy, though how long he will stay is of course quite uncertain.

I have never had any sort of intimate communication with the Father, and therefore you now are a judge how far I can be called 'his friend,' as you say, or his 'adviser.' However, on the other hand, considering my age, my position, and the circumstance that he has been about the Oratory and that his son is with us, it is not very much out of the way to consider that I am the proper person to interfere. On the other hand, he may *feel* it more as coming from me; he may be more unwilling that I should know it, than any one else.

However on the whole I have decided on sending the inclosed.³ *Of course you must not let it be supposed* that I have seen any letters. I return them.

Yrs affly John H Newman

TO MRS JOHN MOZLEY

The Oratory Bm Feby 24/64

My dear Jemima

I forgot yesterday to speak about the letters.⁴ It is very kind of you to have taken so much trouble about them. When you send them, I suppose, as you say, the book post is the best mode of conveyance. But, somehow, I always register MSS; perhaps it is a needless fidget. You shall have them back; but you will give me time, I know — I am so full of work, that I have no time for a hundred things I wish to do.

¹ For Charles Stokes's generosity, see letter of 17 Nov. 1849 to F. W. Faber. Stokes lost two fortunes, one on the occasion to which Newman refers, and the other, which as a private banker, he lent to Napoleon III for the Franco-Prussian War.

² See letter of 8 Feb. 1864 to Charles Scott Stokes.

³ See letter of this day to Stokes, and letter of 29 Feb. to Allies.

⁴ Jemima wrote on 20 Feb., 'I have continually had in mind your request about your letters since you asked me [letter of 18 May 1863], but have not been well enough to make the necessary research until lately. . . . However, now I look them over, I find I cannot bear to part with them. . . . I really should like to have them back when you have done with them.'

24 FEBRUARY 1864

And I did not notice either, your kind offer to knit me something¹ — but I still have in use what you sent me some time ago, and it is as good as new. It is now very trying weather — An honest frost I can enjoy — a soft rain I can bear; but a harsh raw thaw, damp cold, is intolerable — worse far than the East wind — unpleasant a[s] very dry cold is. And we have a great deal of this weather here; there is no climate like the southern counties; when I have got through the Reigate Tunnel, I always seem to myself in another part of the world, and am tempted to regret the accident which placed me here.

We have had one case of scarlatina here since Christmas — young Gaisford, grandson of the Dean of Ch Ch [Christ Church]. But he has had it very lightly, and it is more than probable that he brought it with him from home. It is three weeks since he was taken, but still it is an anxious matter. I am full of work with the boys; I have expurgated and printed a play of Terence for them, and am teaching them to act it.

Ever Yours affectly John H Newman

Mrs J. Mozley

TO CHARLES SCOTT STOKES

Febry 24/64

My dear Mr²

I am in some anxiety lest you should think me interfering in things which do not belong to me in sending you these lines; but I consider I am doing what I should wish done to myself, if the case were my own. I hear this morning that you are a Candidate for the Inspectorship, which is said to be vacant; and I hear also, that a very determined resistance to your appointment is to be made, should it take place, in the form of a communication to the Poor School Committee, embodying definite reasons against it. And I am told that there are grounds for anticipating that it will be successful. I have moreover been asked to mention the matter to you without delay. I have decided on doing so as a matter of Christian friendship to you — though I have nothing to say more than I have said above, and am not so situated as to be able to act between you and others in the matter.

Hoping you will excuse me if I am erring in judgment in thus acting³

I am &c J H N

¹ Jennima wrote, 'I wish you would let me knit you something as a defence to your throat or chest against the cold.'

² The name has been cut out of the first draft of this letter and omitted in the second.

³ For Stokes's reply see letter of 29 Feb. to Allies.

26 FEBRUARY 1864

TO MRS HENRY BOWDEN

The Oratory Bm Feby 26/64

My dear Mrs Bowden,

Unwilling as I am to say it, I can't help asking you whether it would not be well for Willie to be at home just now. He seemed very fagged in class today, and, when I asked him, he said he had a bad headache. And then I think these small spots in his head should be very carefully attended to, and I should like him to be under your eye. I think, poor fellow, he will be unwilling to go, and we are sorry to recommend it — but, let me say frankly, I don't *know* Dr Blake, and, though I dare say if I did, I should have confidence in him, yet, since I don't, I do not feel towards him, as I should in the case of Dr Evans — and I am fidgetted in knowing that he is not quite right, yet not knowing to what extent.

Mrs Wootten has told you more about Willie, and more accurately, than I can do — but it seems to come to me to give an opinion — and I do it the rather, because you said, several weeks ago, that if he were at all unwell, he was to be sent home

Ever Yours most sincerely John H Newman of the Oratory

Mrs Bowden

FROM RICHARD HOLT HUTTON

'The Spectator' Office, 1, Wellington Street, Strand, London, W.C. 25 Febr 1864
Rev'd Sir,

Your kind note¹ gave me great pleasure though it was quite needless, as my article was a mere act of justice. It gives me however an opportunity which I have long wished for of expressing to you personally my profound admiration of your genius and my gratitude for the influence of your writings generally, which though they failed to persuade me of the truth of the Roman Catholic principles, have done more to enlarge and I believe also in many respects elevate my own faith than any other writer of the time when my mind was first turned to these subjects. Widely as of course I must differ from you, I trust I shall never forget the debt I owe you. 'Loss and Gain' was in some sense an era in my life, though it did not produce the only impression which you would say it ought to have produced.

Believe me, my dear Sir, faithfully & gratefully your's
Richard H Hutton. One of the editors of the Spectator

TO RICHARD HOLT HUTTON

The Oratory. Bm Feby 26. 1864

My dear Sir,

Your letter gave me extreme pleasure. Though I contrive to endure my

¹ That of 20 Feb.

chronic unpopularity, and though I believe it to be salutary, yet¹ it is a great relief to me to have from time to time such letters as yours, which serve to shew, that, under the surface of things, there is a kinder feeling towards me than the surface presents.

I ought to tell you, that, when I wrote my letter to the Editor of the *Spectator* the other day, I had only seen the first part of your Article, as it was extracted in the *Birmingham paper*.² I fancied it was the whole; and when, after my letter of acknowledgment had been sent, I received from London the *Spectator* itself, I was somewhat frightened, not recollecting the words I had used in it, lest some of them might be unsuitable to your criticism of me, when it was viewed as a whole. This then was an accidental reason, in addition, which made me glad to receive your letter.³

I thanked you for your Article, when I saw only part of it, on the ground of its being so much more generous, than the ordinary feeling of the day allows reviewers commonly to behave towards me. I thank you still more for it, as I now read it with its complement; first, because it is evidently written, not at random, but critically; and secondly it is evidently the expression of real, earnest, and personal feeling. How far what you say about me is correct can perhaps be determined neither by you nor by me, but by the Searcher of hearts alone; but, even where I cannot follow you in your criticism, I am sure to get a lesson from it for my serious consideration.

¹ In the draft Newman included here the words 'it is not in itself welcome; and'.

² This first part of 'Father Newman's Sarcasm,' the *Spectator*, (20 Feb. 1864), pp. 206-08, which Newman read in the *Birmingham Post* of 20 Feb., is printed almost in full in *Ward II*, pp. 5-6, who emphasises the importance of Hutton's intervention. The article began: 'Mr. Kingsley has just afforded, at his own expense, a genuine literary pleasure to all who can find intellectual pleasure in the play of great powers of sarcasm, by bringing Father Newman from his retirement, and showing not only one of the greatest of English writers, but, perhaps, the very greatest master of delicate and polished sarcasm in the English language, still in full possession of all the powers which contributed to the wonderful mastery of that subtle and dangerous weapon. Mr. Kingsley is a choice though, perhaps, too helpless a victim for the full exercise of Father Newman's powers. But he has high feeling and generous courage enough to make us feel that the sacrifice is no ordinary one; yet the title of one of his books, "Loose Thoughts for Loose Thinkers," represents too closely the character of his rough but manly intellect, so that a more opportune Protestant ram for Father Newman's sacrificial knife could scarcely have been found; and, finally, the thicket in which he caught himself was, as it were, of his own choosing, he having rushed headlong into it, quite without malice, but also quite without proper consideration of the force and significance of his own words. Mr. Kingsley is really without any case at all in the little personal controversy we are about to notice; and we think he drew down upon himself fairly the last keen blow of the sacrificial knife by what we must consider a very inadequate apology for his rash statement.'

³ The second part of the article in the *Spectator* of 20 Feb., which Newman did not at first see, began: 'This little discussion brings clearly home to us that one of the greatest secrets of Dr. Newman's wonderful power is an intellectual basis for his mind of that peculiar hardness tending to cruelty which most easily allies itself with a keen intellectual sense of the supernatural. . . .' Hutton quoted from *Diff. I* and *Mix.* in support of this.

In the final paragraph there was a comparison with Thackeray. 'With Dr. Newman the underlying feeling is somewhat different, — not a sense of the bitterness of death, but a positive delight of the imagination in watching the unseen prevail over the seen, Eternity swallow up the upstart growths of time, the angry breakers of human passion and vanity subside into the unfathomed sea. He follows every change of the human heart with a sort of pitiful tenderness, under which there runs a current of hidden triumph in the power of the Catholic faith and dogma to override all human ties, and dissolve all human joys and griefs by the power of its mightier affinities.'

27 FEBRUARY 1864

But I have said enough, and subscribe myself, with sincere good will to you

My dear Sir, Very faithfully yours, John H Newman

Richard H. Hutton Esqr

P.S. Excuse me if I do not address you by your correct title.

TO JOHN HARDMAN

The Oratory, Bm Feby 27. 1864

My dear Mr Hardman,

I thank you extremely for your kind letter about me, addressed to Father Caswall.¹

It seemed to me a duty to take notice of Mr Kingsley — but I assure you controversy, which was never pleasant to me, is quite a trouble to me at my age — and this is one sufficient reason why I have written nothing of late. I cannot write to order, or on any subject that may be given me — and, were I to write on those subjects which interest me, and in my own way, I should certainly get into controversy, and this would be grievous penance.

Then again, I really have not time. We have few hands in the Congregation, and more work than ever before — and I am always in dread, not without reason, of the Fathers knocking up.

Thank you heartily for your kind prayers for me, but let their object be, nothing more definite than that God's Blessed Will may be accomplished in me

Ever Yours, My dear Mr Hardman, Most sincerely in Xt
John H Newman of the Oratory

John Hardman Esqr

TO WILLIAM POPE

The Oratory, Birmingham Feby 27. 1864

My dear Sir,

I thank you very much for your kind letter. It was a thoughtful and friendly act in you to send me the Number of Macmillan — and, though it

¹ Hardman wrote on 22 Feb. to Caswall his delight at reading *Mr. Kingsley and Dr. Newman*. Hardman added, 'The perusal of the pamphlet has however raised one feeling of regret in my mind and that is that the Father should be so seldom heard in these times of turmoil and agitation in the religious world. No one can write like him and though it may be presumptuous in me to say it, his long silence appears to me a positive loss to the Church both to those within the pale and to the many without who must be unsettled by the controversies of the day.'

28 FEBRUARY 1864

entailed trouble on me, yet it was such trouble as it was a duty for me to incur.¹

It is very kind in you to speak of my writings as you do. I heard years ago of the conversion of yourself and others of your family with great interest, as I think I am right in saying you are nearly re-lated to those of your name with whom I was well acquainted when I was young.²

I have put your friend's name upon the Confraternity list — in return, since I am now an old man, let me beg you not to forget me in your good prayers.

Very sincerely Yours in Xt John H Newman of the Oratory

TO THE EDITOR OF THE SATURDAY REVIEW³

The Oratory Bm Feby 28/64

Private

Sir,

If there is any impropriety in my writing to you on the subject of your yesterday's critique upon my recent Pamphlet, I hope you will pardon it.

I wish to thank you for what you have written about me; and that, not only for that portion of it which is praise, and is very pleasant to me to read, but also for your remarks on the Sermon which has been the subject of my correspondence with Mr. Kingsley.⁴

¹ Pope, who was at this time the priest at Yarm, Yorkshire, wrote on 24 Feb., 'Knowing how popular Mr. Kingsley had become in Cambridge, and knowing, too, that Macmillans is very much read, especially by men at Oxford and Cambridge, I took the liberty of sending the number containing the shameful passage to you.'

² The reference is to Simeon Lloyd Pope, Newman's friend from his Trinity College days. William Pope wrote, 'To your teaching, I say it with great thankfulness, my three sisters, my brother and myself owe our conversion . . .' He also asked prayers for the conversion of a Protestant lady who had given a window to the Catholic church at Yarm.

³ The draft of this letter is headed 'To the Editor of the Saturday Review'. This was John Douglas Cook, editor from its foundation in 1855 until his death in 1868. He evidently passed it on to the writer of the article on Newman's pamphlet, William Scott, one of the founders of the *Review* and a frequent contributor. Scott was a prominent High Churchman in London, and President of Sion College, where Newman's letter is now preserved. When he heard that Newman's conversion was imminent, he wrote on 17 May 1845 to J. B. Mozley, who told him to be prepared for it: 'I for one, have always in my measure, leant upon Newman, — though I am scarcely acquainted with him — lived upon him, made him my other and better nature; so the crash is to me most overpowering. I dare not criticise any action of his . . .' *Letters of the Rev. J. B. Mozley*, edited by his sister, London 1885, p. 169.

⁴ The *Saturday Review*, (27 Feb. 1864), pp. 253–5. Newman refers to the concluding portion of this article: 'But, after all, the interesting and important question remains — What was it that Mr. John Henry Newman really did teach in his sermon, "Wisdom and Innocence"? Does it contain anything which would justify Mr. Kingsley or anybody else in drawing from it, as the fair and natural or even probable sense, something like his interpretation of its purpose and meaning? What is the general drift of this very remarkable sermon — or, in other words, what is, on this point, the broad scope of Mr. Newman's ethical teaching? To discuss these questions in this place would be impossible, were it proper, but a line or two of thought may be indicated.

Had he said what you have said, I should have felt obliged to him for saying it, as I am obliged to you. It is more than probable, that a man who has written as much as I have done, and in such various circumstances and states of mind, should have written what he might have written better, and had better never have written at all. However, the Sermon in question is evidently a mere sketch of a large view, requiring exact thought and guarded exposition; and again, as it is published, it stands by itself without any clue to my object in writing, or to the drift of my argument.

For these reasons, without being able to say at the moment that I follow you in your remarks upon it, I am quite prepared to entertain them, and should certainly avail myself of them, did I ever subject my volume to a revision.¹

TO THE WRITER IN THE LITERARY CHURCHMAN

[28 February? 1864]

Sir,

I have not any suspicion who you are, but, I suppose from the tone of your Review of my Pamphlet that you must have known me more than as an acquaintance. I thank you heartily for your too favorable notice of me.²

There are two classes of minds which never can be brought to understand each other, and Dr. Newman and Mr. Kingsley represent to some extent either type. The one is the impetuous, thoughtless, unscientific man, whose conclusions are often right, but who is singularly unpractical, impatient, honest, but useless. He gets hold of a great broad moral truth and, careless of distinctions, limitations, and qualifications, tries or thinks that he tries to hold to it, come what may of consequences. He is the consistent man — the man who always says what he thinks, and thinks it a duty, never to hold his tongue — who tells you *Fiat justitia ruat coelum* — who, if he sees truth, right, duty, honesty, follows truth, right, duty, honesty, as he says, at all costs. He does not believe that prudence is a virtue at all; he scorns the very notion of management; he cannot believe it to be right ever to furl all sails and lie to till the tyranny be overpast. This character is a high ideal; its only defect is that it generally ends in disastrous failure. The other character is that of wisdom, prudence, and foresightedness, of skill and management, and what looks very like intrigue. It accepts the world, and tries to make the best of it. It affects compromises, weighs consequences, calculates chances, makes the best of a bad bargain, trims, thinks that a retreat has its value, and that nothing is worse than a crushing defeat. In morals, such a man believes in the duty of balancing conflicting motives, giving up one apparent good in favour of another apparent good which has a slight, and perhaps only an apparent preponderance. The one is said to be the political mind, the other the moral mind — a foolish distinction, since politics is only the highest form of ethics. The two minds cannot do justice to each other. The politician thinks the moralist to be generally a fool; the moralist retorts by his conviction that the politician must be a knave. . . .

Now, Dr. Newman's is eminently the political mind; or at least he recognises it, and tries to do it justice. He wants to see whether there is in the Gospel morality that eternal opposition between plain sailing and tacking which is said to exist — whether eternal morality is compatible with prudence, discretion and the political mind.'

See also letter of 3 March to Hutton.

¹ The rest of the letter, probably only the conclusion, is missing, for the draft ends at this point, signed 'J H N.'

² The article on Newman's pamphlet in the *Literary Churchman*, X, (27 Feb. 1864), pp. 83-84, began: 'Since Dr Newman left the Church of England he has gradually, but at length almost entirely, withdrawn himself from the notice of the British public. He has left memories of himself, indeed, graven on thousands of hearts. The least rumour of him kindles still the

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No one knows as I do, what piercing sorrow it was to me to part from my dear friends twenty years ago; and no one knows as I do, how imperative was the duty, and how great has been the reward.

Do not fancy, as you seem to do that my retirement at present from the scene of ecclesiastical affairs arises from even the faintest stirring in my intellect or heart of misgiving as to divinity of the Catholic Roman Church. If there be any plausibility in the reports freely circulated just now that I am from circumstances thrown into the shade, such a fact, were it true, would only bring out into great prominence the steadiness of convictions, which indeed are simply incommensurate with any such accidental trials.

J H N

TO T. W. ALLIES

The Oratory Bm Feb. 29. 1864.

Private

My dear Allies,

I have received by yesterday's post the following lines

'Excuse a few lines in haste to make my answer to your letter complete and clear. I thank you again and again for your intended kindness, but I know nothing whatever of the Poor School Committee and I am not a candidate for any Inspectorship.'¹

I am all surprise that there should be a *vacancy*. WHY is it?²

Ever Yrs affly John H Newman

liveliest emotion in those who, twenty years ago, felt the fascination of his calm goodness, or saw the power of his masculine understanding, or the matchless genius which marked everything that he touched. . . . If, after all these years have gone, it were whispered that JOHN HENRY NEWMAN had revisited the communion that loved him so well and loves him still, what a strange thrill of joy would strike the whole heart of the English world, from Canterbury to New Zealand!

The *Literary Churchman* was begun by former Tractarians in 1855 and lasted until 1892. It was High Church, and aimed at being literary rather than controversial.

¹ See letters of 24 Feb. to Allies and Stokes. Allies replied on 1 March, 'Many thanks, for you have saved me from a most painful and unpleasant task.' Allies added that none of the Catholic Poor School Committee had been opposed to Stokes's candidature.

² J. R. Morell, one of the Catholic Inspectors of Schools was dismissed on 1 March by order of the Privy Council, on the charge of having made an inaccurate entry in his diary of work. Morell wrote to Newman on 16 Feb. for advice, and said that he had been advised, among others by Allies, on no account to resign his post. Hence Newman's surprise.

Allies replied, 'Morell is to be dismissed to-day by an order in council, having refused to resign, upon a charge of disingenuousness and falsehood, of which he is perfectly innocent. I have now witnessed three studied attempts of the Privy Council to prove Catholic Inspectors guilty of precisely that charge.'

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TO WILLIAM MONSELL

The Oratory Bm Feby 29/64

My dear Monsell

You frighten me by saying you expect a letter from me. I am thinking what I can have said in the letter I last wrote to make you say so in the letter from you of February 20 which has just come.¹ I am almost wild with various work. Arnold being ill, I have had to take my share in the school work this term, and what with the work of the House (our Fathers being so few now), with some controversy I have got into, and the letters I have to write, I really could not do more, even tho' I made myself ill in trying. I don't think I *could* have promised to send you aid on a subject which is out of my line of reading, and which I have to master before I see the worth of particular authorities this way or that.

The only thing I can do is to write to Stanislas Flanagan and that I will do directly. I think I have heard of the Preface to Cardinal Marini's book. I don't quite understand what the contemplated step is to be. 1. Not a condemnation of Montalembert,² but 2 some declaration that the state ought to support religion, and that it is absurd to suppose that non-support or general toleration of all religions can be a good thing for religion. Now whether words of Montalembert are condemned, or some proposition is asserted, I don't see that any thing will be added to what has been ruled *already*; — to be sure, such a condemnation or re-assertion will be *practically* a heavy blow and great discouragement, and therefore much to be deprecated — but I much doubt whether it will hinder a person saying what he may say now. I don't see how it will possibly hinder a person saying 'I think simple toleration is the best thing for the Church *in England*' — or 'I think simple toleration would not do harm to the Church *in Spain*' or 'I think *certain advantages which can be named* will accrue to the Church in Spain, if Protestantism were allowed.' Practical men deal with the *particular* case before them — but any declaration of the Pope's will deal with the *general* and the *abstract*.

I say all this to show that I don't distinctly enough embrace the particular danger which we fear from any thing which the Pope may say. The question I shall ask Stanislas in confidence is this: — Can you point to any evidence, that

¹ Newman's last letter was that of 6 Feb. Monsell wrote on 20 Feb., 'There seems no doubt that the question of liberty is under consideration, but the Bishop of Orleans hopes that no compromising step will be taken upon it — others however think otherwise — There are some who expect that before long a general Council will be called together. . . .

If the Pope really entertains this idea I suppose he would be slow to take any important step immediately. Have you ever read Galileo's *Inquisition* by the late Cardinal Marini — Father Theiner told me that he wrote the preface. It contains a good deal of interesting matter bearing on the question of persecution. . . . I shall expect with impatience your next letter.'

Marino Marini, the papal archivist, published in 1850 an edition of the documents of Galileo's trial.

² See Monsell's letter of 28 Jan. placed before Newman's of 6 Feb.

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in this age toleration *in fact* is favorable to the growth, spread, and strength of the Catholic religion, and its exclusive maintenance unfavourable.

Ever Yrs affly John H Newman

P.S. Your letter has been eleven days in coming.

TO HENRY WILBERFORCE

The Oratory Bm Febr 29/64

My dear H W

Thank you for your kind Birthday letter — I did not forget your own remembrances of the season.

I am very sorry to find you still speaking so despondingly of your money prospects. As to the Inspectorship, I cannot be sorry you have not got it. It is enough to kill any man to have such incessant running about, such minute and vexatious instructions, such ready made and numerous enemies, and such hard taskmasters. The system of Government is becoming such, that none but secondrate and underbred men will be found to be its servants.¹

I hope Wilfrid is getting on, and that you have good accounts of Basil

Ever Yrs affly John H Newman of the Oratory

H W Wilberforce Esqre

TUESDAY 1 MARCH 1864 much thick fog

FROM RICHARD HOLT HUTTON

Teddington. London. S.W. 28 Feby 1863 [4]

My Dear Sir,

It would be ungrateful in me, though it might be less troublesome to you, were I not to acknowledge in any way a letter so frank and kind as that which caused me so much delight yesterday morning. Besides I want to say how much the article in the *Saturday Review* of yesterday has pained and annoyed me.² Like some of the many semblances of apology which you describe so amusingly in your letter to Mr X. Y., while confessing you entirely in the right, the drift of the article is to leave the impression conveyed by Mr Kingslev's very unjust attack and to convey it in a still more unpleasant form. I do not think the writer, whoever he may be, can have studied all your writings more thoroughly than I; and while questioning of course the naturalness of some of your interpretations of the articles in old days, I must say that I think there never was a less just charge than that which the '*Saturday*' insinuates of your having invented a Christian philosophy for 'slyness,' or artifice. The very men who make these charges defend, and I think quite naturally (though the whole question of subscriptions

¹ See letters of 24 and 29 Feb. to Allies. Morell's dismissal was taken for granted, and a suitable candidate to fill the vacancy was being sought. The nomination rested with Lord Granville, President of the Council, but the Catholic Poor School Committee, as representing the Catholic bishops, had to approve the person named. Cf. letter of 14 March to Renouf.

² See letter of 28 Feb. to the editor of the *Saturday Review*.

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baffles and distresses me) the quite equally forced interpretations now put upon the articles by the more liberal school. Allow me to say as an earnest student of your writings who has never had a motive for bias of any kind, that the impression of genuine openness and candour remains always upon my mind after reading them, even more than after reading many of the writings which our Church loves most to endorse. Bishop Butler for example, whom I both revere and enjoy, seems to me to have more of the 'economical' intellect charged against you than yourself. But perhaps I am impertinent. It grieves me however to see the unfairness with which you are treated by those whose profession is 'liberalism.'

I wished to say too in reference to my criticism (which is, of course, simply a personal impression), — that in my awkwardness of speech I may have given an erroneous significance to my words. I wanted simply to express that, underlying the wide and delicately sympathetic imagination which your writings show, there seems to me always to be a deep attachment to a dogmatic and systematic theological view of the universe, resting less on what I should call personal inspiration than on the *connected* view of a coherent body of theological truth: — for instance to compare your writings with those of the only other living theologian who has impressed me deeply, Mr Maurice, — while your mind seems to me to rest on a clear and comprehensive conception of revelation as a coherent and developing intellectual system of the universe, his is, as it were, a broken cluster of deep but insulated insights into God's purposes which he cares little to weave together and believes the human intellect to be unable to weave together into a systematic whole. And this is what gives, as it seems to me, the confusion, and yet the pliancy to his theology, — and the wide, sharp, unbending, dogmatic basis to yours. I know I express myself badly but, I should be sorry if my use of the word 'cruel' should be taken in any sense except that in which a very keen sense of the inflexible dogma of Christianity shivering to atoms all human entreaties or fears with which it may come into collision, would convey the same meaning.

One word more and I will not trouble you again. Have you collected, or cannot you be persuaded to collect your verses? It seems to me that they are, on their special subjects, some of the finest in the language. I do not use the language of flattery but merely express the intellectual attachment to them of at least fifteen years standing, when I say that some of your poems in the *Lyra Apostolica* — (on David for example which I have known by heart since I was at college)¹ seem to me to deserve a very different recognition from any they are likely to attain in their anonymous form. If I have not bored you already too much, may I say how great a kindness I should think it, if, whenever you are likely to preach in London again, you would let me know. I have not heard you since your course to the Anglicans in 1850 I think, on which I was a regular attendant.²

Believe me, my dear Sir, Yours very faithfully Richard H Hutton

You are quite right about my title. Perhaps from my interest in theology you imagined me in orders, but that I should be very sorry to be.

TO RICHARD HOLT HUTTON

The Oratory. Bm March 3 1864

My dear Mr Hutton,

It is very kind in you explaining your Article about me, but it is quite unnecessary. I should be well off, if I never had a severer or more ill-natured critic. Nor can I follow you in what you say of the Article in the Saturday

¹ 'The Call of David', *VV.*, p. 118.

² i.e. those on 'Difficulties of Anglicans', delivered in May and June 1850, *Diff* I.

4 MARCH 1864

Review, though it is written in different tone from yours. Every reader has a right to his own impressions as to what I have written; and it would really be a kind act in any one, were he well disposed towards me or not, to bring against me formal charges, argued out fairly, about certain tendencies in my writings or about definite statements of mine which I had to defend, explain, or withdraw.¹ If even a St Augustine published his *Retractations*, surely I could turn to good account an opportunity, if given me, of making mine; — though I should shrink from the trouble. As to my Verses, I have written very few besides those which I have published, a few sets addressed to brothers, sisters or private friends. If I had my way, I should give myself up to verse making; it is nearly the only kind of composition which is not a trouble to me, but I have never had time. As to my prose volumes, I have scarcely written any one without an external stimulus; their composition has been to me, in point of pain, a mental child-bearing; and I have been accustomed to say to myself, 'In sorrow shalt thou bring forth children.' But to return to the Verses: I am surprised at the high terms in which you speak of them. I wrote them in the *Lyra* just before the commencement of the Oxford Movement, while travelling, and during convalescence after fever, and in crossing the Mediterranean home. I have never had practice enough to have words and metres at my command. And besides at the time, I had a theory, one of the extreme theories of the incipient Movement, that it was not right 'agere poetam,' but merely 'ecclesiasticum agere' — that the one thing called for was to bring out an idea; that the harsher the better, like wearing sackcloth, if only it would serve as an evidence that I was not making an *ἀγώνισμα*.²

I would certainly give you the information you ask; but the thing will not be, I have delivered neither Sermon nor Lecture in London since the Lectures you heard in 1850.

Yours very truly John H Newman

FRIDAY 4 MARCH 1864 more like November than March

TO MRS JOHN MOZLEY

The Oratory, Bm March 4/64

My dear Jemima

The letters came safe last night; the earliest dated June 2/34, the latest Aug. 13/44. What long reaches of time! I keep writing /64, as if to remind me

¹ Hutton replied on 5 March that what annoyed him in the *Saturday Review* was the suggestion that Kingsley saw in the sermon 'Wisdom and Innocence' a 'Christian philosophy of slyness,' and the final paragraph on how Newman combined the natures of the serpent and the dove.

² 'an achievement,' 'a feather in one's cap.'

of this; and that the latter date of the two is 20 years ago.¹ Such too is just the distance of Mr Kingsley's reminiscence of me, as he professes it. I was very reluctant to publish my correspondence with him, and for a time made excuses to myself for not doing it. Copeland (who desired most particularly to be remembered to you and whose sister is *worse* than you are and apparently in somewhat the same way) happened to be here at the time, and dissuaded me. But I felt I should be a coward, if I allowed so great an offence to pass, and I published. Whether Mr K. means to do any thing I cannot tell, but if he does, I think he cannot do any thing else, but put together in one — an ungracious work, — every passage up and down my writings and up and down my life, which he may think to the purpose of his charge. This would lead me to a survey of my whole course, which I should not be sorry for, tho' I dread the wear and tear of it. The chance that such a task is sooner or later in store for me, is what makes me wish to get about me as many letters and memoranda as I can. I have never defended myself — and I have let others speak for me whose aims were not mine, though they were most kind in doing it. And it is so very difficult to recollect the passing events and the motives of the occasion, which determined this or that action or course. I have found my letters to [J.W.] Bowden and M R G [Giberne] very useful for that purpose — so will yours be. I don't see among them a long critical letter about myself which I thought I wrote to you about September 1843 — but very likely it was not to you; if you have it, it will some time turn up without your trouble.²

Have you heard any thing lately about M R G? For three or four years has she been making the attempt to get received into a convent — her age was her great obstacle. It was thought next to impossible that she could begin a new life so late. Some convents here would not entertain the thought — at that where Mary Anne Bowden is she tried and failed. Then she went to France — after a long and very tedious trial she has just succeeded, and is professed. The order is that of the Visitation, founded by St Francis de Sales, and St Jane Chantal; she is at Autun. People here (in England) thought it quite hopeless — and one declared he would turn Capuchin the day she was professed.³ It would make me anxious, except that her long perseverance in seeking makes me feel that the Grace of God will keep her in peace. It is not a rigorous order — but they keep cloister — so that she never will be in England again. There is a girls' school attached to the convent, so that her accomplishments will come into exercise, and she will end life in teaching as she began⁴

¹ Instead of /34 and /44 Newman wrote /64, and had to correct it.

² Newman spoke of writing to Jemima about himself in his letter to her of 5 Oct. 1843. Cf. also letters of Oct. 1843 to Manning, in *Apo.* pp. 219–25.

³ i.e. J. Spencer Northcote. See letter of 5 June 1863 to Miss Giberne.

⁴ The conclusion and signature have been cut out.

5 MARCH 1864

TO JOHN GASCOYNE

The Oratory Bm March 5. 1864

Dear Revd Sir,

I am much obliged by your letter received this morning, and am pleased to receive your judgment on the controversy which has taken place between Mr Kingsley and myself¹

Very faithfully Yours in Xt John H Newman of the Oratory
The Revd John Gascoyne

TO MRS T. W. ALLIES

The Oratory, Bm March 7. 1864.

My dear Mrs Allies,

I write a line to say that your beautiful flowers have come, and we thank you very much for them. They are not only most welcome as being so beautiful and as coming from you, but besides we really wanted flowers and they are very apropos.

Yours affectly in Xt John H Newman of the Oratory

TO W. J. COPELAND

The Oratory, Bm March 7. 1864

My dear Copeland,

It has struck me that difficulties to the republication of my Sermons would be diminished, if you consented to be *Editor*.² By being so, you would vouch for nothing beyond this, that the Sermons were reprinted from Rivington's last edition of them, and therefore that you had seen the proof sheets. What do you think of this³

Ever Yrs affly John H Newman

The Revd W. J. Copeland

¹ John Gascoyne, the priest at Corby and a Canon of the diocese of Nottingham sent Newman a line of congratulation on 3 March.

² See letter of 27 Oct. 1848 to Charles Newsham, who maintained that Newman would be 'disseminating error' if he republished his Anglican sermons.

³ Copeland replied on 11 March that he would do all he could to help, 'If money is wanted I will do what I can in that way, and in fact any thing to save you time or trouble or expense or risk.'

7 MARCH 1864

TO WILLIAM JOHN FITZPATRICK

The Oy Bm March 7. 1864

My dear Sir

I hope the enclosed will suit your purpose.¹

As to your questions, 'Whately had no popularity in Oxford, if popularity includes influence. He was one of the leading preachers of his time, and St Mary's was full when he preached, but he had a very small following, and had no power at all in the Board of Heads of Houses.' I doubt whether he carried any one reform whatever, or even suggested any considerable one. But here I speak under correction, as I am speaking of events of 40 years ago

Dr Pusey never was really tinged with neology. He was ever a hard theological student, by family, I think, a Whig, by his father's influence and example a zealous, high principled, open handed member of the Anglican Church. Dr Lloyd theological Professor, afterwards Bishop of Oxford, advised him to go to Germany, to attend the Hebrew Lectures in its various Universities. He came back a good Hebrew scholar, and a friend of various German Professors, with whom he had made acquaintance. He was sanguine about the reaction to orthodoxy (this was in the years 1826-28, I suppose) and took the part, so far, of the German Universities. Moreover he came back, if he had not taken them there, with somewhat free views of the inspiration of Scripture. (I suppose they are views which, however, the Catholic Church would at least tolerate, the patristical reading to which he turned his mind after 1832, 1833, led him to higher views about inspiration, and some years back he retracted some things he had said in 1828 or shortly after, in controversy (I think) with Mr Rose of Cambridge, who had in a series of lectures attacked the German Theologians. This is all, he never can be said to have had 'errors.') few men

¹ Newman kept the draft of this enclosure, on which he wrote, '(sent to Mr Fitzpatrick, for his book, March 7/64)'. Fitzpatrick was writing a life of Whately. See letter of 15 Oct. 1863.

'FOR MR FITZPATRICK

My part in Whately's Logic, was small indeed. He wrote it originally in 'Analytical Dialogues' as he called them. In this shape I first saw it in 1822. At the same date he employed me to draw it up in a synthetical form; and, when he wrote his Article for the Encyclopaedia Metropolitana, he made use of this rough draft of mine as a sort of basis for his work. It was one of his peculiarities at that time to hammer out his thoughts (if I may so speak) by means of other minds; and he conversed so well and so profitably, that it was a pleasure to be so employed by him.

When he published his work in a separate volume in 1826, he used the following words in his Preface, whence I extract them: 'I cannot avoid particularizing the Rev. J Newman, Fellow of Oriel College, who actually composed a considerable portion of the work, as it now stands, from manuscripts not designed for publication, and who is the original author of several pages' I was exceedingly pleased at his mentioning my name in conjunction with his own, and wrote to him to say so. He wrote back to the effect, that I ought to take care what I was saying, for the time might come, when I should not be so much pleased as I was then to have my name associated with his. I write all this from memory.

Cf. letter of 10 Oct. 1852 to Monsell.

J. H. N.'

7 MARCH 1864

have been, in a time of transition, so steadfast and consistent, from first to last, as he¹

I am, My dear Sir, Very truly Yours John H Newman of the Oratory
W. J. Fitz Patrick Esqre

TO MRS JOHN MOZLEY

Oy. Bm March 7/64

My dear Jemima

Don't let me trouble or tease you. I think you told me you had mislaid my letters to you from abroad in 1832-3. If so, no matter. But if you have them, and could lend them to me, I should be obliged. I have some thoughts of inserting extracts from them into a periodical of a popular character. As I can't be sure of my intention, it is not worth while you doing more than saying Yes or No in answer.²

Yours affectly John H Newman

Mrs John Mozley

TUESDAY 8 MARCH 1864 much snow again melting — a long illnatedured, sullen, stern and weeping winter

TO EDWARD BADELEY

The Oratory, Bm March 8/64

My dear Badeley

I have waited so long to answer you, that I forget every thing I had to say — though there were several points I had to write about, and one point of criticism of yours which I had not answered.

But now I am expecting Kingsley's Pamphlet, on 'what does Dr Newman teach?' for which of course I have prepared myself from the first. I mean, I never have had an opening to defend myself as to various passages in my life and writings, and I have always looked forward to the possibility of that opening being presented to me. I have for a long time been attempting to arrange my letters and papers with a view to it — Unluckily I have not yet got

¹ Fitzpatrick, who wanted to know what reforms Whately had introduced at Oxford, also inquired whether Pusey was 'one of the first tinged with German Neology'. See Liddon's *Pusey*, I, pp. 146-77.

² Jemima sent the letters by return, writing on 8 March, 'I do not expect Mr Kingsley will be inclined to renew the controversy. I cannot help thinking he is a man to feel intensely being made a public spectacle — (John says he is like a dog with a kettle tied to his tail!)'

10 MARCH 1864

further than 1836 — and what I shall chiefly want is 1841–1845. However, I must take things as they come. Perhaps what he shall put together, when we see it, will seem hardly of a nature to admit or require a reply, but much as I shrink from the labour and the anxiety of it, my reason tells me I shall be glad of it afterwards. If I have to do it, you may conceive how solemn a thing it will be to me, and how I shall need the best advice of my friends. I shall try not to be overtroublesome to you, but I fear I shall have again to avail myself of your friendship.

I have just seen in the Times Mr K's advertisement. It is 'What, *then*, does Dr N. teach?'¹ Is not the 'then' significant? viz. as indicating that he is not going to bring distinct passages, in proof of what he has charged on me, but intending to *argue* from the context that I *must* have meant it, that I *could not* mean any thing else? — Now it is a great principle received on all hands now-a-days that one must not impute to a man inferences, which though possible from his words, he himself disclaims. Thus some doubt is thrown for the moment on the necessity of my writing again. It has been remarked to me, by the bye, that he can no longer directly say that 'I *teach* that truth is no virtue,' because he has *accepted my assurance* that I don't, and expressed his regret etc. And hence again it follows that he must *infer* and *deduce* and nothing else.

Ever Yrs affly John H Newman

TO FANNY MARGARET TAYLOR

The Oratory, Bm March 10/64

Private

Dear Madam

I have not been unmindful of your letter of December 26/62 — tho' I did not reply to it. I have had it on my table ever since.² And lately Mr Formby has put into my hands a letter which you addressed to him about me. The reason of my silence has been that I really was so busy that it was not a matter of choice to me how I answered it.³

¹ The title of Kingsley's pamphlet was, '“What, then, does Dr. Newman mean?” A Reply to a pamphlet lately published by Dr. Newman.' It does not seem to have been advertised in *The Times* of 8 Mar.

² Miss Taylor, who was received into the Church while serving as a voluntary nurse at Scutari during the Crimean War, spent the ensuing years caring for the poor in London, and writing Catholic books. In 1862 she purchased and became editor of a popular Catholic magazine, the *Lamp*. Her letter of 26 Dec. 1862 to Newman enclosed a circular about the *Lamp*. The principal object of the Magazine would be 'to supply Catholics with papers of general interest which they can read without fear of meeting with objectionable passages. At the same time, as controversy does not enter into its scheme, there is nothing to prevent non-Catholics from seeking information and recreation in its pages.' The Magazine was to be purely literary, not theological.

³ Miss Taylor, being a total stranger to Newman, wrote on 25 Jan. 1864 to Formby, who was then staying at the Oratory. She explained that during the first year the circulation of the *Lamp* had 'gone up from 6000 to 11000 and keeping steadily at the latter . . . it is much read by the educated classes as well as the middle . . . But I am far from being satisfied, I want

I am not less busy now than then — yet since you make a second application to me, I don't like to leave you with [out] some sort of reply. I rejoice to hear of your success, and can well understand, by what selfdenying toil on your part that success must have been won.

It seems almost impertinent, first to promise you nothing and then to ask you some questions — for why should I seem to make conditions when I hold out no expectations? Still I trust you will let me do so without calling me rude.

A friend sent me a few Numbers of the last year's *Lamp*, which I have mislaid — excepting from these, I know nothing how it is conducted. I don't know who the Editor is — nor whence it takes its tone and its general sentiments. Is it literary or is it any thing more? Of course I know that, being Catholic, it contains nothing that does not accord with Catholic dogma in the fullest and exactest sense — but there are further questions, which to me are interesting and important. I am no politician — and I know as little of Catholic politics as of any other kind of politics. I should feel a difficulty in taking part in a publication which advocated the *politics* and political measures and acts of Louis Napoleon, — or of any other monarch. I should have no quarrel with a work which praised the *religious* acts of the Neapolitan Bourbons, their care of their episcopal sees, their zeal for the spiritual good of their people, or their munificence in promoting foreign missions, — or of any other government. Religious works are in themselves good; but as to lines of secular policy they may be good or they may be bad.

And so again as to theological *opinions*. There have always been overearnest persons, who have advocated one or another of these opinions; as if they were dogma. But dogma is one thing, and opinion is another; — there are a number of persons in 1864 as well as in former times, who confuse the two. When a writer puts forward an opinion of his own, though it be a true one, as vital, he seems to me to be committing a great offence against the Catholic faith itself. Now really I am not alluding to any thing in particular in the *Lamp* — and it seems almost cruel to say these things to a lady, whose privilege it is to be a woman, and to believe and to be devout without entering into controversies, but there is a spirit afloat, not less now than at other times, on the surface of society, in publications of the day, and in public transactions, with which I wish to have nothing to do — a spirit of arbitrary assumption in matters on which the Church has determined nothing. I do not mind saying to you that Mr Formby supplies instances of what I mean, and, though I have seen nothing of what he has inserted in the *Lamp*, you could not have less persuasively addressed me, than in sending your application through him. I respect and admire his zeal and his motives — but I cannot sympathise in his writings.¹

to see it improved and made equal in ability to its Protestant rivals.' Miss Taylor wondered whether Newman would help. Wiseman, Manning, Bishop Amherst and Fr Gallwey S. J. had written for her.

¹ Formby was an extremist who, among other things, wrote against Government aid for Catholic schools.

11 MARCH 1864

There is one other question I should have liked to have asked — but I really feel distressed at myself for sending you so discouraging a letter¹

I am My dear Madam, Yours very truly in Xt
John H Newman of the Oratory²

Miss Taylor

TO SIR JOHN ACTON

The Oratory, Bm March 11/64

My dear Sir John

Mr Yard, an Anglican clergyman, lately received wishes me to give him this line of introduction of himself to you. I dare say you know his name and reputation already, and that this is unnecessary — still I write it.³

Very truly Yours John H Newman of the Oratory
Sir John Acton Bart M P

TO WILLIAM JOHN FITZPATRICK

The Oratory Bm March 11/64

My dear Sir,

I have not much belief in the Story you sent me about Dr Whately and Dr Pusey.⁴ As to the subject of their supposed conversation, I can testify that it was not such a trifle as Dr Whately would make it. When I began early communion in St Mary's in 1837, one or more communicants applied to me to the effect that the wine was strong and on account of its strength was unpleasant to them the first thing in the morning, and on that account I mixed water with it. I mentioned this in a published letter of mine to the Bishop of

¹ The summary of his reply made on Miss Taylor's letter to Formby suggests what Newman intended to say:

'that I wanted to know, if not impertinent, whether it belonged to her, and the *gain* was hers. If so, I should not ask for any thing for what I wrote. But if it was a publisher's speculation, I should.

that I would not write if ecclesiastical politics came in, or controversy in theological opinion. J H N.'

² Miss Taylor replied on 12 March that she proposed to solve her problem by attempting 'a monthly magazine for the educated and keeping the *Lamp* for the poor and middle classes of readers'. The first number of the resultant *Month*, was that for July, and it was owned and edited by Miss Taylor.

³ George Beckwith Yard, at Trinity College, Cambridge, and a friend of Keble, was Rector of East Torrington, Lincolnshire, from 1842 until 1859. He was received into the Church by Manning, at Paris, on 7 Feb. 1863.

⁴ This story appeared in the *New Review*, (Nov. 1863), pp. 389-90, to illustrate the opinion of Whately that Pusey was not in earnest. He mixed water with the communion wine, giving as a reason that it would otherwise be too strong, but, according to Whately, showed 'utter disbelief in all such frippery'.

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Oxford,¹ and it was a fact, and a fact of some importance, though people, for what I know, make game of it. It must be recollected that the so called wine used for the Anglican Communion used to be a strange composition called Trent, and made up, whether of brandy or of treacle, raspberry vinegar, or what else, or what besides, I don't know — but it used to be a very strange compound. In Mass not only is the wine light and unbranded, but after the first ablution, the priest takes a large draught of water in the second ablution, which counteracts the strength of the wine. I think the sacramental wine at St Mary's was complained of, not so much as getting into men's heads, as having an unpleasant taste in the mouth — but I am not sure

I am very much pleased to think that any thing I have said has been serviceable to you, as you kindly say, & am

My dear Sir Very truly yours John H. Newman

W. J. Fitzpatrick Esqre

TO MRS JOHN MOZLEY

The Oratory, Bm March 14/64²

My dear Jemima,

I ought to have acknowledged the packet of my foreign letters before now. They came quite right.

As to your own letters to me, I will certainly burn them, if you wish. I offered to send them to you last year — I have those which you sent to me abroad. Letters are always useful, at least for dates. And so of your present letters. When I have done with them in the way of dates — you shall have them, or I will destroy them. I will take care that they shall come back to you, if God took me away before I had done what I had wished with them.

M R G [Giberne] has acted less what I should have called gradually than I could have wished. I wanted her to leave some of her money in my hands, and give to the Convent only as much as was *necessary* for her pension, or dowry as it is named. Then, when she saw how she got on, she might have had the rest, and it might have come to her as payment for extras. The truth is, abroad they do not understand our mode of living — and they serve up dabs of meat, which are a mockery. I consider R. Wilberforce in great measure was brought down to his death, by the poor living. When I was at Santa Croce, our Italian Priest thought it quite a scandal that I drank my wine unmixed — but I persisted, all through the exhausting Summer weather, in going down stairs regularly every afternoon at 3 o'clock and drinking off a tumbler ($\frac{1}{2}$ pint) of

¹ A Letter addressed to the . . . Bishop of Oxford, on occasion of the Ninetieth Tract . . . 29 March 1841, *V.M.* II, pp. 419–20.

² On 13 March, Passion Sunday, Newman wrote a profession of faith 'in the direct view of death as in prospect', printed at the end of *M.D.*, pp. 607–09. Cf. *Ward* II, pp. 76–77, and *Trevor* II, p. 331.

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pure wine (you know it has no brandy in it) — it was like a good tumbler of porter, without the heaviness and did me all the good in the world. Through the Pope's kindness, we were our own masters there, ordered our dinners, and had up and rowed the butcher. But M R G must take what she gets — and, though I know well, they are very careful of her, and most anxious to do all they ought to do, yet I thought this additional money, coming to her from time to time, might be a refresher to them. However, she decided on having more than twice what she need have given, at once — and it went. I dare say she may have some very good reasons which I don't know. She is more than likely to be a leading person in the Convent — and this large pension may give her influence. And it may be the means of setting up her school. The desire for the English language and customs is great in France now — and I only wish she were in a larger place and upon a rail road.

Ever Yours affectly John H Newman

Mrs John Mozley

TO PETER LE PAGE RENOUF

The Oratory Bm March 14/64

Private

My dear Renouf,

I had not heard of your today's news — I congratulate you upon it, because you would not have taken the appointment, had you not wished it; but I cannot congratulate the Catholic body. It is a great shame that men like you should have to leave their studies for such work as you will have; a crying shame.¹

Now as to your request, I will do just what you would wish me to do. But you must *define* just what you wish of me; and must be quite sure that I shall be doing you good.

It is not necessary, I suspect, to tell the Bishops of your *abilities* — I had seen the paragraph in the Register, and it startled me as I read it. 'It is rumoured that a nomination by the Lord President has already been made, and is now waiting *the acquiescence or refusal* of the Committee.'² And then it goes on to say that the Committee are merely the organ of the Bishops. When I read this, I said to myself 'What then? is there to be a vetoing?' not suspecting who it was.

¹ Renouf had just received, unsolicited, the appointment of Inspector of Schools, vacant owing to Morell's dismissal, and asked Newman for a testimonial for the English bishops, whose consent was required. Acton told Renouf that Lord Granville, President of the Council, wanted to appoint the most eminent Catholic that could be found.

² *The Weekly Register*, (12 March 1864), p. 161. The next sentence ran: 'We are informed that Mr. Langdale conceives that the right of *veto* conceded to the Committee is exercised by it on behalf of the Catholic Bishops,' who could not be named owing to the Ecclesiastical Titles Act.

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Under these circumstances, the Cardinal (Wiseman) and Dr Cullen would be, I should think, irresistible — but I much doubt if I should not damage you. Not all the Bishops have acted in a friendly way to me — and even some of those, with whom I am on the best terms, might not think it an improvement that a candidate was a friend of mine. Therefore you must tell me definitely what you wish me to dwell upon. Not at all liking Mr Lowe, I yet may think of the duties of an officer of Government not in quite the same way as the Bishops do.¹

Ever Yours affectly John H Newman of the Oratory
P. le Page Renouf Esqr

TO EDWARD BADELEY

The Oratory Bm March 16/64

Confidential

My dear Badeley

I inclose copies of an Address which has come to me this morning from 80 Priests of the Westminster Diocese, of which my first notice was a paragraph in the Register of last Saturday; — and of my projected answer.²

The 80 names are made up of about 50-odd priests on mission — most of them in London — 10, that is, *all* the Canons — the Vicar General — 9 Jesuits and 9 other religious.

The Oblates (say 9) are not there (but Fr Roberts *is*) — The Oratorians, 20, are not there. The Cardinal's private friends, as Patterson and Mr Burke, are not there.³

The Priests of the Diocese are, I think 195.

¹ Robert Lowe was Vice-President of the Committee of the Privy Council on Education. Renouf was duly appointed, but seems not to have pressed for a testimonial from Newman.

² The *Weekly Register*, (12 March 1864), p. 162, said, 'We are requested to state for the information of those priests who may desire to add their names to the address of sympathy and respect to Dr. Newman, now in course of signature, that names will be received until . . . the 15th inst., by the Very Rev. Dr. Maguire . . .'

The address, printed in *Apo.*, pp. 372-3, ran: 'We, the undersigned Priests of the Diocese of Westminster, tender to you our respectful thanks for the services you have done to religion, as well as to the interests of literary morality, by your Reply to the calumnies of Professor Kingsley.

We cannot but regard it as a matter of congratulation that your assailant should have associated the cause of the Catholic Priesthood with the name of one so well fitted to represent its dignity, and to defend its honour, as yourself.

We recognize in this latest effort of your literary power one further claim, besides the many you have already established, to the gratitude and veneration of Catholics, and trust that the reception with which it has met on all sides may be the omen of new successes which you are destined to achieve in the vindication of the teaching and principles of the Church.'

Newman's answer is the letter of 18 March to George Rolfe.

³ J. W. Roberts was one of the Oblates of St Charles, stationed at Westminster. Patterson's name was omitted by mistake. William Burke was Wiseman's nephew.

The Oblates of St Charles and the London Oratorians signed two days later, and eventually the address received the signatures of 110 of the Westminster clergy.

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It seems to me an anti-Cardinal move in my favour — I mean, sincerely from genuine sympathy and friendliness to me, perhaps coupled with a notion that I do not write, lest I should write what would [be] unpalatable to the high ultra party.

All this, however, is only my conjecture. In a private letter to me, Dr Maguire and Oakeley, as representatives of the whole number, say that 'they have long sought some such opportunity of utterance'¹

In my answer I must

1. avoiding crowing. I have always thought that there would be a re-action among the Protestant periodicals, when Kingsley's Pamphlet comes out.
2. insist on my Correspondence having really been *pro Ecclesiâ* — for the excuse of some Priests for not signing it, is that 'Dr N. has written simply on a personal matter.'
3. take care not to reflect on those Priests who have not signed.

I want to know your impression of the Draft which I inclose.²

Ever Yours affly John H Newman

E Badeley Esqr

TO MRS WILLIAM FROUDE

The Oy Bm March 16/64

My dear Mrs Froude,

Day goes after day, and I do not write to you. It is not that I do not think of you, nor have I forgotten to say Mass for dear Mary —³ but I am really overwhelmed with letters, requiring immediate answers — this day I have been at it since the morning, and shall not have got through all that I wish to write, when the Post goes out.

I have thought of you especially in the way in which you speak of yourself. To see a child die slowly before one's eyes seems an incredible trial. I think of Hagar's words.⁴ But what you think about most, is whether you are doing all that you ought to do for her. I think you certainly are — and may leave things simply in God's hands. What you told me was most interesting.

¹ See note to letter of 16 March to Maguire and Oakeley.

² Badeley replied on 17 March, approving of Newman's draft, with a few stylistic changes. He said, 'I am surprised at those who have *not* signed the Address — not at those who have . . . I should not have supposed the thing to be at all an "Anti Cardinal move," had it not been for what you say, and the proofs which you have given.' See also letter of 22 March to Badeley.

³ See letter of 7 Feb. to Mrs Froude.

⁴ 'Let me not look upon the death of the child.' *Genesis*, 21:16. William Froude wrote to Newman on 21 March, 'It may be, as you say that none but parents can quite sympathise with parents, when such an event as we fear, is approaching. Yet I am inclined to think that in this particular case there can be few parents who can enter into and sympathise with what we feel, so truly as yourself . . .'

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Ought I to answer any question? I don't recollect any — I am not well just now, and that must be my excuse for this dull letter

....

Ever Yours affectly John H. Newman

Mrs Froude

TO RICHARD GELL MACMULLEN

March 16/62 [64]

My dear Macmullen

Your letter is a very friendly one.¹ When you speak of being apprehensive of those who have done me 'a reluctant justice' and who may make the publication of the Letter which has come to me this morning an opportunity of assuming an hostile attitude towards me, I understand you to mean the Protestant periodicals. I have myself been afraid all along of a reaction in their case; and of Mr Kingsley's promised pamphlet when it appears, being taken as the opportunity for it. Also I recollect the text about not boasting before one takes off one's armour.²

However, these thoughts at the moment have no practical issue. I have had nothing to do with the carrying out of that most flattering and welcome Letter; nor did I hear a syllable about any such intention till I read the notice on Sunday last in the Register.

I must add in honesty that I cannot follow you in saying that my correspondence with Mr Kingsley was 'purely personal.' The direct cause indeed of my writing to Messrs Macmillan was his charge against me, but then that charge was that I confessed that Truth was not a virtue with Catholic ecclesiastics. It is true too that I have not digressed into questions of ecclesiastical history; but the priesthood, which came into consideration is our existing institution — I should not have singled out Mr Kingsley for public notice unless I thought it really worth while to deal a blow against a virulent blasphemer of the Catholic Church. Accordingly I say page 27 that his words are a great affront to myself and a worse insult to the Catholic priesthood; and at page 15

¹ Macmullen wrote on 15 March to explain why he had not signed the address of the Westminster clergy, although 'there is no person in the world who can entertain stronger feelings of affectionate respect and veneration than I do towards you'. He thought Newman's controversy with Kingsley 'to be of so purely a personal character', that an address seemed 'an impertinence'. Macmullen added that he thought it inadvisable, 'for I am afraid if this address gets to the public, many of those who have done you (I suspect) reluctant justice in this matter, will be glad to turn their thoughts in a different direction, and make you in some sort responsible for the injudicious but I know most well-intentioned interference of the "Priests of the Diocese of Westminster."'

² I Kings, 20: 11

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simply that I am bound to answer him, 'if I would not compromise interests which are dearer to me than life.'¹

J H N.

P.S. Pray thank Mr Coxé for his message.²

THURSDAY 17 MARCH 1864 weather fair with east wind

TO JOHN MAGUIRE AND FREDERICK OAKELEY

The Oratory, Birmingham, March 17, 1864.

My Dear Very Reverend Sirs,

The letter from eighty of the Westminster Clergy,³ and your own private one, which have come to me this morning, are written in a spirit so singularly kind to me, that I am at a loss how suitably to answer them.

Worthily, indeed, I cannot: I can do no more than thank you, and the rest of my friends who have written to me, for the extreme consolation and rejoicing, which you have given me; and assure you, as I *do* from my heart, that to have received such a token of affectionate interest in me from such men is one of the most gratifying passages of my life.

I hope in a day or two to send you my formal answer to the letter to which your own was a most welcome introduction,⁴ and am,

My Dear Very Reverend Sirs, Most sincerely yours,
John H. Newman of the Oratory

The Very Rev. John Canon Maguire, D.D.
Frederick Canon Oakeley

FROM SIR JOHN ACTON

37 Half Moon St March the 15th 1864

Private

My dear Father Newman,

I have to give you the important news of the suppression of the H. and F. [*Home and Foreign*] Review.

¹ Letters of 22 and 8 Jan. to Macmillan.

² Macmullen ended his letter, 'Mr Coxé is anxious that I should say that he shares in these sentiments, and that the same causes have influenced him in withholding his name, that have operated with me.' There is no priest of this name listed in the *Catholic Directory*.

³ Newman added on his draft '(March 22. It over to [sic] 106 clergy.)'

⁴ In their private letter of 15 March, Maguire and Oakeley said:

'Valuable as we are persuaded you will consider such a testimony in itself, its worth would be indefinitely enhanced, if, together with these names, we could also convey to you the expressions of deep and devoted sympathy and respect by which not a few of them have been accompanied.

You would thus perceive how eagerly your late brilliant exploit on the field of literature has been seized upon as an occasion of testifying the sentiments which our brethren habitually entertain towards you, and which have long sought some such opportunity of utterance.'

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The Pope has issued a Rescript to the Archbishop of Munich on the late Conferences in which he virtually approves their tone and purpose, but adds several propositions on the submission due to the Congregations (by which the Index is meant), on the authority belonging to received opinions in the schools, and to the *vetus schola*, which are directly and flagrantly opposed to the principles of the Review. The intention thus expressed seems to promise further measures if opportunity be given by resistance or contradiction. A conflict with the authorities would not only be a grievous scandal, but would destroy the efficiency and use of the Review, and I have determined not to risk a censure, but to take the significant warning of this document, and put an end to the Review after the appearance of the next number.¹

In an article on Frohschammer I shall find means of giving a full and intelligible explanation of my motives, which will be as satisfactory as it can be made without in any way renouncing any of our principles. I shall sign this paper, in order to make the act and the declaration entirely my own.²

Until you have seen the Rescript I cannot ask for your opinion of the matter. But I am quite persuaded that there will be nothing in the explanation unworthy of a Review in which you have taken so warm an interest.

I have to inform several contributors, but otherwise I am anxious that the intention should be made known only through the next number itself.

For myself I shall rejoice at the freedom and leisure I shall obtain for work of another kind, and in this I believe that I shall have your kind wishes and encouragement. But I fear it will be difficult to make Protestants regard the event in a light which shall not be injurious to religion, and among Catholics the peace which will ensue will be dearly purchased.

I remain Dear Father Newman Ever faithfully Yours J. D. Acton

TO SIR JOHN ACTON

The Oratory, Bm March 18. 1864

My dear Sir John

I am grieved at your news. The Review seemed to me improving, number after number, both in religious character and in literary excellence. It had gained a high place among the periodicals of the day, and that, in a singularly short time. Protestants prophesied of it, that it was too able to be allowed to last. I wished it to take its place, not only with the Protestant public, but in the confidence of our Bishops. There seemed no extravagance in this wish; no inconsistency between my submitting to my own Bishop's judgment, when the Review began, and hoping for a reversal of that judgment, as it proceeded.

You are the best judge whether you should bring it to an end. Blennerhassett sent me the Brief from Döllinger about a week ago; but have been so

¹ The 'Munich Brief', the letter *Tuas libenter* of 21 Dec. 1863 to the Archbishop of Munich, was not published until March 1864. In it Pius IX rejected the freedom Döllinger had claimed for theology in his speech at the conference of theologians at Munich in Sept. 1863. See *Denzinger-Schönmetzer*, 2875-80.

² 'Conflicts with Rome', the *Home and Foreign Review*, (April 1864), pp. 667-90. The Munich theologian, James Frohschammer (1821-93), who maintained that human reason could penetrate the truths of revelation, and that these could not set limits to the freedom of philosophy, was censured in March 1863.

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interrupted that I have as yet got very little way into it.¹ I observed in it, of course, the three points which you mention, nor had I any difficulty in acquiescing in them, in their letter and in their principle; but I dread their application. I suppose they mean much more than they say. And thus there are serious grounds for apprehension, lest there may be some ultimate intention of proceeding against you, and that the more easily, because we in England are under the military regime of Propaganda.²

But good may come out of this disappointment. There is life, and increasing life in the English Catholic body; and, if there is life, there must be re-action. It seems impossible that active and sensible men can remain still under the dull tyranny of Manning and Ward.³

For yourself, I congratulate you on your release from occupations which were unworthy of you. You have life before you; you will see many things before you die.

Ever Yours most sincerely John H Newman of the Oratory.

Sir John Acton Bart M P

TO GEORGE ROLFE

The Oratory, Birmingham March 18, 1864

My Very Reverend and Reverend Dear Friends⁴

It was an extreme gratification as well as surprise to me, to read, in the letter which I received from you through Canons Maguire and Oakeley, the sentiments expressed in my favour by Priests, so high in position, name, and influence, so various in vocation and mission as those whose signatures are attached to it.⁵ I had a further and distinct pleasure, in seeing among them the names of so many whom I knew; and a distinct and special pleasure, also, in finding there the names of many others, with whom it is not my privilege to be personally acquainted; and I will add, though it may seem like refining, that it touched me exceedingly, that those whom I know and those whom I know not, should be associated together in one and the same friendly act — an

¹ Newman's analysis of the Brief is printed in *Ward* I, pp. 641-2.

² This last sentence ran in Newman's draft as follows:

'I differ from you accordingly in the ground of my apprehension; but of course there is a great deal to apprehend still. I can never say that you are wrong in anticipating that they are intended to be used against you; and that, the more easily, because we are under (what seems to me to be) the military regime of Propaganda.'

³ In the draft Newman wrote: 'I don't think that active and honest minds can remain content under a dull tyranny. It seems impossible to conceive that they can remain quiet under the supremacy of Manning and Ward.'

⁴ On the draft of this letter Newman wrote 'To the Very R. George Canon Rolfe and other Priests of the Diocese of Westminster, who have written to me under date of March 15' Rolfe was the senior Canon of the Chapter, after the Provost, H. E. Manning.

⁵ See first note to letter of 16 March to Badeley.

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act of support and encouragement in behalf of one who, from his distance from their own sphere of duty had no direct claim on their charitable regard.

As to my recent correspondence with a popular writer, which has gained for me this mark of your approbation, I am well aware that it was the insult, which he offered to the Catholic Priesthood, which alone gave value and meaning to my animadversions upon him; and it is my consolation to reflect that I was indirectly subserving the interests of religion, while I was engaged in protesting against a merely personal wrong.

My most appropriate acknowledgment of your anticipations concerning my future would be to set about fulfilling them; but every one has his own work and measure in the Providences of God: it is possible to write too much as well as too little; and I shall make a more prudent use of the interest which you have taken in me, by asking of you the additional kindness of giving me your good prayers, that, whether I shall attempt more or attempt less, I may do just so much as He, who made me, has marked out for me to do.

I am, my Very Rev. and Rev. Dear Sirs, with every feeling of respect
and gratitude, Your affectionate Servant in Christ,

John H. Newman of the Oratory

SATURDAY 19 MARCH 1864 Arnold returned — Examinations began

SUNDAY 20 MARCH Palm Sunday I sang Mass Mr Kingsley's Pamphlet came to me¹ *Mr Kingsley's Pamphlet against me out*

TO LORD CHARLES THYNNE

The Oratory Birmingham. March 21 1864

My dear Lord Charles

I have been wishing to write to you every day — but I have been overrun with work and not quite well.

We have no Easter Holidays — but parents often wish their boys to attend their own Sacred functions etc. etc. and so they leave us; the rule being that any how they come back on Low Monday. If we have our choice, we wish to keep them over the sacred services of this week. So Charlie might come to you on Saturday afternoon — However, I must find out if he has been told he may go earlier. I was confined to my room for a day or two, and attended to nothing.

Charlie has done very well, and is making a start. If I were not very tired and had many letters to write, I would say more.

It is a true kindness your saying what you do about me in old times, and

¹ 'What, then, does Dr. Newman mean?' *A Reply to the Pamphlet lately published by Dr. Newman.*

about the dear Bishop of Oxford.¹ I had a great affection for him, but I am so awkward that I suppose he never knew it — and I too am quite surprised to hear what you say about his feelings towards me. Alas, alas — in this world, how little we know each other — and how blessed will it be if we are by God's mercy brought together in a country where all is light and all is known.

Ever yours very sincerely John H. Newman

The Lord Charles Thynne.

P.S. From what I hear, you expect Charlie on Wednesday — so he will go to you then —

TO EDWARD BADELEY

The Oratory Bm March 22/64

My dear Badeley,

You are very kind in writing so promptly. I availed myself of your most mild criticisms, and the letter, somewhat more licked into shape, went.

I was mused, as well as pleased, to find the Oratorians and Oblates in a day or two come in; 18 of the Oratorians out of 20, and 6 of the Oblates. The whole number of signatures is 106 out of 195 in the Diocese. This is very good.²

I wrote to a London Priest, who knew how things lay — whether there were any topics, in my answer to the Letter, which I ought to *avoid* — He wrote back 'Don't mention the Canons or the Ruling Powers.'³ This corroborates my surmise, that the Cardinal is somehow or other, antagonistically at least, involved in the measure. I should have mentioned that another personal

¹ Lord Charles Thynne's wife, Harriet Bagot, was the eldest daughter of Richard Bagot, Bishop of Oxford 1829-45, who died in 1854. Thynne's letter is not to be found, but in a letter towards the end of the summer of 1857, Emily Bowles wrote to Newman, 'I don't think I ever told you that I saw Lady Ht Bagot [the Bishop's widow, Harriet, daughter of the fourth Earl of Jersey] a good deal this summer — Did you know that Dr Bagot before he died, expressed a great wish to see you and tell you how much he esteemed you — "just the same," he repeated. The last words he said (except a few of prayer) were to Lord C. Thynne, "Charles you were always and are still, my greatest comfort." He never changed towards him the least, rather was kinder.'

² All the London Oratorians added their names to the address of the Westminster Priests, except Francis Balston and William Morris, who were perhaps absent at the time.

Of the Oblates at Bayswater, the following did not sign, H. E. Manning, who was the Superior, Herbert Vaughan, William Manning, Henry Bayley and David Nicols.

³ Newman quotes from a letter of Maguire's, who wrote on 18 March,

'As to the question which you propose to me in confidence: I would in reply suggest that to avoid giving umbrage and possibly wounding very delicate susceptibilities all reference to the Chapter (quà Chapter) had better be refrained from — Consider us all as brethren equal and indiscriminate. Perhaps it will be as well to refrain also from any allusion whatever to the "ruling powers" The address is a spontaneous act of the Clergy . . . and you may rest assured that any reply of yours will be heartily welcomed and highly prized by that large number of brother priests to whom you and your fair fame your past and your future services are so deeply interesting.'

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friend of his, (and a good friend of mine too) Mr Heneage of Hammersmith, did not sign.¹

However, I suspect the movement is against Manning more immediately than any one else. I heard the other day what may or may not have penetrated the solitudes of the Temple, that for three or four months past the Westminster clergy have been in a state of extreme anxiety, lest Manning should be made co-adjutor to the Cardinal.² And, tho' it is not obvious how a Letter to me could have any bearing on this dreaded measure, yet I think there is a connection between the two. Don't suppose I doubt at all that the Address is dictated by a real friendly interest in me — but I am speaking of the immediate motive cause. It is a curious fact that it is an *old-Catholic* movement in my favour. The converts have little or nothing to do with it. I have been aware of the state of things for years. Faber began it about the year 1855; and it has been steadily increasing. Of the original 80 signatures I do not recognise converts except Oakely, Morris, Talbot, Roberts, Garside.³ The Jesuits move as a *body*, therefore I doubt whether Christie and Hathaway should count, though I know well that they would sign heartily — among the Dominicans is Rooke. Among those who have not signed in the 80 are Patterson, Macmullen, J. Walker, Bampfield, Case, and the Oratorians.⁴

I know so little, that I may make mistakes — but, tho' the clergy may not like the Home and Foreign, yet they may not like Ward and Manning to have the Dublin in their hands. Ward, tho' very respectful has taken a quasi-opposition line to me since 1855

Ever Yours affly John H Newman

E Badeley Esqr

TO EDMUND S. FFOULKES

The Oratory Bm March 22/64

My dear Mr Ffoulkes,

Your letter interested me very much, as I had not heard in what position things were as regards your experiment.⁵

¹ Heneage wrote to Newman on 28 March to explain that he intended to sign the address, but was called away to visit his mother, who was dangerously ill.

² Manning would then have automatically succeeded Wiseman. See Butler's *Ullathorne*, I, p. 260. A year later, after Wiseman's death, Manning, writing to George Talbot, surmised that the Westminster Chapter might put Newman's name on the list of candidates 'for Oakeley and Dr. Maguire have been literally playing the fool about him in this Kingsley affair.' *Purcell*, II p. 206.

³ Newman meant that the alienation of some of the converts from him was begun by Faber. John Morris was at this time a Canon of Westminster, Gilbert Talbot, a curate at St John's Wood, was the brother of the eighteenth Earl of Shrewsbury.

⁴ Patterson's name was omitted by mistake and Bampfield was among those who gave their name later.

⁵ A copy of Ffoulkes's letter of 20 Feb., describing his efforts to found a Catholic hall at Oxford, is preserved at the Birmingham Oratory. In the autumn he had stayed at Lincoln

It seems to me only a matter of time, when Catholics will be allowed to have Halls at Oxford, though often such matters linger on in a very provoking way. At this distance from the scene of action, it is impossible to ascertain whether the activity of Catholics in behalf of such a motion as Mr Dodson's would have done good or harm. The bill passed the second reading any how — without the name of Catholics being mentioned, tho' Gladstone in his speech was evidently thinking of them.¹ The majority was good — It could not have done more than pass, and pass well, had Catholics taken the matter up — and if they had, it might have had the effect of frightening people, and turning the majority on the other side. But on the other hand, it may be said that there are votes which are never given for a measure of this kind, till the existing state of things is proved to be a grievance felt and complained of — and certainly it is no encouragement for Parliament to take up our cause, if we do not take it up ourselves.

But could we any how have secured its being really taken up by the Catholic body? is it not plain on the contrary that, if there had been an attempt by petitions, or by speeches, to support Mr D. on the part of Catholics, it would have been so poor and abortive as to have told for the very contrary conclusion to that which it aimed at? How many Bishops or Priests, how many Catholic gentlemen are there, who wish our youth to go to Oxford? How do you know what the Holy See will permit, or will recognise?

So that I do not see that any thing is left us but to be patient, and expect that things will be ordered for us better than we could dispose of them ourselves.²

Very sincerely Yours John H Newman

E. Ffoulkes Esqr

WEDNESDAY 23 MARCH 1864 in retreat

College, with Mark Pattison, 'who still seems haunted by longings for his old friends'. The Vice-Chancellor had written courteously that only a member of Convocation could open a hall, and the High Church party, notably Burgon and Liddon, were opposed in consequence to allowing Catholics to become members of Convocation.

J. G. Dodson, Member of Parliament for East Sussex, had introduced a bill to abolish religious tests for M.A.'s, and thus enable dissenters to be eligible for Convocation. Ffoulkes was anxious that the Catholic Members should support Dodson's bill.

¹ Dodson's bill passed its second reading on 16 March, by 211 votes to 189. Gladstone, who was one of the members for Oxford University, spoke in favour of the bill. He opposed the granting of religious degrees to any but Anglicans, and thought there should still be a religious test for Convocation, the governing body of the University. However, he was insistent that all lay degrees should be open to dissenters, and wanted M.A.'s who were dissenters to have the right to open halls, even though they could not be members of Convocation.

² Ffoulkes replied on 24 March, that he intended to continue his efforts to open a hall at Oxford. He claimed that he had inspired the speech of Gladstone, and enclosed a note in which Gladstone said he by no means despaired of attaining the object of a Catholic hall. Ffoulkes, however, added 'Manning, and still more Ward, will probably be workers against me.' See letter of 2 July to Ffoulkes.

26 MARCH 1864

TO CHARLES FRANCIS RIDDELL

The Oy Bm March 26/64

My dear Mr Riddell

I hope you will excuse a line in the greatest of hurries.

We have had *no* fever or dream of fever — or of any illness whatever. In the beginning of last *February* a boy, *after* having been removed off our premises, had scarlatina — He brought it, the doctor thought, from *home*. We have been *quite healthy* all through the Term — and the report you mention is utterly, totally, absurdly untrue from beginning to end¹

With my best Easter greetings to you and Mrs Riddell

I am, Most truly Yrs John H Newman

C. Riddell Esqr

TO RICHARD HOLT HUTTON

The Oratory. Bm Easter Day. 1864. [27 March]

My dear Sir

I have read an article on Mr Kingsley and myself in the *Spectator*, which I cannot help attributing to you. Excuse me, if I take a liberty in doing so. Whoever wrote it, I thank him with all my heart.² I hope I shall be never slow

¹ For the boy with scarlatina, see letter of 5 Feb. to Thomas Gaisford. Newman kept a copy in his own hand of a circular:

'As you may have it in intention to send your Son home for a few days at Easter, I think it right to inform you that at the beginning of the Term we had one case of scarlatina among our boys.

I did not inform you of it at the time, because the boy in question had been taken off our premises several days before the complaint showed itself, and our medical adviser would not allow that it had ever been in any of our houses.

The boy has left the school buildings since February 3rd; and we hope that the interval which has elapsed since, viz six weeks, will be considered a sufficient quarantine, should you wish to have your son home. The school has been ever since, in spite of the bad weather, healthy even more than is usual with us. I have waited till the end of Term, that we might have as long a trial of it in this respect as possible'

² 'Roman Catholic Casuistry and Protestant Prejudice', the *Spectator*, (26 March 1864), pp. 356-8, reviewed Kingsley's pamphlet *What, then, does Dr. Newman mean?* 'This reply of Mr. Kingsley's is occupied in scattering far and wide aspersions on the craft and subtlety of the Roman Catholic communion in general, and Dr. Newman in particular. . . . Nor is it possible to overlook Dr. Newman's disposition while drifting slowly but surely to Rome, with vigilant outlook on all the various characteristics of the faith he was approaching, to palliate much that seems to use us to deserve only bitter and unqualified censure, — or rather, perhaps, to palliate it relatively to what he regarded as the faults and evils of that Protestantism which he was abandoning.'

After referring to the unjust attack against which Newman had protested, Hutton continued: 'Mr. Kingsley replies in an angry pamphlet, which we do not hesitate to say, aggravates the original injustice a hundredfold. . . . He raises, in fact, as large a cloud of dust as he can round his opponent, appeals to every Protestant prepossession against him, reiterates that "Truth is not honoured among these men for its own sake," giving a very shrewd hint that he includes Dr. Newman as chief amongst the number, and retires without vindicating his assertion in the least . . . he permits himself a perfect licence of insinuation, so long as these insinuations are suggested by the vague sort of animal scent by which he chooses to judge of other men's drift and meaning.'

to confess my faults, and if I have, while becoming a Catholic, palliated things really wrong among Catholics, in order to make my theory of religion and my consequent duty clearer, I am very sorry for it — and I know I am not the best judge of myself — but Mr Kingsley's charges are simply monstrous. I can't tell, till I read the article again carefully how far I follow you in everything you say of me — though it is very probable I shall do so, except in believing (which I do) that I am both logically and morally right in being a Catholic — but it is impossible not to feel that you have uttered on the whole what I should say of myself, and to see that you have done me a great service in doing so, as bearing external testimony.

Let me on this day, after the manner of Catholics, wish you the truest 'Paschale gaudium,' and assure you that I am

Most sincerely Yours John H Newman

R. H. Hutton Esqr

P.S. On reading this over, I have some fear lest I should incur some criticism from you in your mind, of what you seemed to think in a former instance mock humility — but, if you knew me personally, I don't think you would say so.¹

TO W. J. COPELAND

Rednall Bromsgrove March 31/64

My dearest Copeland,

I have wished to send you a line of Easter greeting ever since Sunday — but I am very, very busy; and now only manage an *apology*, rather than any thing else, for not doing it properly.

Thank you too for your most thoughtful and generous proposal to aid me in the re-publication of my Sermons — but the whole project requires great consideration, and I will write to you, when I have a little leisure.²

Private

I am writing my answer to Kingsley's pamphlet, and this is what I think. The whole strength of what he says, *as directed rhetorically* to the popular mind, lies in the antecedent prejudice that *I was a Papist while I was an Anglican*. Mr K. *implies this*. The only way in which I can destroy this, is to

Hutton went on to defend Newman's sermon 'Wisdom and Innocence' against Kingsley's 'exceedingly discreditable' attack. He also showed that Kingsley was at least as credulous about certain Old Testament miracles as Newman was about medieval ones, and concluded, 'Mr. Kingsley has done himself pure harm by his rejoinder.'

¹ Hutton replied on 29 March: 'Protestant as I am, — thoroughly and cordially Protestant in principle, — my heart burns at the unfairness with which Protestants so often treat their Roman Catholic opponents . . . I do not think however that this is nearly so much the case with laymen as with clergymen, and . . . I am bound to say the feeling against Mr. Kingsley in the present case is nearly universal.'

² See letters of 7 March and 5 Aug. 1864 to Copeland.

I APRIL 1864

give my history, and the history of my mind, from 1822 or earlier, down to 1845. I wish I had my papers properly about me.

It would be a great act of friendship, if you would let [me] send you some pages in proof, in order to correct me, *if I have stated any facts incorrectly*. All this in strict confidence — and of course I should not say a word to any one that you have seen the proof.¹

Ever Yrs affly J H N

TO J. WALKER OF SCARBOROUGH

Rednall, Bromsgrove April 1. 1864

My dear Mr Walker,

I am sorry to say I have had something the matter with me, *though of no consequence* — and am sent here by the doctor for change of air and quiet. I shall not be in Birmingham on Monday, and could not, I am sorry to say, have a leisurely talk with you, even if I were.

This, however, will not hinder your having a bed in the Oratory, and I will take care that it shall be ready for you.

Thank you for your kind remarks on my Pamphlet. By Mr K's [Kingsley] reply, I judge he must be very angry.

Ever Yours very sincerely in Xt John H Newman of the Oratory
The Revd John Walker

TO W. J. COPELAND

Rednall, Bromsgrove April 8/64

My dear Copeland

Many thanks — the week after next, beginning with Sunday the 17th I hope to send you the Proof, over which I wish you to cast your eye. Tell me where you will be. I am in a great hurry, being overpowered with my work

Ever Yrs affly John H Newman

TO MISS HOLMES

Rednall, Bromsgrove April 9. 1864

My dear Miss Holmes

Thank you most heartily for your kind words. Don't fancy that I am scared — and don't you be annoyed for me.

¹ Copeland replied on 2 April, agreeing to be of any service he could. He thought Newman would be able to show how constructive the Oxford Movement was. He also said, 'This dogged imputation of dishonesty has been one of the most intolerable things in the whole history of the movement, but much was owing to I.W.' The reference is to *Tracts LXXX and LXXXVII*, 'On Reserve in communicating Religious knowledge', by Isaac Williams.

9 APRIL 1864

The Press and Public generally see clearly that Mr K. [Kingsley] is covering me with abuse, to cover his own defeat. I shall answer him soon. Only pray for me that I may not be overtired, for the toil is a fatigue, and that I may be guided what to say.

Ever Yours affectly John H Newman of the Oratory

Miss Holmes

P.S. I said Mass for you the day before yesterday.

TO CHARLES MEYNELL

Rednall, Bromsgrove April 9/64

My dear Dr Meynell

You must not think I did not feel your kindness in sending me the extract from Johnson, because I did not at once acknowledge it. It is a very important one, and I intend to use it with others from Jeremy Taylor and Paley.¹

I think that the essence of the difficulty which Englishmen have in the doctrine of Catholic Theologians is that equivocation is sneaking, whereas to give out that in certain cases what looks like a lie is not to be taken for lie, and that yours does not deceive men, when you tell them beforehand that, if they are impertinent to ask, they will have a (material) lie for their pains, is straightforward and manly. For myself, nothing on earth should get me to say that A.B. was not *here*, meaning in my *pocket*, when I was asked if he was in this *house*. I could not refuse absolution to a penitent who claimed to say it, but I never (please God) would say it myself. On the other hand (speaking under correction) I thought that there were divines who did say (to take Johnson's instance) that, if a murderer asked which way his intended victim had gone, it was allowable to tell him wrong distinctly and directly. But I have a very bad memory about these things.

The difficulty of answering Mr Kingsley's new pamphlet is the multiplicity of subjects which it introduces. It requires a Volume to answer it.

I am, My dear Dr Meynell Sincerely Yours in Xt
John H Newman of the Oratory

The Revd Dr Meynell

SUNDAY 10 APRIL 1864 beginning of my hard work for my Apologia

¹ Meynell wrote on 2 April calling Newman's attention to Samuel Johnson's teaching that it is permissible to tell a lie, in order to divert a murderer from his intended victim. James Boswell's *The Life of Samuel Johnson*, edited by G. Birkbeck Hill, revised and enlarged by L. F. Powell, London 1934-50, IV, p. 305. Cf. *Apo.* pp. 274 and 361.

12 APRIL 1864

TO WILLIAM FROUDE

The Oratory, Bm April 12/64.

Confidential

My dear William,

I am, in answer to Kingsley, giving an Account of my Opinions. I introduce Hurrell. I send you the words in which I speak of him, that you may tell me if you want any thing modified or added.¹

Ever yrs affly John H. Newman.

TO JAMES HOPE-SCOTT

The Oratory, Bm 12 April 12/64

Confidential

My dear Hope Scott,

It is curious that the plan of lectures is one about which Ambrose was hot — and I had all but determined on it — but I was forced to abandon it, from the nature of my intended publication.² have taken a resolution, about³ which I shall be crit[ic]ized — yet I do it, though with anxiety, yet with deliberation.

Men who know me, the tip top education of London, and far gone liberals, will not accuse me of lying or dishonesty — but, e.g. the Brummagem and the Evangelical party etc etc. do really believe me to be a clever knave. Moreover, I have never defended myself about various acts of mine, e.g. Number 90 — so I am actually publishing a History of my Opinions. Now it would *have been impossible to read* this out.

I am so busy with composing that I have no time for more. My answer will come out in numbers on successive Thursdays, beginning with the 21st

Ever Yours affly John H Newman

Jas R Hope Scott Esqr

¹ *Apo.* pp. 23–25. See letter of 18 April to Rogers for Froude's reply.

² Hope-Scott asked on 11 April, 'Would not this be a good opportunity for you to give us some Lectures, in London, on the general question of Catholic teaching as to the Truth.' Hope-Scott, who had heard that Wiseman favoured the suggestion, offered to arrange that Newman should 'be asked in a proper way'.

³ [[for]]

15 APRIL 1864

FROM SIR JOHN ACTON

37 Halfmoon St April 10 1864

My dear Father Newman,

I heard from Badeley the other day that you are meditating a reply to the pamphlets of Kingsley and Meyrick.¹ Many persons are very curious to know whether you will do so, and the interest of the original controversy seems to be very strong in quarters the most various. On several occasions, in Protestant or in mixed society, I have observed the nature of the curiosity which is felt, and of the expectations which are raised, and it is on this account I venture to write to you on the subject.

All admit, so far as I have heard, and I have heard several of Kingsley's relatives and friends, the victory you gained in your first pamphlet, and the failure of the attack upon you in Kingsley's reply. Then they say that your dialectics were triumphant, but that you did not take, as you were not bound, or even invited to take, the general defence of the Catholic clergy. This, they conclude, would be very difficult, and they see in your omission another proof of your skill and good judgment. In these minds, therefore, and I must include among them several of the most eminent intellects both in literature and in the State, one effect of the controversy is adverse to the Church almost in proportion as it is favourable to you. They connect with this question several instances that have occurred of late years, and even some things with which the H and F [*Home and Foreign*] Review has been mixed up.

As I am only presuming to relate my own experience I may add that I have been sometimes in considerable perplexity, and see no way out of it but a discussion of the question which shall be so complete as to enlighten not only the Protestants but such Catholics as have got a little confused by the policy which is adopted in order to avoid scandal. I don't know whether you are thinking of any thing of the kind, but I am really afraid that there is some danger of ill effects if the discussion is narrowed, or if it throws no light on the difficulty which many seem to feel in the practice of proscribing truth and positively encouraging falsehood in the Church.

Believe me Dear Father Newman Ever faithfully Yours J D Acton

TO SIR JOHN ACTON

The Oratory, Bm April 15/64

My dear Sir John,

Your letter is a very valuable one to me. I am writing from morning till night, and against time, which is not pleasant — this is the cause that I have not thanked you before, and why I do not write longer now. I get so tired.

As to the points you mention, you may be sure I shall go as far as ever I can²

Yours most sincerely John H Newman

Sir John Acton Bart M P

¹ F. Meyrick's pamphlet, *But isn't Kingsley right after all? A Letter to the Rev. Dr. Newman*, dated 18 March 1864, excused Newman personally of untruthfulness, but maintained that he was committed to the defence of it, owing to the teaching of St Alphonsus on the subject.

² See *Apo.*, Chapter V, 'Position of My Mind since 1845'.

15 APRIL 1864

FROM SIR JOHN ACTON

37 Halfmoon St Saturday [16 April 1864]

My dear Father Newman,

Your letter came to me at the same time as the Saturday Review with Longman's portentous advertisement.¹ You do not require to be told of the expectation it has awakened.

If you take the opportunity of speaking not only *pro domo* but *pro ecclesia*, you are no doubt well acquainted with the *Traité de la vérité et du mensonge* by Thomassin, where the question at issue is very fully treated.² I don't apologise for the shortness of my letter.

Believe me Faithfully Yours J D Acton

TO EDWARD BADELEY

The Oratory Bm April 15/64

My dear Badeley

I am writing against time — that is, my Reply; — which in various ways is most unpleasant. I shall be troubling you with a proof next week or the week after.

Meanwhile, I want your assistance on this point: — in explanation of Number 90. My idea in it was, to harmonize discordant precedents. Now it strikes me that the Law gives an illustration both of the use and the abuse of this process. Have I not heard you say, that Judge Denman ruled some points of law, i.e. interpreted certain precedents, in the Baptism matter, very violently?³

English Law goes by precedents and decisions, does not it? and are they not discordant sometimes? and in such cases do not later judges, instead of violently putting aside former decisions, give them a pious interpretation? and is not in this way a principle at work, higher than the letter of the law, making it one whole, and directing it in one course? And in this way is not the national character constantly at work, and political principles; — intruding into the sacred courts of law, tyrannising over lawyers, and making themselves sovereign in a province not strictly their own? And juries again, do not they contribute to this assimilation of Westminster Hall and the Temple to the spirit of the people and the public?

If you could give me any passage from Fortescue, Coke upon Lyttleton, Blackstone, or any modern oracle, I should thank you much.

Ever Yours affectly John H Newman

E Badeley Esqr

¹ *The Saturday Review*, (16 April 1864), p. 493, '*Apologia pro Vitâ Suâ* being a reply to a pamphlet entitled "What then Does Dr. Newman Mean?" by John Henry Newman D.D. In Weekly Parts, 1s each. Part 1. on Thursday next.

² Louis Thomassin (1619–95) published this treatise in 1693.

³ In his long reply of 17 April, Badeley pointed out that Lord Denman had been the judge, not in the Baptism controversy, but when the attempt was made to prevent Hampden's appointment as Bishop of Hereford in 1848. Denman had indeed acted very violently, and his would not be a useful precedent. Newman did not use the example of the law in his account of *Tract XC*, in *Apo.* pp. 77–88.

18 APRIL 1864

TO SIR FREDERIC ROGERS

The Oratory, Birmingham April 18. 1864

Confidential

My dear Rogers

I rejoice in having a good excuse for giving you some trouble. And I rejoice in the subject matter of it.¹

I have the most arduous work on hand I ever had in my life — and into what I am writing comes a *sketch of Hurrell Froude*

I sent it to William (Froude) — his answer has just come. I inclose it — you will see he refers me to you. Also, I inclose my sketch.²

I have *in pencil* entered the *alterations*, I propose making to meet his objections, or rather remarks, for he is too kind to object.³

¹ Newman had already written to Rogers for he replied on 2 April: 'I return your papers with my slight remarks.

....

As to your work's telling against Anglicanism, it seems to me that the history of his own mind written by a convert must *ex necessitate rei* tell, in the eyes of those who agree with him, and have a tendency to tell on the world against the system which he leaves. In what you have sent me there is nothing certainly that anyone can feel as hostile.'

² *Apo.*, pp. 23–25, first edition pp. 84–87. Froude replied on 16 April to Newman's letter of 12 April: 'I have of course read most carefully the sketch you have drawn of Hurrell's character and mental frame —. In many ways — and those the most apposite to the points specially referred to, you knew him far better than I did. However on most of the points, I should exactly endorse all that you say, conveying as it does a picture which most touchingly, brings him up before me — though indeed he is very seldom absent from my thoughts for any length of time —.

In reference to what you say of his views on the subject of virginity though I entirely agree with you as to the strength of his admiration for the state, and his reverence for the Virgin Mary, I should not myself have expected to hear him speak of her as the *Patroness* of the state so much as its *pattern*, and something of the same sort of difference between what you say, and what I should have expected him to say, exists in reference to the expression about the "Cultus of the Saints" — but on these points I do not doubt that he would freely express opinions to you which it would have seemed out of place in him to communicate to me.

I wonder whether you have thought of asking Rogers's opinion as to the correctness of the description. He knew Hurrell almost better than anybody, and I am sure nothing would give him greater pleasure than to feel himself and you "at one" in your description of Hurrell.

I naturally knew more of the bearing of his mind when it abutted on scientific, and specially on mechanical questions — in reference to which last, he had a sort of intuitive perception of the fundamental conditions on which they rested, and a trenchant way of cutting through the traditional maxims or sham theories by which they are often (more than now) overlaid and obscured — exhibiting in this that "severe adherence to the real and actual" which you attribute to him.

I can readily accept what you say about his inclination to receive the mediaeval miracles, though I never heard him distinctly express it. But, masterly as the view seemed to me at the time (as a verbal explanation of an apparent difficulty in a Doctrine which I accepted on trust, without trying to see what I meant by the words I used) I have often since, felt that his mind would not have found permanent satisfaction in the view that the Real Presence was "a double miracle" because an "invisible miracle" — And that his "adherence to the real and concrete," would have displaced the abstract ideas on which the view seems to rest.'

³ In the manuscript of *Apo.* Newman wrote of virginity that Hurrell Froude 'considered the Blessed Virgin its great Patroness'. He changed the last word in the printed text to 'Pattern'. In the manuscript Newman continued, 'He felt a strong drawing to the *cultus* of the Saints.' The printed text has 'He delighted in thinking of the Saints'; 'he was inclined, to say the least, to receive the mediaeval miracles, though not of course in mass,' became 'he was more than inclined to believe a large amount of miraculous interference as occurring in the early and middle ages.' The sentence 'He had a deep devotion to the Real Presence, in which he had a firm faith' remained unaltered.

19 APRIL 1864

Will you make your criticisms too? which I will attend to — and, if it is fair to ask you to do so without delay, of course it will be a kindness in you. My hand is so tired with writing that I can hardly make a letter.

Ever Yrs affly John H. Newman

Sir. F. Rogers Bart

TO EDWARD BADELEY

The Oratory Bm April 19/64

My dear Badeley

You have taken a great deal of trouble for me, and have done just what I wanted. So don't think of doing any thing more.

Longman quite approved of my plan of publication, and thought it would [be] a means of increasing the sale. My reasons were two, in which he concurred: 1. that people wouldn't read a *long* book. 2. nor a book which was *long delayed*. I think he would not have liked it to begin after April 21 — but it is a sad effort to me, and I am very low about it. Three are in type — the fourth, the most difficult, is not yet written — nor the fifth. It is the fourth about which I shall have to trouble you.

I am afraid it makes you and other friends anxious for me. If so, you must give me some good prayers, that I may be carried through it well.

Ever Yours affectly John H Newman of the Oratory

Edwd Badeley Esqr

TO W. J. COPELAND

The Oratory, Bm. April 19/64.

I am very low — it is one of the most terrible trials that I have had. And I have to write against time, and to refresh my memory against time. Longman seemed to think an answer ought not to be delayed, if there was to be any — and people won't read a fat book — so the only way was to begin at once, and write as I printed. I do trust I shall be carried through it, but at my age it is a perilous toil. There will be at least five parts. The one on which I need your assistance is the fourth. It will be most kind if Keble looks at it too.¹ The single point is, Have I made mistakes of fact, over-stated things, etc? or again left out important things? or can some point be strengthened? What I shall ask Keble (*as well* as you) to look at, is my sketch from (say) 1833 to 1840 — but, mind, you will be disappointed — it is *not* a history of the movement but of *me* — it is an egotistical matter from beginning to end. It is to prove that I

¹ On 16 April Copeland asked whether, on points where he was at a loss, he might consult Keble.

21 APRIL 1864

did not act *dishonestly* — I have doubts whether anyone could supply instead of me what I have to say — but, when you see it, you will see what a trial it is. In writing I kept bursting into tears — and, as I read it to St. John, I could not get on from beginning to end. I am talking of part 3. You can help me greatly, between 1840 and 1845. But Church could help me quite as much. Yet from the day he saw me off at Johnson's, he has been so dead to me, that I could not get myself to ask him.¹ I grieve at your account of your sister. You know how ill Henry Caswall is.

P.S. I shall be *here* for a month to come. I cannot well ask you to come here on your return, even if you could — as I [am] writing from morning till night.

THURSDAY 21 APRIL 1864 First part of my Apologia out

TO JAMES LAIRD PATTERSON

The Oratory, Birmingham. April 21. 64.

(*Private*)

My dear Patterson

I thank you very much for your letter and its inclosure.² I feel the honour done by Academia, by Lord Petre and Mr Langdale, and by the Cardinal for his kind expressions in the Chair.³

¹ Copeland replied on 21 April, that he had seen Keble, 'He bids me give you his "dear love" and say "he does not know how he may be able to help by memory, but will enter into all with deep sympathy."'

Copeland also explained that he was partly to blame for Church's silence. The previous autumn Church had asked Copeland for news of Newman's whereabouts, hoping to visit him, and Copeland had never replied, because at the time Newman was travelling abroad.

² This was the letter, published in *Apo.*, p. 373. It was dated from Wiseman's house, where the meeting of the Academia was held: '8 York Place, London, W. April 19 1864.

Very Revd and dear Sir,

The Academia of Catholic Religion, at their meeting held today under the Presidency of the Cardinal Archbishop, have instructed us to write to you on their behalf.

As they have learnt with great satisfaction that it is your intention to publish a defence of Catholic veracity, which has been assailed in your person, they are precluded from asking you that that defence might be made by word of mouth, and in London, as they would otherwise have done.

Composed as the Academia is mainly of laymen, they feel that it is not out of their province to express their indignation that your opponent should have chosen, while praising the Catholic laity, to do so at the expense of the Clergy, between whom and themselves in this as in all other matters, there exists a perfect identity of principle and practice.

It is because in such a matter, your cause is the cause of all Catholics that we congratulate ourselves on the rashness of the opponent that has thrown the defence of that cause into your hands.'

The letter was signed by the secretaries, J. L. Patterson and Edward Lucas, brother of Frederick Lucas.

³ The motion for sending the letter was proposed by Lord Petre and seconded by Charles Langdale.

Bellasis wrote to Newman on 23 April: 'The Cardinal certainly spoke of you in warm terms, and said amongst other things that you were the person to commence a University in England, and that he wished Edgbaston was the nucleus of one instead of being a school for boys.'

22 APRIL 1864

I am sure the Academia will not consider it any want of gratitude in me, if I do not send my answer at once. At present I am writing against time from morning till night.

May I ask you to be so good as to forward the enclosed to Lord Petre?¹

I also beg to thank Mr E. Lucas, as well as yourself, for the trouble you have taken in the matter,

Yours most sincerely in Christ, John H. Newman.

The Rev. J. L. Patterson.

TO SIR FREDERIC ROGERS

The Oratory, Birrmm April 22. 1864

My dear Rogers

Your letter has given me a good deal of anxiety, as being the sort of judgment of a person at a distance. I understood it to say that I ought to have let well alone, and that, (knowing I had got the victory), I have shown a savageness which will provoke a reaction. I had considered all this, before I began.²

However, I am now in for it; and, if I am wrong, have set myself to the most trying work which I ever had to do for nothing. During the writing and reading of my Part 3, I could not get on from beginning to end for crying.

However, I am in for it, and I am writing against time.

I am giving a sketch of my own conduct under the Tract movement. A great number of external facts come in. It will be a great kindness, if, as regards the years 1833, 34, you would look at my proofs, and mark any statement you think (historically or, I would add, biographically) not true.

I have no intention of saying another hard word against Mr. Kingsley. That is all I can do now if I have been too severe. I am in for it, — and must go through it.

Yours affectionately, John H. Newman.

¹ This was a personal letter of thanks. For Newman's formal reply see letter 15 June to Patterson.

² Rogers wrote on 21 April, 'I could not imagine what you were about. Thank you for Part I which explains.

I was also greatly amused (independently of details) at the mode in which you dictated all of poor Kingsley's moves — and then at the way in which he burst away from your grasp and flung himself into print as a man might fling himself into the Serpentine — to get rid of it all somehow.'

Rogers replied a few days later, 'I did not intend to convey the meaning which you attach to my letter. At the same time I certainly had a floating feeling in that direction — the feeling which would arise on seeing a man heartily horsewhipped after you thought he had been doing with. I had rather made up my mind that you would treat him as disposed of — Then I do not know more of the necessity than what you exhibit.'

23 APRIL 1864

TO R. W. CHURCH

The Oratory, Birmingham April 23. 1864

Private

My dear Church,

Copeland encourages me to write to you. I am in one of the most painful trials in which I have ever been in my life, and I think you can help me.

It has always been on my mind that perhaps some day I should be called on to defend my honesty while in the Church of England. Of course there have been endless hits against me in Newspapers, Reviews, and Pamphlets but, even though the names of the writers have come out and have belonged to great men, they have been anonymous publications, — or else a sentence or two on some particular point has been the whole.¹ But I have considered that, if any one with his name made an elaborate charge on me, I was bound to speak. When Maurice in the *Times* a year ago attacked me, I answered this at once.²

But I have thought it very unlikely that anyone would do so — and then, I am so indolent, that, unless there is an actual necessity, I do nothing. In consequence, now, when the call comes on me, I am quite unprepared to meet it. I know well that Kingsley is a furious foolish fellow — but he has a name — nor is it any thing at all to me that men think I got the victory in the Correspondence several months ago — that was a contest of ability — but now he comes out with a Pamphlet bringing together a hodge podge of charges against me all about dishonesty. Now friends who know me say, 'Let him alone, no one credits him —' but it is not so. This very town of Birmingham of course knows nothing of me, and his pamphlet on its appearance produced an effect. The evangelical party has always spoken ill of me, and the Pamphlet seems to justify them. The (R.) Catholic party does not know me, — the fathers of our schoolboys, the priests, etc etc, whom I cannot afford to let think badly of me. Therefore, thus publicly challenged, I must speak — and, unless I speak strongly, men won't believe me in earnest.

But now I have little more to trust to than my memory. There are matters in which no one can help me, viz. those which have gone on in my own mind — but there is also a great abundance of public facts, or again facts witnessed by persons close to me, which I may have forgotten. I fear of making mistakes in dates, though I have a good memory for them — and still more of making bold generalizations without suspicion that they are not to the letter tenable.

Now you were so much with me from 1840 to 1843 or even 1845, that it has struck me, that you could, if you saw in proof what I shall write about those years, correct any fault of fact which you found in my statement. Also,

¹ See letter of 18 Aug. 1861 to Sister Mary Gabriel Du Boulay.

² See letter of 24 Feb. 1863 to the Editor of *The Times*.

23 APRIL 1864

you might have letters of mine to throw light on my state of mind, and thus by means of contemporaneous authority. And these are the two matters I request of you as regards the years in question.

The worst is, I am so hampered for time. Longman thought I ought not to delay — so I began — and therefore of necessity in numbers. What I have to send you is not yet written. It won't be much in point of length.

I need hardly say I shall keep secret any thing you do for me, and the fact of my having applied to you

Yours affectly John H Newman

The Revd R. W. Church

TO MRS JOHN MOZLEY

The Oratory Bm April 23/64

My dear Jemima

Thank you for the Marmalade which has just come. I had not eaten Marmalade for years and years, till you sent me some. Yours is better than any other I ever ate. And it has made me eat it again. But it is only a luxury, so you should not go on sending it.

I should have sent you my weekly Serial which is going on just now — except that I thought that it would excite you more than you would like. But you are very welcome to it, if you wish.

I have had a poor Easter — for a month I have been writing from morning to night — and this will go on for three weeks more, — till Whitsuntide.

Ever Yours affectly John H Newman

Mrs J. Mozley

TO J. H. MACMAHON

The Oratory Birmm April 24. 1864

Dr Newman is very much obliged to the Editor of the *Irish Ecclesiastical Gazette* for the notice of his Pamphlet which he has inserted in his Number for April 20.

It is a great gratification to him to be sustained by persons of education, who differ from himself in religious doctrine, in a matter which has given and gives him great pain.

It gives him great pain, for it is on a matter so personal to himself.

He has directed Messrs Longman to send his new publication, as it comes out, to the Editor, in case they have not done so already.¹

¹ The *Irish Ecclesiastical Gazette*, (20 April 1864), pp. 89-90, reviewed both Newman's and Kingsley's pamphlets, and was extremely critical of the way the latter had conducted the controversy. Of Newman it said that he 'is now separated by a wide gulph from us in the matter

26 APRIL 1864

TO R. W. CHURCH

The Oratory Bm April 26/64

My dear Church,

Your letter is most kind. But I am not going to take all the assistance you offer.¹

As you say, it is almost an absurdity in me not to take more time. But I am not writing a history of the Movement, nor arguing out statements.²

Longman agreed with me that, if I did any thing, I must do it at once. Also that a large book would not be read. For these two reasons I have done it, as it is. I heartily wish I had begun a week later. But L. particularly insisted that, when once I had begun, I should not intermit a week.

When you see it as a whole, you will not wonder at my saying, that, had I delayed a month, I should not have done it at all. It has been a great misery to me.

I only want to state things as they happened, and I doubt not that your general impressions will be enough.

The chief part I wanted you for, is the dullest part of the whole — the sort of views with which I wrote Number 90. I am not directly defending it; I am explaining my view of it.

Then again I fear you do not know my secret feelings when my unsettlement first began. But I shall state external generalized acts of mine, as I believe them to be — and you can criticize them.

I have no idea whatever of giving any *point* to what I am writing, but that I did not act dishonestly. And I want to state the stages in my change, and the impediments which kept me from going faster. Argument, I think, as such, will not come in — though I must state the general grounds of my change.

Your notion of coming to me is particularly kind. But I could not wish it now, even if you could. I am at my work from morning to night. I thank God, my health has not suffered. What I shall produce will be little — but parts I write so many times over.

of doctrine, but we will not follow Mr. Kingsley's example in repudiating a man who once exercised over English Churchmen . . . a very definite intellectual influence. . . . He has left deeply upon our Church the impress of a sovereign mind, and has, among other benefits conferred upon us, been indirectly the means of preventing Christianity in the Anglican Church from degenerating into the phantom of mere outward arrogant profession.'

¹ Church wrote on 25 April from Whatley Rectory, Frome, 'I will most gladly do what you wish, or any thing else I can do, which may be of any use.' He promised to send all the notes and letters he possessed, and in his concluding paragraph said:

'I have always been meaning to write to you since I saw Copeland and Rogers last year: and I have [no] reason to give why I did not, except that there was no special reason one day more than another.'

² Church wrote, 'I only hope that you will not risk or sacrifice anything material to the hurry of writing.'

26 APRIL 1864

Don't send your papers. You had better keep them to verify what I say.¹ I change my mind; but don't give yourself trouble about them.

Ever Yours affly John H Newman

TO EDWARD RYLEY

The Oratory. Bm April 26/64

My dear Mr Ryley

I thank you for your kind letter — and you must do me the additional kindness to give me some of your best prayers that I may be guided in what I am writing to say that which is according to the Will of God.²

Very truly Yours in Xt John H Newman

E. Ryley Esqr

TO JOHN KEBLE

The Oratory Bm April 27/64

My very dear Keble,

Thank you for your affectionate letter.³ When you see part of my publication, you will wonder how I ever could get myself to write it. Well, I could not, except under some very great stimulus. I do not think I could write it, if I delayed it a month. And yet I have for years wished to write it as a duty. I don't know what people will think of me, or what will be the effect of it — but I wish to tell the truth, and to leave the matter in God's hands.

Don't be disappointed that there is so little in *what I send you by this post* about Hurrell. I have attempted (presumptuously) to draw him in an earlier Part; it has been seen by William [Copeland] and Rogers. You will not see it till it is published. It is too late.

I am writing from morning to night, hardly having time for my meals. I write this during dinner time — This will go on for at least 3 weeks more.

¹ These two sentences have been cancelled. Already on 26 April Church sent off two packets of letters, adding 'If I might have them again, I should be glad; but in this do as you think best.'

² Ryley wrote on 25 April to congratulate Newman on his replies to Kingsley. The autograph of Newman's reply is pasted into an album that was kept by the father of Gerard Manley Hopkins.

³ Keble wrote from Penzance on 25 April, 'I feel as if I ought to write you a long letter, but it must be only a few lines just now, to implore you not to be seriously worried by such trash as Mr Kingsley's. . . . *We* (if I may say) want you, dear J.H.N. — all Christendom wants you — to take your stand against the infidelity which seems to be so fast enveloping us all. . . . Copeland has told me how you are now employed. I regret it so far as it will give you, I fear, much pain which I should have thought might be spared: but if I can be of the smallest use I shall be rejoiced — only you must bear in mind how terribly inaccurate I always was, and I am sorry to say that my memory grows less and less trustworthy. . . . I wish, if it please God, we may meet before very long. . . . I do hope also not to be again so long without writing to you.'

27 APRIL 1864

I am glad you and Mrs Keble have found the winter so mild, for it has been very trying with us.

I dare say, when it comes to the point, you will find nothing you have to say as to what I send you — but I am unwilling not to have eyes upon it of those who recollect the history. You will be startled at my mode of writing¹

Ever Yrs affly John H Newman

TO WILLIAM MONSELL

The Oratory Birmingham April 27/64

My dear Monsell

I am glad that you are back — and I should rejoice to have a talk with you. But I must delay your visit, I am very sorry to say.

I am writing from morning to night with hardly time for my meals. I write this during dinner time. When you see it in print, you will lift up your eyes in astonishment. I could not write it, if I delayed it a month, yet for years I have wished to write it as a duty — yet it is a terrible trial. Give me some good prayers that I may get through it well

Ever affly Yours John H Newman

The Rt Honble Wm Monsell M P

P.S. I shall have to go on in this incessant toil for *at least* three weeks longer

THURSDAY 28 APRIL 1864 second part [of Apologia out]

TO R. W. CHURCH

The Oratory Birmingham April 29/64

My dear Church

I sent you by the 6 o'clock post this evening the slips and insertions belonging to Number 90. I hope you will be able to make them out. As they do not

¹ Keble replied on 30 April from Dartington Rectory, 'I have very little to say, in thanking you, as I most heartily do, for allowing me to see those slips. I have made a few pencil marks in the margin, which I think you will understand. In a few places I could not follow the meaning, and thought there must be a mistake of the press. In one or two, as about the Bishops, and the "Northamptonshire Rector" I fancied it might savour of unnecessary satire. [See letter of 8 May to Copeland, and notes there].

But on the whole, I cannot but hope that it may issue, D.V. not only in the immediate object, of setting yourself right with straight-forward Englishmen (of which I have small doubt,) but also in helping towards the preservation of our people from total unbelief, and in making them feel on which side their great danger lies. The page especially in which you express your sense of the nothingness of religion without dogma, as part of your old convictions, it strikes me, may prove unspeakably useful. I think of a mutual friend or two, to whom it may be most precious.'

Keble added a postscript, 'This place, though so much altered, retains its old memories for me, and I cannot help thinking that it would do so for dear Hurrell if he could be awhile amongst us as one of ourselves.'

I MAY 1864

relate to *facts*, my only reasons for sending them is that I may see how they strike you with reference to your general memory about the state of things then. Excuse the roughness of the copy, made up of print and MS — but, as time presses, I thought it best not to delay.

Thank you for your letters. I am now going to set to on Number 5, in which they will come.

Excuse my penmanship. My fingers have been *walking* nearly 20 miles a day

Ever Yrs affly John H Newman

Rev'd R W Church

TO SIR FREDERIC ROGERS

The Oratory, Birmingham. May 1st 1864.

My dear Rogers,

Thank you for the trouble you have been at.¹ It has been very satisfactory to have your corrections and I have almost entirely adopted them. I suppose I shall send you by this post down to about 1839-40, and then I shall stop. Church (I don't know why you came to say it, for I have not mentioned your name to him, nor his to you,) will look at the part about Number 90, which ends that portion of the history. But I am dreadfully hurried. That portion is simply to be out of my hands next Friday. Longman would not let me delay — but I can't be sorry, for I really do not think I could possibly have got myself to write a line except under strict compulsion. I have now been for five weeks at it, from morning to night, and I shall have three weeks more. It is not much in bulk, but I have to write parts over and over again, from the necessity of digesting and compressing.

I sincerely wish only to state facts — and may truly say that it, and nothing else, has been my object. So far as my character is connected with the fact of my conversion, I have wished to do a service to Catholicism, — but in no other way. I say this because my friends here think that the upshot of the whole tells *against* Anglicanism; but I am clear that I have no such intention — and cannot at all divine what people generally will say about me. I say all this in fairness — it is what has made me delicate in applying to Anglican friends.

¹ Rogers wrote on 27 April, 'I return your proofs — which are most interesting, and recall all manner of things. I have been looking at your old letters in consequence — with pleasure and pain. It is partly like going in fresh spring to the Eton playing fields. They are so much what they were and yet so different.'

I have really nothing to say about the proofs except upon the 14 and 15th pages. What I say there I only say because I suppose you wish me to do so. — As to the rest my impressions are just what you put on paper. . . .

I see you have sent part of your proofs to Church.'

The 14th and 15th pages of Part IV seem to be those on Newman's 'fierceness', *Apo.* pp. 46-47.

2 MAY 1864

Thanks for your offer of my letters, but I have not time for them.¹

Ever yours affectionately, John H. Newman.

R. W. CHURCH

The Oratory Bm May 2/64

My dear Church

Many thanks for the trouble you have taken, the result of which is most satisfactory to me.² But, tell me, is the 'header' too absurd, or may it stand? I had cut it out, and restored it, before it went to you. Perhaps you don't recollect it — n'importe.³

Your letters will be of great use to me judging by the first I opened. I wish to write my sketch down as from my own memory first, and then I shall compare it with your letters. I have not begun Part 5 yet, which is from 1839 to 1845 (*except* the Number 90 matter) — If possible, I shall wish to trouble you with the slips on what *happened* upon Number 90 — I mean, in order that you may say whether you have any thing to say against it.

I am in some anxiety lest I should be too tired to go on; but I trust to be carried through. I think I shall send you a slip of Part 4 tonight — but it is no great matter. It is in like manner, — I want your general impressions.

I shall not dream of keeping for good the letters which you have sent me. I want you to have them, that you may not forget me.

Don't suppose I shall say one word unkind to the Church of E. [England] at least in my intentions. My friends tell me that, as a whole, what I have written is unfavorable to Anglicanism — that may be, according to their notions — for I simply wish to state facts, and I can truly say, and never will conceal, that I have no wish at all to do any thing against the Establishment, while it is a body preaching dogmatic truth, as I think it does at present

Ever Yrs affly John H Newman

The Revd R. W. Church

¹ On 29 April Rogers wrote, 'Would you care to have all your old letters to me to look at? They may check your recollections or ruin them.

Only let me have them back again.'

² Church wrote on 30 April, 'I have no remark to make on the proofs. What you say entirely falls in with my recollections.'

³ In Part IV Newman wrote: 'In like manner, as regards the 39 Articles, my method of inquiring was to leap *in medias res*. I wished to institute an inquiry how far, in critical fairness, the text *could* be opened . . .' *Apo.* p. 80.

In a cancelled draft Newman wrote: 'In like manner, as regards the 39 Articles, I thought it better to be forced to recede in my interpretation, than to have afterwards the mortification of finding that I had not gone as far as I might. It was as if a man took a *header* into deep water, instead of walking cautiously into it. I wished to institute an inquiry how far, in critical fairness, the text could be stretched . . .'

On 4 May Church replied: 'I remember the "header"; and perhaps it would be better to do without it, though personally I am loath to part with what is so expressive. But I believe it had better be left out.'

2 MAY 1864

TO JAMES HOPE-SCOTT

The Oratory Bm 'May 2/64'

My dear Hope Scott

'What good Angel has led you to write to me? It is a great charity.¹ I never have been in such a stress of brain, and such pain of heart — and I have both trials together — Say some good prayers for me. I have been writing without intermission of Sundays, since Easter Monday, five weeks — and I have at least three weeks more of the same work to come. I have been constantly in tears, and constantly crying out with distress — I am sure I never could say what I am saying in cool blood — or if I waited a month. And then the third great trial and anxiety, lest I should not say well what is so important to say. Longman said I must go on without break, if it was to succeed — but, as I have said, I *could not* have done it, if I had delayed.

I am writing this during dinner time — I feel your kindness exceedingly¹

Ever Yrs most affectionately John H Newman

J R Hope Scott Esqr

TO J. WALKER OF SCARBOROUGH

The Oratory, Bm May 2/64

My dear Mr Walker

You are very kind to offer me the passages in Milton.

Yes — I shall be very much obliged to you for them

Excuse my extreme occupation — I write this during dinner time²

Very truly Yours John H Newman

The Very Revd John Canon Walker

TO CHARLES RUSSELL

The Oratory Bm May 3/64

My dear Dr Russell

It is very kind in you to write to me — and I should have thanked you

¹ On 1 May, Hope-Scott wrote his congratulations on what had been written so far in reply to Kingsley. Hope-Scott sent a later note, which Newman dated 'After Spring 1864,' 'I have been too busy, and am too tired to say what I think of the Apologia —'

Do not drop your pen now that you have taken it up again with such vigour — and to the admiration of *all*.

Yours affly J R H S'

² Walker asked on 29 April whether Newman knew of Milton's views on veracity, and on 3 May sent extracts from Milton's *De Doctrina Christiana*, one of which, after translating it, Newman used in *Apo.* p. 274.

8 MAY 1864

before this, but that I am so busy. I am writing from morning to night. I shall be very glad if you will let me see the letters you speak of.¹

Give me a good prayer and believe me to be,

Yours ever affectly John H Newman

THURSDAY 5 MAY 1864 third part [of Apologia out]

TO W. J. COPELAND

The Oy Bm May 8/64

My dear Copeland

I have not a moment to write a letter, *nor to send slips*, the printers hurry me so. I want very much to send you some — but I can't tell when. If I do, it will be to Farnham. Thank you for your remarks.

I have put out the candle —² but as to the Rector, he has already been put out many years — he is no friend of yours or Keble's — he was a two-bottle — and I will give you 20 guesses³

I write to you for those vituperative passages from Newspapers, at once, if you will lend them to me.⁴

Ever Yrs affly J H N

Revd W J Copeland

¹ Russell sent Newman his letters by return, but regretted that one appeared to be missing, 'I regret this the more, as I am almost sure it contained a declaration of your immovability in the Anglican Church even more decisive than the letters which I send.'

Russell asked for the return of these letters, but gave Newman free use of them. He quoted from them in *Apo.* pp. 188–94.

² Copeland wrote on 1 May, after returning the slips of the Fourth Part of *Apo.*, that he had put a question mark against Newman's praise (preserved in the manuscript) of Bishop Bagot of Oxford, 'a man to whom (with one or two exceptions) no other Bishop on the Bench was fit to hold a candle'. This Newman now altered to, 'a man, whom had I had a choice, I should have preferred, out and out, to any other Bishop on the Bench'. *Apo.* p. 51. Keble had also questioned the passage. See letter of 17 June to him.

³ Copeland was also doubtful about Newman's account (in *Apo.*, p. 41) of how, on his visiting, with the first *Tracts*, 'a country clergyman in Northamptonshire, he paused awhile, and then eyeing me with significance, asked, "Whether Whately was at the bottom of them?"' Copeland feared that people might identify the Rector, and on 2 May suggested it might be 'old Litchfield of the Northampton Mercury'. See also Keble's letter of 30 April, quoted in note to letter of 27 April to him.

⁴ Writing on 10 May, Copeland said he would not send these passages, since they would break the thread of Newman's work. Copeland did, however, quote from a letter in the *English Churchman* of 16 Oct. 1845, republished in the *British Magazine* in Nov., in which Newman was accused of having had the intention already four years earlier, of quitting the Church of England.

8 MAY 1864

TO H. E. MANNING

The Oratory Bm May 8/64

My dear Manning

Thank you for your kind letter. I am occupied from morning to night with writing.

Monsell tells you [me] he thinks you have a letter of mine to you at the time of my conversion. I dare say you can't put your hand on it — but, if you can, perhaps it would be useful to me, if you would lend it¹

Ever Yrs affly John H Newman

MONDAY 9 MAY 1864 some times at my work for 16 hours running

THURSDAY 12 MAY Fourth Part [of Apologia out]

TO JOHN MAGUIRE

The Oratory Bm May 18/64

Confidential

My dear Fr Maguire,

I am telling no one at all, that I am writing to you — and that being the case, may I ask your assistance in answering the difficult question about equivocation.²

St Alfonso says (Theol. Mor. lib. 4. Tr 2) that 'ex justâ causâ *certum et commune* est apud omnes, quòd licitum est uti æquivocatione.'

Now to what does the *certum et commune* carry one?³

It is not lawful to declare a disagreement with the School of theologians,

¹ Manning replied on 11 May from Bayswater, 'Please to let me have these again. They are among the few letters I have kept. Two years since I burnt letters which took 6 hours in consuming — and more than 50 of the writers are gone.'

Believe me, always Affectly yours, H. E. Manning.'

Newman used Manning's letters in *Apo.* pp. 219–23 and 228–30.

² Maguire replied from London on 19 May gladly agreeing to do all that he was asked. Before answering Newman's questions one by one, he wrote: 'The question about equivocation I agree with you in regarding as *difficult*. And having learned all my elements of theology before the Italian (more modern) writers came into use or became known even by name amongst us, I have been formed both by oral teaching and by reading, to rules and opinions which I find it very hard to square with the currently received *dicta*. I may as well add that all the reverence and devotion which I entertain towards St Alphonsus cannot overcome a sort of repulsion which I feel to his System of Theology — that I have taken up his books, again and again with a wish to master and to accept of the teaching contained in them: but have always failed.'

³ Maguire denied that there was a consensus of theologians, and referred to Estius, the *Decretum* of Gratian and Cardinal Gerdil as taking a different view from St Alphonsus.

when unanimous. Therefore it is not lawful to say 'I don't think equivocation right.'¹

Is it allowable to say that equivocation is a kind of lie, and, if a lie is ever lawful, equivocation is lawful?²

Is it allowable to say, that in certain cases a lie *is* lawful, i.e. it *ceases to be* a lie?³

Is it allowable to say, As killing is not always murder, so a lie is not always a formal lie, or a lie rightly deserving the name?⁴

Is it allowable to say that a lie indeed is always a sin, but to say the thing that is not, in some cases is not a lie?

Is it allowable to say, Whether an equivocation is lawful or not, nothing on earth shall make *me* equivocate?⁵

Is it allowable to say, I will give no man absolution who practises equivocation, let him betake himself to another confessor?⁶

Is it allowable to say, I will ever preach against equivocation, and, as to a man who equivocates coming to me into the confessor, [sic] the chance is, since it is not held to be a sin, he won't say anything about it — but, if he does, why, of course I can't refuse him absolution — but I'll preach against equivocation nevertheless⁷

Your answers to these questions will throw light on the whole subject.

Would you let me, with no one knowing it but the printer, send you the *slips* of the Part?⁸

¹ Maguire reminded Newman of his remarks on the different senses of the Latin *aequivocatio* and the English 'equivocation', at the beginning of 'On Consulting the Faithful in Matters of Doctrine', the *Rambler*, (July 1859), p. 202. Maguire suggested that in English the word was 'always of odious import: the Casuists have in consequence, received harder measure than they deserve'.

² Maguire replied that the answer must depend on the definition given of equivocation, and that it was agreed that every formal lie was sinful. 'If a lie is ever lawful' was an impossible supposition if one accepted that a lie was intrinsically evil.

³ Maguire was unwilling to allow this.

⁴ Maguire would only admit that recognised phrases such as 'not at home' or 'not guilty' could come into this category, and thus answered the next question.

⁵ Maguire thought this statement permissible, provided one did not condemn others for using 'lawful equivocations'.

⁶ Maguire replied, 'I should strongly dissuade an open assertion of this kind partly from a reason collected from what has just been said: and because if a penitent have a *right* to absolution I cannot refuse it him. . . . For my own part, I hope and pray I may never have my ministry called in by equivocators on system. Whatever I might ultimately feel myself compelled to do, I am sure I should be urged by my conscience to warn the penitent of his risk.'

⁷ Maguire replied, 'I see nothing to discommend in the avowal of this purpose so to preach: save only so far as it may seem to involve a censure on those engaged in the ministry.'

⁸ Maguire was not in fact able to see any of the proof slips, but he did send Newman quotations from Catholic moralists, some of which were inserted in the Appendix to the first edition of *Apo.* pp. 84, 98–100, 111, and 115.

Early in June Newman wrote to say what an assistance Maguire had been to him, and the latter replied on 5 June: 'I have read your last part ['General Answer to Mr. Kingsley, *Apo.* pp. 238–84] carefully; and as regards the topics you have consulted me upon, I see nothing in what you have stated which can be reasonably objected to. Or to speak more plainly: I see nothing to add, to alter, to qualify, to take away.' See *Apo.* pp. 273–82.

On 20 June Maguire wrote his congratulations, after Newman's work was over: 'I cannot withhold myself from saying that you will have done many of the clergy a great service by disturbing a drowsy unreflecting acquiescence in certain *dicta* and by bringing to the standard of right and truth the authority of works which for some few years past have been exalted

25 MAY 1864

And might I ask for this back, as I have not set down the questions elsewhere, and am dreadfully pressed for time?

Yours most sincerely John H Newman

THURSDAY 19 MAY 1864 Fifth part [of Apologia out]
FRIDAY 20 MAY at my Apologia for 22 hours running
SATURDAY 21 MAY Rivingtons' man from London here

TO W. RIVINGTON

25? May 1864

You shall have all my Copy by Friday night's post from here; and all proofs back by Monday morning for press — but in that case I shall not see *all* in revise — and can't help it. But I am sorry to say I am getting knocked up, and am unable to tell whether I shall not have to stop.

THURSDAY 26 MAY 1864 Sixth Part out Corpus Xti Ambrose took the Procession
No one invited for St Philip's day — because of measles and my work
MONDAY 30 MAY Mary Froude died went up to London with William about the
Printing to *G. and R.* [*Gilbert and Rivington*] to the Euston [Hotel]
TUESDAY 31 MAY called on the H Bowdens — *Mrs B. dying* left Wm in London
WEDNESDAY 1 JUNE The Diocesan Synod — an address presented to me¹

TO WILLIAM FROUDE

The Oratory, Bm June 1/64

My dear William

You may easily understand how impossible it is for me to thank you for your letter as I ought.² Dear Child, she is gone to heaven and is safe; so how

unduly and with injurious consequences.' As to the passage in the Appendix on lying and equivocation, Maguire said, 'there is nothing which I do not most heartily assent to and am not prepared to endorse'.

¹ Signed by 123 priests of the diocese of Birmingham and printed in *Apo.* p. 374. The *Weekly Register*, (4 June 1864), p. 356, contained an account of Newman's *extempore* speech, but added, 'This summary conveys but a very imperfect idea of the spirit and character of Dr. Newman's reply. The depth of feeling with which it was expressed and the interest with which it was listened to, cannot be described. Many of those present were moved even to tears.'

According to another account Newman spoke for half an hour, and besides expressing his gratitude, gave reasons why he could not fulfil the wish in the Address that he should answer 'the infidel objections of the day'. He reiterated what he had said in *Apo.* pp. 262-3. Also the time had not yet come for it. 'The modern rationalistic theories were as yet too crude and too indefinite to be tangible. . . ' *ibid.*, (11 June 1864), p. 372.

² Mary Froude (1848-64), died on 30 May, the only child of William Froude to remain a Protestant. On 31 May her father wrote to Newman a harrowing account of her last hours, and concluded:

'There are many points in the history of her mind, and her views, and her character on which I could have wished to compare thoughts with you — in respect of which though I feel

5 JUNE 1864

can I but rejoice that your long pain is at an end —? At least, I trust it is so with you. I think that the trial you have had, though it is not more than many others have, to see a young life cut off, and that by such a slow and certain process, is one of the greatest pains possible in this world.

I am so over fatigued that I cannot write more. Your wife knows I don't forget her. I shall write a line to Eddy who has been so thoughtful about me

Ever Yours most affectly John H. Newman of the Oratory
Wm Froude Esq

THURSDAY 2 JUNE 1864 Seventh Part out *interval of a fortnight.* (*Diocesan Synod?*)
FRIDAY 3 JUNE Mrs Mills and F. Bowden at Bm [Birmingham] William returned

TO PIUS DEVINE

[5 June 1864]

Very Revd dear Fr Pius

It profoundly touches me to have your letter — and especially because you say that, 'to escape myself,' I am 'ashamed of casuistry.'¹ That you should impute a bad motive to me is afflicting, and since on the contrary I hope that I honour the principle of truth more than I honour myself, I do not feel I could effectively reply to you from your starting point — and therefore I will beg your good prayers, and I shall keep silence and subscribe myself J H N²

TUESDAY 7 JUNE 1864 very hard work still (*at Appendix*)

FRIDAY 8 JUNE Renouf in the House

THURSDAY 9 JUNE no part published

FRIDAY 10 JUNE Renouf went

SUNDAY 12 JUNE sent back my LAST proof to the Printer

MONDAY 13 JUNE Mr Bridges in the House went to Rednal

I should express myself differently from you, I feel somehow you would not have that to say which would give me real pain. But I cannot now write on such topics.

And indeed when week by week we are watching the singular and to you most painful sort of self sacrifice with which you are dissecting the history of your own mind before the public — practising (so to say) vivisection on yourself — and while we, and indeed persons of all shades of opinion, (many who have scarcely known you perhaps) are devouring all you say with the deepest interest — it seems out of place to press on you any special considerations of the troubles of others, or of the quasi controversial thoughts which may be interwoven with them, or grow out of them.'

See also *Harper*, pp. 153-4.

¹ Pius Devine, born in County Sligo in 1838, joined the Passionist Order, and in 1861 was ordained priest. He wrote from St. Joseph's Retreat, Highgate, that he was 'disappointed with the concluding portion of the Seventh number' of *Apo.* (pp. 260-82, first edition pp. 412-29), in which Newman dissociated himself from the common teaching on equivocation, as laid down by St. Alphonsus, whose doctrines had been approved by the Church 'as she never approved of moral theologian before'. In denying his assent to them Newman seemed 'to throw us all overboard in order to escape yourself — in fact that you are ashamed of the followers of St. Alphonsus and of casuistry in general'. Cf. next letter to R. A. Coffin.

² Devine replied on 6 June, apologising for the insinuation contained in his letter.

13 JUNE 1864

TO R. A. COFFIN

June 13/64

My dear Fr Coffin

I have wished etc etc.¹

I beg to present my thanks also to your reverend Fathers for the remarks contained in your letter, which has just come.² Will you be kind enough to observe to them in answer

1. that at p 417 I have not used the word 'deceiving' at all.³ I do not there say that the speaker intends to deceive by his use of an equivocal word, but that he intends the equivocal word to be taken by the hearer in a different sense from his own sense. And certainly, it is quite conformable to their just observation to say, that *he* need not be said to *intend* to deceive, though he intends to suggest a sense of the word which *will* deceive.

2. As to p 425, out of a feeling of reverence for the saint, I took particular care to select an instance for which he was *not* responsible, nor is there any thing in the paragraph to connect him with it.⁴ I still think this is best; but will readily yield to their better judgment. Then the sentence will stand thus: 'I do not believe any Priest in England would dream of saying, as St Alfonso inclines to allow, "My friend is⁵ not there," meaning "He is not in the door or window."' ⁶ I do not like this, but, if you decide that it should be, I will give instructions for this alteration when more copies are struck off⁷

J H N

¹ In this first paragraph Newman evidently thanked Coffin for his letter of 25 May congratulating on *Apo.* and acknowledging Newman's part in his conversion.

² On 12 June Coffin sent Newman a complaint from English and Irish Redemptorists, that he had misrepresented the teaching of St Alphonsus.

³ The Redemptorists maintained that 'There is an essential difference . . . between intending to deceive, and permitting another to be deceived,' and that St Alphonsus allowed the latter. Newman wrote in *Apo.*, 'St. Alfonso Liguori, it cannot be denied, lays down that an equivocation, that is, a play upon words, in which one sense is taken by the speaker, and another sense intended by him for the hearer, is allowable, if there is a just cause, that is, in an extreme case, and may even be confirmed with an oath. I shall give my opinion on this point as plainly as any Protestant can wish; and therefore I avow at once that in this department of morality, much as I admire the high points of the Italian character, I like the English character better; but, in saying so, I am not, as will be seen, saying any thing disrespectful to St. Alfonso, who was a lover of truth, and whose intercession I trust I shall not lose, though, on the matter under consideration, I follow other guidance in preference to his.' 1st edition, pp. 417-18; *Apo.* p. 273 with minor alterations.

⁴ The Redemptorists objected to this passage, 'I do not believe any priest in England would dream of saying, "My friend is not here;" meaning, "He is not in my pocket or under my shoe." Nor should any consideration make me say so myself. I do not think St. Alfonso would in his own case have said so . . .' p. 425; *Apo.*, p. 279.

⁵ Newman wrote 'not not' by mistake for 'is not'.

⁶ This is the example of St Alphonsus, *Theologia Moralis*, III, ii, Dubium IV, § 165.

⁷ Coffin replied on 18 June in his own name and that of his fellow Redemptorists simply thanking Newman for his prompt attention, and saying that they all agreed in thinking it better to leave unaltered the passage he offered to change.

15 JUNE 1864

TO WILLIAM NEVILLE

Rednall June 15/64

My dear Wm

I enclose a note for Edward.

Also I want some medicine. I have written it down for Mac Isaac on the next page.

The Orphan can bring it — and also a copy of my Appendix¹

Brownlow wants a certificate of his Confirmation from the Bishop on *thin* paper

Ever Yrs affly John H Newman

TO JAMES LAIRD PATTERSON AND EDWARD LUCAS

Rednall. June 15/64

My dear Mr Patterson

My dear Mr Lucas

I have to acknowledge the singular honor which has been done me by the Academia of the Catholic Religion, in the words of sympathy which it has conveyed to me through you on occasion of my controversy with a popular writer.²

I recognise in the encouragement thus afforded to me one of the many tokens which English Catholics supply of the intimate union which exists between clergy and laity, and of the generosity which prompts the Catholic gentry to take the part of any of the clergy who are in special need of their support.

For myself, while the urgent exigencies of the Press, have simply precluded me, much against my will, from giving an earlier expression to my grateful sense of the kindness shown to me, so much at least I have gained by the delay, that I am able to testify how greatly I have been sustained, through ten long weeks of toil and anxiety, by the words addressed to me at their commencement.

It will be a great consolation to me, if I may allow myself to consider, that in vindicating myself from the aspersions which have been cast upon me, I have indirectly done any thing towards a work, which every Catholic must have at heart, the removal of the prejudices which in this country are entertained against the Catholic clergy.

¹ i.e. the final part of *Apo.*, published on 16 June.

² Newman now sends his answer to the letter of 19 April from the Academia which he acknowledged on 21 April. See notes there.

15 JUNE 1864

TO MICHAEL TRAPPES

Rednall, June 15, 1864

My dear Mr Trappes,

I am sure that those clergy of the diocese of Beverley who have done me the high honour of sending me such a token of their approbation as is contained in your letter of last month, will do me the further kindness of believing that nothing but the sheer necessity of the case has delayed my acknowledgment of it.¹ Indeed, though the work which I shall be bringing to a conclusion to-morrow will seem hardly to bear out what I say, it has involved a more imperious call upon my time, and a heavier burden upon my mind, now for from ten to twelve weeks, than it has been my lot to experience from any former engagement of a literary nature.

I am now beginning to be a free man, and one of the first and most pleasant assertions of my freedom is to express to you, as warmly as I can, my deep sense of the value of a testimony so strong and so hearty, and from so important a section of the English clergy as those who have made you the organ of conveying to me their sentiments.

And their sympathy has this peculiarity, that it is not an expression of good will from those who by neighbourhood or fellowship of duties are connected with me, and whose approbation it is almost a duty for me to seek, but it comes to me from clergy who belong to a distant portion of England, to whom I am not personally known, and to whose praise I could never have aspired.

And this leads me to make a remark upon their act, which would not present itself to them. While I know well, and reflect with pride and gratitude upon their feelings about me, I recognise in those feelings more than a sympathy for myself. It is a sympathy which has its source in their own zeal, a zeal for the cause of religion, which, whatever happens to individuals such as I am, whether, as they kindly desire, I write more or whether² [I] write less, is an augury that the Yorkshire clergy will have a wider and wider influence in their own sphere in time to come, and will carry on the work of God with vigour and success in that noble portion of England which has in old time thriven under the pastoral sway of so many and so memorable saints.

I am, my dear Mr Trappes, Sincerely yours in Christ,

John H. Newman.

THURSDAY 16 JUNE 1864 (the Appendix)

¹ This is Newman's reply to the letter of 9 May, from more than seventy priests of the Diocese of Beverley, which is printed in *Apo.*, p. 375.

² Word inserted by Newman in his printed copy taken from the *Hull Advertiser*.

16 JUNE 1864

TO JAMES LAIRD PATTERSON

Rednall — June 16. 64

My dear Patterson,

My first duty, when my labours were at an end, was to answer the letter sent me by the Secretaries of the Academia. That I have accordingly done, and inclose it.¹ When you sent me the letter, I wrote at once to Lord Petre, to ask his permission for the delay of my answer.

It was most unlucky that I was at our Synod when you called the other day. I have told Father Neville, to send for me from this place, if you call again — and therefore I hope you will be able to send him a line the day before you come to Birmingham.²

Very sincerely yours in Christ, John H. Newman of the Oratory.
The Rev. J. L. Patterson.

TO J. WALKER OF SCARBOROUGH

Rednall June 16/64

My dear Mr Walker

At length I am a free man — and you are one of the first persons I write to, and that out of simple gratitude, to thank you for your letters.³ I have had a terrible time of it, not only from the extreme stress of my work, but from my great anxiety, and also from the special trial it has been to my feelings.

Under these circumstances, it was a great encouragement to have your letters; both for what you said from yourself, and your report about other people.

I have come here for quiet and to write letters. So excuse the fewness of these lines.

Very sincerely Yours in Xt John H Newman of the Oratory
The Very Revd John C. Walker

¹ Letter of 15 June.

² Patterson called on 1 June, and hoped to call again. T. A. Pope wrote the same day to St John: 'He wished that the Father [Newman] should know that he had just seen Bishop Forbes of Brechin, who has been staying in Oxford, and who reports that the "Apologia" has been read there with great avidity and has produced a very remarkable effect — "like a stone thrown into a stagnant pool," he said. It had attracted towards the Father's person great respect, admiration, and affection; had revived an interest in the teaching of the movement, and made the prevalent notions look pale and worthless. The Bishop regarded it as likely to be a great check to "Liberalism," and to lead many minds in the direction of the old paths. Mr Patterson also said wonderful things on the effect produced in London.'

³ Walker wrote several letters full of praise for the parts of *Apo*. On 6 May he said, 'We need a revival more than any other religious community in the land — never were we so flat and dead . . . Nobody can remedy this as well as you . . .' On 8 June he described how Wiseman had praised the Seventh Part, 'Position of my Mind since 1845', *Apo*. pp. 238–84. He said this number would be welcomed and valued by the whole church.

17 JUNE 1864

TO LADY CHATTERTON

Rednall June 17/64

My dear Lady Chatterton,

I hope you do not think me very rude, in having delayed to answer you. The truth is, I have been cut off from all my correspondence, and have been busy for my printer from morning to night. I never have been so hard worked in that way for such a spell of time — I could not bring my work within the compass I had intended, and the engagement to publish every Thursday stood nevertheless. *You* have experience of the anxieties of writing and correcting Press, and will kindly make allowances for me.

And now I have only to add that I will readily look at the composition you speak of, as soon as you send it to me.¹ My address is 'The Oratory, Birmingham'

Very truly Yours John H Newman

TO R. W. CHURCH

Rednall. June 17/64

My dear Church

I had no time to send you any more proofs. The printer was so urgent, and I so behind hand. I began with something like three weeks or at least a fortnight's start before the beginning of the publishing — This was my capital — but it soon went — and I was soon compelled to live from hand to mouth and the closeness and continuity of my work was such that it is a wonderful mercy that I have got through it. At times I thought I was going to be seriously ill, but I rallied. At other times, I had to sweep away what I had written ruthlessly, and saw the day of publication yawning close upon me, without being prepared for its demands. And then my matter would grow under my hands, and my separate Portions would not come to an end. But it is over, and I wish to be thankful — and am come here for rest.

You kindly hope that it was pleasant to do amid the pain — but it was not. I cannot tell why, but it has been an extreme pain to me from first to last.²

You shall have the letters back with many thanks

Ever Yours affectly John H Newman

The Revd R. W. Church.

¹ This consisted of poems by a friend of Lady Chatterton. For Newman's opinion on them see letter of 21 June.

² Church wrote on 6 June, 'It has indeed been very sad to read, and yet full of indescribable pleasure, like living old days again. What must it have been to you to have to do it all: of sadness indeed, but I doubt not of abundance to counterbalance the sadness.' Church concluded, 'thank you for the great considerateness and kindness of your language throughout, where such trying questions are touched on.'

17 JUNE 1864

TO W. J. COPELAND

Rednall. June 17/64.

My dear Copeland

The Printers would not give me time to send you another slip or even a line to explain. I never have had such a time. It is the greatest effort I ever made, and for from 10 to 12 weeks. One time I went on for 22 hours running. But it is over — and, I trust, has done my work — so I must be content and thankful — and I am not much the worse for it, though very tired, and up to nothing at all.

I flatter myself it has in no respect interfered with your *Opus Magnum*.¹

And now I have nothing more to say but to thank you for your trouble and sign myself

Yours very affectly, John H. Newman.

The Revd W. J. Copeland

P.S. I put the 'Candle' out at your and Keble's bidding — but the Northamptonshire Rector was no friend of yours, and is dead; so he lives.²

TO JOHN KEBLE

Rednall. June 17/64

My dear Keble,

I never answered your kind letter, nor have thanked you for your assistance in my work.³ But the printers have been upon me — and you know enough what that is. I never have had such a time — both for hard work, and for distress of mind. But it is, thank God, now over. And I am come here, (where we have our burying ground), for a little quiet.

You need not have any fears about the Northamptonshire Rector — not only is he long dead, but you knew nothing of him I suppose. He had nothing to do with any movements whatever, but (I *suppose*) retired from the port wine of the Common Room to the port wine of the Rectory.⁴

I put out the 'Candle' as you suggested

It was very pleasant to me to hear so good an account of you from Copeland

Ever Yours affectly John H Newman

The Revd John Keble

¹ Newman hoped that Copeland would write a history of the Oxford Movement.

² See letter of 8 May to Copeland and notes there. Copeland replied on 18 June, 'I love to realize you taking rest after your labours in that beautiful spot under the Bilberry Hills.'

³ i.e. Keble's letter of 30 April, quoted in note to that of 27 April to him.

⁴ For this and what follows see letter of 8 May to Copeland.

17 JUNE 1864

TO ISAAC WILLIAMS

Rednall. June 17/64

My dear Isaac

I hope you have guessed why I did not answer your very kind letter from Oxford.¹ I never have had such a time. Under the lash of a printer, without any respite — and my matter growing under my hands, so that I thought it never would come to an end. And a dozen processes, efforts of memory, letter-hunting, planning, sketching, writing, correcting, transcribing, and correcting press, all going on at once. And then, it has affected and cut me up so cruelly, as no one can tell but those close about me.

And now I am come here for a little quiet — and have nothing to say but to thank you — and to thank your wife for her kind message

Ever Yours affectionately John H Newman

The Revd I. Williams

SATURDAY 18 JUNE Monsell came down to us came in from Rednal

TO T. W. ALLIES

Rednall, June. 18./64

My dear Allies,

Through next week I shall be here for some quiet. For I never have had such a time of work in my life, and simple rest is my best medicine. So I do not think I could propose your coming till after the 25th this day week.

But after that I shall be rejoiced to see you at the Oratory, whenever you can come.

Ever yours affectly John H Newman of the Oratory

¹ Williams wrote on 13 May from Oxford, enclosing a photograph of himself, and saying that he had a copy of Part IV of the *Apologia*, 'and was looking to see if I could see my own name in it'. He continued, 'I had been wishing to write to you ever since I have been in Oxford and to mention the persons I have seen who have been talking of you and your Pamphlets. The Provost [Hawkins] has been here more than once, Wilson, Short, Crawley and others with whom almost all our talk has been of you. . . . I wish you could be here for a couple of days and see the affection of old friends . . .'

Hawkins wrote to Newman on 6 June, 'I have read with the deepest interest your "Apologia", the first six parts at least; and I cannot forbear troubling you with a line to express my great pleasure in your expression of such very kind feelings towards myself and others among your old friends.'

18 JUNE 1864

FROM RICHARD HOLT HUTTON

Spectator Office, 1 Wellington Street, Strand, London, W.C. 15th June 1864

My dear Sir,

Let me heartily thank you and warmly congratulate you on the triumphant vindication of yourself from Mr Kingsley's unworthy sarcasms. Even his friends, I hear, are now saying that he ought to express frankly and simply his retraction of any charge that had seemed to insinuate insincerity against you. In the hope that he may do so I have been gentle in alluding to that part of the subject in the paper.¹

Your Apology has interested me very profoundly on its own account. I wish more than I can say that I could be nearer to you in faith for I feel the same fascination in all you write that I have always felt. I have struggled my way out of Unitarianism to a deep belief in the Incarnation, but not by the road of 'authority' which you teach as the only road to theological truth. Surely God can and does teach us His own truth without confiding it to any visible Church. I have never got so far as any really authoritative visible Church, I don't think the apostles had.

However it is not for me to take up your time with my crude opinions. Such gleams of truth as God puts into our hearts — not systematically I think — I glean eagerly from all sides, — but I never could grasp the argument for supposing that the Church could teach us more than God can directly. I have always thought the Roman theology fuller of self-revealing truth than almost any other of the coherent *systems* and was delighted with Möhler's Symbolik, but my stumbling block has always been that a true theology ought to be (and I think is) self-revealing and does not need the organism of a visible institution to drive it home to the conscience and the heart. Of course I am not denying that a Church grows naturally out of a Theology: what I cannot see is that a Theology should grow out of a Church. The Church seems to me the expression of a faith once attained, not the means of giving it. I did not intend to write this and hope you will take no notice of it unless anything occurs to you that would reach my state of mind. When I was eighteen the passage in which Willis describes the mass in 'Loss and Gain'² very nearly made a Willis of me, — a man I mean who *dives* experimentally into the Church in the hope of faith rather than one who goes into it because he sees it to be true. But since then I have got a growing conviction that faith however mysteri-

¹ Kingsley who was in France while *Apo.* was appearing, wrote to Alexander Macmillan on 8 June, after his return (a letter preserved at the British Museum), 'Here is my ultimatum on the Newman question, which please show (privately) to any one and every one you like, — including Mr Hutton.

I have determined to take no notice whatever of Dr Newman's apology.

1. I have nothing to retract, apologize for, explain. Deliberately, after 20 years of thought, I struck as hard as I could. Deliberately I shall strike again, if it so pleases me, though not one literary man in England approved. I know too well of what I am talking.

2. I cannot trust — I can only smile at — the autobiography of a man who (beginning with Newman's light, learning, and genius,) ends in believing that he believes in the Infallibility of the Church, and in the Immaculate Conception. If I am to bandy words, it must be with sane persons.

3. I cannot be weak enough to put myself a second time, by any fresh act of courtesy, into the power of one who, like a treacherous ape, lifts to you meek and suppliant eyes, till he thinks he has you within his reach, and then springs, gibbering and biting, at your face. Newman's conduct in this line has so much disgusted Catholics themselves, that I have no wish to remove their just condemnation of his doings.

The world seems inclined to patronize Dr Newman and the Cafards just now, because having no faith of its own, it is awed by the seeming strength of fanaticism. I know them too well either to patronize or to fear them.

I wish poor dear Thackeray had been alive. He knew what I know, and would have taken a tone about this matter, which would have astonished too many literary men. He was too true a liberal to pat lies and bigotry on the back.

Give my really kind regards to Mr Hutton, for whom I have a sincere respect. Yours ever faithfully C Kingsley'

See R. B. Martin, *The Dust of Combat*, London 1959, p. 252.

² *L.G.*, pp. 327-9.

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ous ought to prove itself to the mind and has the power to do so. Still that passage about the mass has a strange fascination for me which I cannot quite analyze. In this world I see no chance of ever following you. And yet there are passages in your teaching that cling to me still.

Believe me with many apologies for my intrusion

Yrs very truly Richard H Hutton

TO RICHARD HOLT HUTTON

Rednall. June 18/64

(Copy)

My dear Mr Hutton,

It is very difficult to explain all the ins and outs of any great truth viewed practically, and I do not like to speak on any such to a man of earnest and independent mind, as I believe you to be, lest I do more harm (as *I* should call it) than good; — yet I must say, on occasion of a phrase of yours, that I do *not* teach in *your* sense (if I understand it) that 'authority' is the 'only road to truth in theology.'

At least I *cannot* understand you to mean that you have come to a belief in the Incarnation, without authority in *any shape whatever* — though it has not been through the word of the *Church*. For what is there in the phenomena of this world, what innate or quasi-innate idea, what deduction or induction from natural sources of information, which can possibly teach that God became man? Some extra-natural supernatural source of information there must be, some revealed word, on which belief depends, as its root.

What you designate as 'self-revealing' is surely a truth which, *when told us from without*, commends itself intensely, manifoldly, intimately to our hearts. If you mean nothing more than this, I agree with your use of the word 'self-revealing' — but where I should differ from you is, that I should not consider such an internal acceptance or embrace of a doctrine a *sine quâ non* condition of its being a truth. And on this ground, because, minds being very various, the subjective acquiescence in a doctrine cannot be the invariable measure and test of its objective reality or its truth. It seems to me that in a revelation one doctrine *must* be harder than another — first relatively to the human intellect generally, next to individuals — as to the latter case, what is hard to one man is not to another, and vice versa — If then a Revelation is made, faith, that is, assent upon pure authority, will necessarily enter into the act of acceptance when the intellect has been awakened.

And, while I am far from denying, (just the contrary) that an externally — revealed truth may be in a certain sense, or to a certain point, self revealing, (indeed an eager spontaneous appropriation of an object of faith may in some sense be called an act of love) so on the other hand I am far from asserting that the instrument of revelation, or the oracle of the Authority on which we believe, must necessarily be the Church. The Church is the ordinary, normal

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Oracle; it is the only visible authority to which we appeal, the only authority which signs and seals a doctrine as the common property of Christians or an Article of the Faith, but still to individuals accidentally there are various instruments or organs of that Divine Authority from whom alone extra or super or praeter natural truth can primarily come, and the Scriptures constitute one of those channels — nay, I will say a Greek poem or philosophical treatise may be such — nay even the Koran. And thus, though I fully believe that certain theological truths, as a future retribution, can be proved independently of revelation, still I do not think any *religion*, as such, in the individual is without what may be called revelation — I mean that God reveals Himself to us *directly*, and we believe in ‘Him’ because He says ‘I am He’ to us, whether it be through our conscience, or through Scripture or in any other way; and that such revelation is binding on the individual to accept, though it creates no obligation for any but himself. On the other hand mere reasonings and inferences, however true, are philosophy, not religion.

Whether in nature then, or by the supernatural, all religion is a revelation — an acceptance of truths conveyed to us from a Personal God, but of course in theology we restrict the *word* ‘revelation’ to the communication of those truths which reason cannot reach, and the formal organ of those truths is the Church, but, I repeat, not the only organ to individuals.

This being my view of the subject, there is nothing in what I hold to hinder me believing that you may have a real, (or what Catholics call a divine) faith, coming of supernatural grace, in the Incarnation, even though you gained it from the Scriptures (so that I had not cause to think you had wilfully set yourself against the Catholic Church, which is absurd) and believing too that in no slight degree your whole mind co-operated approvingly and lovingly with your assent to that revealed truth. And therefore I cannot simply accept your account of my doctrine with which I began, that I ‘teach that the only road to theological truth is authority,’ i.e. in your sense of the words.

See how much I have spun out of one small text which you have given me.

Very truly Yours John H Newman

R H Hutton Esqr

FROM RICHARD HOLT HUTTON

1 Wellington Street London W.C 28th June 1864

My dear Dr Newman,

I feel very grateful to you indeed for your kindness and will not encroach upon it. I heartily accept of course your definition of what I mean by authority, or rather what I do not mean. No one could know the incarnation without a declaration from God; I only meant that it enters the heart, when thus declared by a power of its own. For many years I thought nothing short of an infallible Church could prove such a mystery though my whole soul craved for it. But the difficulty in reaching a human infallible authority was far greater to me than in receiving a great mystery, through human channels, on what I felt to be divine authority, because it laid such a hold of the whole

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conscience and nature. Nor do I of course in the least dispute that many great truths lie outside the reach of individual spirits in this life, *except* as received on external authority. Only I do not see for such spirits how they can hope to reach them *as truths* at all, i.e. as persuasive and divine and overwhelming truths if these truths are, from any cause, prevented by a sort of capillary repulsion from touching their hearts in this life, — and therefore I scarcely see the advantage of accepting them on *external* authority, even if one could get over the enormous difficulty of satisfying oneself as to the actual gift of infallibility to any human organization. I could *more* easily accept the doctrine of transubstantiation and the great sacrifice consummated daily on the altar, from the sort of yearning one has for perennial divine actions which do not depend on us, (which work as from say *ex opere operato* and not *ex opere operantis*), in other words on the grounds on which Willis puts it so finely, than I could accept, in blank as it were, a great organization for selecting and substantiating divine truths, and so superseding God's direct influence over the spirit of man. Your account of how sparingly the Church actually uses this formidable power is a testimony to her sagacity and wisdom, — not a help to conceding the power itself. The Liberalism you dreaded so much I should turn away from as heartily as you if I could think it led to atheism. It seems to me to lead to *free* subjection of the soul to divine truths one by one, just as they penetrate the heart by God's grace, and this I should feel higher than any formal grasp of even a larger area of truth.

This only to show you how keenly I appreciate your kindness, not in any way to entrap you into a correspondence. I fear I have already trespassed on your valuable time.

I see you speak in your appendix of a volume of verses on religious subjects out of print. I trust we may hope for a new edition.¹

I have long known and respected your brother.

Believe me Most truly & faithfully Yours R H Hutton

MONDAY 20 JUNE 1864 Monsell went went to Rednal

TO FREDERICK CHARLES HUSENBETH

The Oratory Bm June 20/64

My dear Dr. Husenbeth,

I prefer to write to you a hasty line than delay my answer, to thank you for the *great* encouragement your letter gives me.² You may fancy with what anxiety I wrote — but the approbation of such persons as yourself, old and

¹ In the list of his works at the end of the Appendix to *Apo*. Newman included *Verses on Religious Subjects*, Dublin 1853. Cf. letter of 18 Dec. 1867 to Hutton.

² Husenbeth wrote on 18 June to congratulate Newman on the *Apologia*. Among other things he said: 'I think you will be glad of a little support in two of your declarations, which will to some be unpalatable. I allude 1 — to your not quite liking many foreign devotions to the Blessed Virgin, and 2 — to your bold and straightforward rejection of the teaching of St Alphonsus on lies and equivocation. . . . I am at any rate an old man, a Catholic from infancy, an old priest, an old missionary who has had some experience . . . and it may encourage you to know that I go *with you out and out* in both the *above declarations*. I never could relish a multitude of Italian, French, Spanish and other modes of paying devotion to our dear Mother. I am an Englishman, and they do not suit the taste and genius of our countrymen. . . .

As to the teaching of St Alphonsus on the subject referred to, I remember setting marks of reproof against them the very first time I read the Saint's Theology, now many years ago, as you will imagine. Nor have I ever followed them in my ministry, nor do I ever intend to do.'

20 JUNE 1864

tried priests, and true Englishmen, is just my greatest recompense. I had intended this very day to tell Longman to send you a copy of my book, as soon as it is bound up.

Oakeley was the writer of the life of St Augustine.¹ My data for his age are these. He was entered at Christ Church in 1821. Young men are entered at College at 18 or 19. If he was 18 in 1821, he was 41 in 1844; if 19, then 42. Therefore in saying he was at least 39 in 1844, I am allowing a margin far greater than can be the fact.

Hoping you will kindly accept my book when it comes to you as a mark of the true veneration I feel for you, I am

My dear Dr Husenbeth, Affectly Yours in Xt John H Newman

P.S. I am very tired, and can hardly use my pen, to form letters. It has been a severer trial on me than I ever had in a literary way. I have been at it from morning to night for at least 10 weeks.

TO J. T. RODMELL

[20 June 1864]

Dear Sir

I am sorry that you have misunderstood my publication, and think I shall be able in a few words to explain myself to your satisfaction.²

I never meant to say that I never knew of any one who required *information* on the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception — but that I never heard of any one who had ‘difficulties’ in receiving it when he understood what it was, who had not other real difficulties too. Did you tell me, after ‘asking counsel of me’ that your difficulties continued as they were?

I assure you such a state of mind as inquires and is at length satisfied did not enter into my thoughts when I wrote, nor, as I think, is implied in my language.³

I am &c J H N

¹ In the Appendix to *Apo.*, p. 34, Newman had replied to Kingsley's charge of ‘youthful fanaticism’ in the author of the *Life of St Augustine*, by saying that he was ‘at least 39’. This appeared to rule out Oakeley who was forty-two in 1844, when the *Life* of which he was the author, appeared.

² Rodmell complained on 18 June of Newman's remark in his Seventh Part, p. 395, ‘I never heard of one Catholic having difficulties in receiving it [the definition of the Immaculate Conception], whose faith on other grounds was not really suspicious.’ *Apo.*, p. 255. Rodmell wrote that in Dec. 1854 he had communicated his difficulties to Newman, and that the remark was a calumny on himself.

³ Rodmell on 21 June thanked Newman for his letter, but maintained that in 1854 he was not one of those requiring information, and that only gradually had his difficulties disappeared, as he followed the advice Newman had sent him, to meditate on the words ‘The Church of the Living God, the pillar and ground of the truth’.

21 JUNE 1864

TO EDWARD BADELEY

Rednal June 21/64

My dear Badeley,

When the time came, I found that sending you slips was out of the question. The printer pressed me so hard, that there was no time even for writing a line to you to tell you not to expect any. I was pledged to come out Thursday after Thursday, and my matter grew on my hands — and I had letter hunting, writing, proof, and revise, all on my hands at once. From morning to night I was at it for at least 10 weeks — and once I worked clear through the night. I never have published so fat a volume. It is 560 pages, and it has been done on a spurt. I am now resting here, for I am very tired.

My first duty is to write the many letters, which are due to correspondents from my long constrained silence — and, though at the time I acknowledged your valuable letter of April, I write again to tell you that it *was* valuable to me, though I did not use the information it contained — for it served to show me the lie of the land.¹

And now the year is half over, to my surprise, while I have been kept in a state of severance from my usual occupations

Ever Yours affectly John H Newman of the Oratory

E. Badeley Esqr

TO LADY CHATTERTON

Rednal. June 21/64

My dear Lady Chatterton,

I have read the Poems you have sent me with a good deal of interest.² They are written in a most excellent spirit, with deep feeling which is the best kind of eloquence, and with an earnestness which I can fancy making those, who are pursuing the dangerous course which the writer denounces, pause and sigh even though it does not convince them.

They seem to me more fit for private circulation than for publication. When such compositions are published, a reader takes them up in a critical spirit — but, when they come as if from a friend, and to persons perhaps who know the writer, they are taken as if spoken, they carry with them the voice, the tone, the manner, the influence and authority, of a person loved and admired, and they become in many cases a word in season.

This is what I think about the pages which you have sent me, and which I must thank you for letting me peruse. I will send them back to you as quickly as I can — but I doubt whether I can do so safely from this place.

¹ See letters of 15 and 19 April to Badeley.

² See letter of 17 June to Lady Chatterton.

22 JUNE 1864

Thank you for your congratulations on my being at length a free man. My joy is very great at it, in proportion to my past anxiety

Very truly Yours John H Newman

Lady Chatterton

TO MISS HOLMES

Rednal. June 22/64

My dear Miss Holmes,

Thank you for all your anxiety about me. I am come here for a little rest. My hand is so tired out that I can hardly form a letter — and I have a host of letters to write, for I have been cut off from correspondence for this ten or twelve weeks — but I don't like not to write a line to thank you.

I hope I shall get a good account of your goings on at last.

As to gaining from my book, that's to be seen. The printing expenses will be enormous. I should not wonder, if they were £200. I dreamed last night that they were £700, and £200 besides. But you must not suppose the matter is on my mind — for it isn't.¹

Ever Yours affectly in Xt John H Newman of the Oratory

Miss Holmes

TO DAVID LEWIS

Rednall June 22/64

My Dear Lewis,

I think I cannot have written to thank you for your letter, for I have written to nobody — but I have been in that state that I have hardly known what I did and what I did not do — But my doubt may at least be taken as a proof that I have borne your kindness in mind, and have wished to answer you.²

I never have had such a time. The tyranny of a fixed day of publication in itself was bad enough — but besides this my matter grew under my hands — the consequence was that manuscript and proof got jammed together, as in a stoppage in the streets of London — and the proof almost got ahead of the manuscript, if that can be. And it is a wonder to me how any thing was done — but at last I have got through it, and am a free man — and come here for a little rest and quiet. It does not answer at my age to have such severe and sudden calls on me.

¹ See letter of 5 Aug. to Copeland.

² Lewis's letter is not to be found.

22 JUNE 1864

I am glad to have received your volumes — but sad to say I have not yet been able to open them.¹

Ever Yours most sincerely John H Newman of the Oratory

P.S. Excuse my penmanship. I can hardly form a letter from weariness. Why don't you sometimes come Birmingham-way?

TO H. E. MANNING

Rednal. June 22/64

My dear Manning

Thank you exceedingly for your very kind letter of May 6. I have been of necessity cut off from all letter writing by my late occupation — and now my hand is so tired that I can scarcely form a letter. However, I do not like yours to pass without some notice.²

It was very considerate in Mr Morison to send me the quotation from Kingsley's Sermon; and pray thank him for me for it — though it did not fall into the course of my writing to use it.³

Ever Yours affectly John H Newman of the Oratory

The Rt Revd Mgr Manning

TO EDITH J. SIMCOX

June 22/64⁴

Answered that she must be certain of *something*; e.g. that she *exists* — where then will she draw the line? How is she sure she may not be certain of something else?

Therefore her initial duty is to cherish the feeling of *hope* — viz. that it is *possible* for her to be sure of more things than she is certain of at present

J H N

¹ Presumably *The Complete Works of Saint John of the Cross*, translated by David Lewis, with a preface by Cardinal Wiseman, two volumes, London 1864, which are still in Newman's room, the pages uncut except for those of the preface.

² Newman seems already to have thanked for this letter. See at 8 May.

³ Morison's letter is not to be found.

⁴ Edith Simcox wrote from Bonchurch, in the Isle of Wight, on 19 June, that having read *Apo.* she felt encouraged to turn to Newman. She had been brought up as a moderate Anglican, but had now been for seven years an almost complete sceptic. She asked for advice 'as to the means of developing the faculty of belief where it does not exist'.

22 JUNE 1864

TO LORD CHARLES THYNNE

Rednall. June 22nd. 1864.

My dear Lord Charles,

I write one line to thank you for your kind letter. At last I am a free man — but I never have had such a hard work.

It was a great trouble to me to find that I had been so rude to Lady Charles, when I ought to have called on her and she called on me, first to keep her waiting and after all not to see her. I came down stairs and found that she had just gone — but really I have been almost beside myself with the tyranny of a weekly task.

The Thursdays came round quick — and I had not only to write but to correct press, and it is a marvel to me how I have got through it.

Charlie has seemed so much stronger the last year, that I trust you will find him pick up very soon.

Yours, My dear Lord Charles, Very sincerely in Christ,
John H. Newman of the Oratory.

The Lord Charles Thynne.

TO MESSRS M. MAHER AND SON

Rednall. June 23/64

Dr Newman is very much flattered by the wish which Messrs Maher have expressed to have his photograph. His difficulty at the moment is, that he has for some considerable time made a promise to a London publisher to that effect, and he will accordingly write to him to know what his present wishes are. After knowing them, Dr Newman will write to Messrs Maher again.

Messrs Maher & Son

TO HENRY BEDFORD

Rednal. June 24th. 1864.

My dear Mr. Bedford,

I have never thanked you for the beautiful photographs which you sent me on Good Friday. But I ever wished to do so, and I trust you will have guessed why I did not. The truth is on Easter Monday my work began, and I have had no time at all for writing any letters, till now, the octave of Corpus Christi. I never had so long a spell of hard work; and wonder how I got through it. Now, however, I am glad and thankful to say, it is over, and I write these lines both as an acknowledgement to you and an apology.

24 JUNE 1864

However I must still ask you to excuse an abrupt letter, for my hand is so tired that I cannot write without some degree of pain.

With my best regards to those of your community whom I have the pleasure of knowing.¹

I am, My dear Mr. Bedford, Sincerely yours in Xt.
John H. Newman of the Oratory.

H. Bedford Esq.

TO HENRY JAMES COLERIDGE

Rednal. June 24/64

My dear Fr Coleridge

I hope you have pardoned my not writing to you. At length I am a free man — but my hand is so tired, I do not know how to form a letter. In answer to your question of Trinity Sunday,² I believe I must say that I allude to Keble's conversation more than to any thing which he wrote — or perhaps to such passages in the Christian year as that to which I refer. He considered that religious truth came to us as from the mouth of Our Lord — and what would be called doubt was an imperfect hearing as if one heard from a distance. And, as we were at this time of the world at a distance from Him, of course we heard indistinctly — and faith was not a clear and confident knowledge or certainty, but a sort of loving guess. This after all is little more than *practical* certainty — and Bishop Butler seems to encourage it — then my own theory, (which I have since found is pretty much the same as Amort's)³ was intended to show how we could be *certain* on probabilities.

Any other questions which you wish to ask me, I shall be glad to answer, if I can⁴

Ever Yours Very sincerely
John H Newman of the Oratory

The Revd Fr Coleridge

¹ Bedford was a professor at All Hallows College, Dublin.

² 22 May. Coleridge was to write on *Apo.* in *D R.* and asked 'whether in your passage about Mr Keble's view as to the certitude of faith [*Apo.* pp. 18-20] you had in your mind his Preface to his Sermons — I mean that in which he defends the Anglican position on Butlerian grounds — whether that could not illustrate the defect which you point out in his reasoning?'

³ Eusebius Amort (1692-1775), in his *Demonstratio critica religionis catholicae, nova, modesta, facilis*, Venice 1744. See *G.A.* pp. 411-12.

⁴ Coleridge replied on 26 June that his article, 'Newman's Apologia pro Vita sua', *D R.* (July 1864), pp. 156-80 was already in type.

24 JUNE 1864

TO CHARLES RUSSELL

Rednal. June 24/64

My dear Dr Russell,

I write you at length a line to thank you for the true encouragement your letters gave me.¹ It has been a great deal of suffering, as well as toil, to get through what I have been at — now it is over, and I am very thankful. Letters, such as yours, came to me, as the stimulant or refreshing applications which are administered to a man who is at some hard bodily toil, and were as acceptable as they were serviceable. It was a great pleasure to find that your name came so naturally into my narrative. Besides the real benefit which you did me in my anxieties 20 years ago, you then evidenced what you have shown now, and what is part of your character, your great sympathy for others.

Your letters shall go back to you soon — I was very glad to have them.²

Excuse a short letter — for my hand is still very tired.

Ever Yours affectly in Xt John H Newman of the Oratory

The Very Revd Dr Russell

TO WILLIAM WALKER

Rednal. June 24/64

My dear Mr Walker,

It has gratified me exceedingly to receive your kind letter — Such letters are a true reward of the anxiety which I have gone through, and the only reward that I ought to care much about on earth.³

I shall never lose the pleasure of recollecting, that, by a chance attack on the part of a stranger, I have been led on to do a service, if, as you kindly say, it is a service, to the Catholic cause in this country. I do not forget that you live in a Catholic neighbourhood and atmosphere, and in consequence your testimony carries with it a special encouragement.

Thank you for it — and, trusting that you will not forget me in your good prayers in the years of decline and weakness now before me,

I am, My dear Mr Walker, Sincerely Yours in Xt

John H Newman of the Oratory

The Revd Wm Walker

SATURDAY 25 JUNE 1864 returned from Rednall

¹ Russell described on 5 and 27 May the immense impression the Parts of *Apo.* were making.

² Cf. letter of 3 May to Russell.

³ William Walker, Rector of St Augustine's, Preston, wrote on 22 June of the enthusiasm of himself and the priests and laymen in his neighbourhood for *Apo.*

25 JUNE 1864

TO SISTER MARY GABRIEL DU BOULAY

Rednal. June 25/64

My dear Child,

You must not suppose I did not in my heart thank you for your letter though I could not answer you. We all said Mass for you all on St Catharine's day. I never had such a time of it. When I was at Oxford, I have twice written a pamphlet in a night, and once in a day —¹ but now I had writing and printing upon me at once, and I have done a book of 562 pages, all at a heat; but with so much suffering, such profuse crying, such long spells of work, sometimes 16 hours, once 22 hours at once, that it is a prodigious awful marvel that I have got through it, and that I am not simply knocked up by it. I am sure it is the prayers of my friends, which have sustained me, and you must go on praying that I may not feel the bad effects of such a strain on me afterwards.

And now excuse a short letter for my hand is tired and believe me to be

Ever yrs affectionately in Xt John H. Newman Of the Oratory

TO MOTHER MARGARET MARY HALLAHAN

Rednal. June 25/64

My dear Mother Margaret

I am tired down to my hand, so that I cannot write without pain — but I cannot delay longer, with any comfort to myself to answer your letter on St Philip's Day:² — a sad day and season it has been to me, Easter tide, month of Mary, and the great Feasts included in the three months. I have been collecting materials, writing, correcting proof and revise, from morning till night, and once through the night — but when once I was in for it there was no help. My publisher would not hear of breach of promise, and my matter would grow under my hands — and Thursday would come round once a week — so I was like a man who had fallen overboard and had to swim to land, and found the distance he had to go greater and greater. At last I am ashore, and have crawled upon the beach, and there I lie; but I should not have got safe I know, but for the many good prayers which have been offered for me.

¹ The *Letter to Dr. Faussett* was written in a day on 18 June 1838. The pamphlets written during the night were *Elucidations of Dr Hampden's Theological Statements*, 10 Feb. 1836; and probably, *A Letter addressed to the Bishop of Oxford*, 29 March 1841.

² Mother Margaret Hallahan wrote: 'God alone J M + D C May 25th 64

Many many happy Feasts to you Dear Respected Dr Newman and to all your respected kind sons. We are all delighted that you are humbling that very vain man It must be a very great labour to you and give you much to suffer but it will give Glory to God and I feel sure will lead to the Salvation of Many; and you will well be rewarded by our good God for this your work of Humiliation. Mr Kingsley has done one good work. He has drawn you out of your solitude and I hope you will never return to it. Be sure you will all have the Sincere Prayers of all the Community tomorrow ever with great respect

Most truly yours in Jesus Margaret of the mother of God'

25 JUNE 1864

I so much wished to write to you on St Catharine's day — we all said Mass for you and your's according to our engagement.

I cannot be thankful enough for the great mercies which have been shown me, and I trust they are a pledge that God will be good to me still.

Of course you have seen the great recompense I have had for so many anxieties in the Bishop's letter to me.¹

Begging your good prayers I am My dear Mother Margaret

Yours affectly in Christ John H. Newman

The Revd Mother Provincial

TO MOTHER MARY IMELDA POOLE

Rednal. June 25/64

My dear Sister Imilda

I am always puzzled about your proper title, therefore you must not suppose that it is any wilful neglect of propriety, if I am in fault — I know I am, but cannot quite set myself right.² We all said Mass for the Sisters of Penance on St Catharines day, but I was far too busy to write and tell you so. I never had such a time — and once or twice thought I was breaking down. I kept saying 'I am in for it —' So I was, I could not get out of it, except by getting through it — and again, I simply stood fast, and could not get on, and was almost in despair. I knew what I had written would not do — yet I did not know what would do — and, though every hour was valuable to me, I sat thinking and could not get on. At other times, the feeling was, as I expressed it to those around me, as if I were ploughing in very stiff clay. It was moving on at the rate of a mile an hour, when I had to write and print and correct a hundred miles by the next day's post. It has been nothing but the good prayers of my friends which has brought me through — and now I am quite tired out — but, that I should have written the longest book I ever wrote in ten weeks, without any sort of preparation or anticipation, and not only written but printed and corrected it, is so great a marvel that I do not know how to be thankful enough.

And now thanking you for your letter³ — and all your good prayers for me and mine, I am

Ever yrs affectionately in Xt John H. Newman

¹ 'The letter of approbation and encouragement from the Bishop of the Diocese of Birmingham, Dr. Ullathorne,' *Apo.* pp. 368-70. Ullathorne listed all the labours undertaken by Newman as a Catholic.

² Imelda Poole was Mother Prioress at Stone.

³ Imelda Poole wrote, on 25 May, of the intense interest aroused among the converts in her community by *Apo.*, — 'What it is to us who followed your steps on that weary journey to have now revealed the interior history of each of those steps which were as so many epochs in our lives, I could not put into words. Your lines stir our very souls whilst bringing up thus the memories of the past, and fill our hearts with gratitude to God, and to you His chosen instrument for our deliverance.'

25 JUNE 1864

TO HENRY WILBERFORCE

Rednal. June 25/64

My dear Henry

At length I write to thank you for all the affectionate things you have said of me in the Register, and to congratulate you on dear Arthur's vocation.¹ As to his health standing, it is astonishing how mistaken are our best guesses on that head. The most delicate frames often bear the severe mode of life best, and threatened infirmities and disorders cease to have a claim upon the constitution. I suppose it is partly supernatural, partly the effect of great mental resolves and new views acting upon the body.

It seems to me wonderful how the Dominicans are rising in England. Perhaps all religious bodies are, but they more than others. Mother Margaret's nuns are the most flourishing going; and I have observed in various persons a devotion to St Dominic, even though they did not become Dominicans. It seems to me that the Church's strength (humanly speaking) as well as beauty, is to be circumdata varietate. Every order, as every nation, has its place in it to make a perfect whole. I should be gravely anxious if the immutability, (as I conceive it to be) of the Dominicans dominated in the Church; as again the versatility of the Jesuits — but, taken together, they keep each other in check — and so the work of God goes on in its destined way.

You may fancy how tired I am — down to my hand, which almost refuses to write.

I do not know where you and yours are, but I send them all affectionate thoughts. Also I wish to tell William, that I hope by this time he has forgiven me for not answering his letter — but I never have been so closely engaged in my life — I wrote to no one, and spoke to no one, took meals with no one, for weeks and weeks.²

Ever Yrs affly John H Newman of the Oratory

H W Wilberforce Esqr

TO CHARLOTTE WOOD

Rednal. June 25/64

My dear Miss Wood,

I thank you and Mrs Wood exceedingly for your kind letter, for it is hers as well as yours — and rejoice to hear the good account of her which you are

¹ Arthur Wilberforce became a Dominican novice on 7 May 1864. The *Weekly Register* in May and June reviewed and quoted largely from the parts of *Apo.* as they came out. Towards the end of the sixth notice, (25 June 1864), p. 411, in answer to the question what Kingsley thought was the result of his attack, the reviewer replied, 'We will tell him, though he should even charge us with setting up a prophet's claim. He has done for Mr. Newman what Father Gordon before his death once said he did not despair of seeing, Dr. Newman's head surrounded with a halo of light.'

² Henry Wilberforce was at St Germain-en-Laye with his eldest brother, William.

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able to give. And much gratified too to find that your good Priest, Mr Telford, is pleased with my book — for it has been one of my great rewards, that, while my friends are satisfied with it, it also has had the approbation of so many who would read it with the impartiality of those who knew little and nothing of me.

I never thought I should have to write such a book. For years I have said to myself, that, if any one of name did make a formal attack on me, I would accept the challenge — but I never fancied that I should meet with more than that casual pelting, as if from idle boys who shie stones, which had so long been going on — But, sure enough, on Palm Sunday down came Mr K's pamphlet professing to contain the detailed charges in full which lay against my honesty. It was now or never — and I was obliged to set to work at once. I never have had such a spell of work, and should have broken down except for the good prayers of my friends. It is a great joy to me to have got to the end of it.

Thank you for all you so kindly say about me and believe me to be, with my kindest regards to your Mother

Very sincerely Yours in Xt John H Newman of the Oratory
Miss Wood

TO EMILY BOWLES

The Oratory Bm June 26/64

My dear Sister Emily,

I have not been forgetful of your letter, though I have not been able to answer it — I never have had such hard (literary) work in my life; and never should have got through it, but for the prayers and masses of my friends. It is now over — and I have felt it very little — but people tell me that the feeling of weariness is yet to come, and I begin to think it is. I seem to *begin* to understand how Elias desponded and fled after his trial on Mount Carmel, without (I trust) meaning to compare myself with him.

Please, pray for me that in all things I may do God's will, and that what I do may turn to good.

And get prayers just now for my dear friends, the Henry Bowdens; — the mother is dying hourly, the Father, it is feared, will follow, through sheer distress — and five girls and one boy, the youngest, will be left orphans

Ever Yours affectly in Xt John H Newman of the Oratory
Miss Bowles

26 JUNE 1864

TO HENRY CLEVELAND

[26 June 1864]¹

Answered

The history of the 5th century showed me, not that Rome was right, but that the argument which I had used for Anglicans — was wrong.

Then St Augustine's words came as a key, or rather an expression or aphorism, of the state of the case.²

J H N

TO T. W. ALLIES

The Oratory Bm June 28/64.

My dear Allies,

I hope you will soon have a good account to give of Mrs Allies, and am sorry you have been prevented coming by such a cause. But for myself I expect to be here for some months unless something should oblige me to go to London for a few days — which may be the case: in which case I will call on you. But, I suppose, any time you come here will suit me.

Ever yrs affly in Xt John H Newman of the Oratory.

TO HENRY BOWDEN

The Oratory Bm June 28/64

My dear Henry

We have been full of your great trial, and have said many Masses for your dear wife, and for you, and all your children. God has struck you most heavily but your dear children will rise up and console you. And God Himself, who has afflicted you, will be your best Comforter and Friend.³

She is now in peace and rest — for her great and long sufferings have been her deliverance from what she might have had to suffer after death. For myself, thinking of her, *this* is a great consolation. I feel that I have a great loss

¹ Cleveland wrote from Romaldkirk Rectory, Darlington, on 25 June, 'Some friends and connections of mine, — sincere and anxious inquirers after Truth, — are with myself desirous of understanding how the maxim of St Augustine ("Securus judicat orbis terrarum") is *per se* calculated to produce that extraordinary influence upon the mind which you attribute to it in your Apologia.' *Apo.* p. 116.

² Cleveland replied on 27 June, with a controversial letter, on which Newman wrote 'I did not answer this.'

³ Henry Bowden's second wife, Marianne Catherine Burgoyne, died on 26 June. On 19 July 1838 Newman had married them at St George's, Hanover Square. Henry Bowden wrote to Newman on 27 June 1864, 'I am sure you will understand the feeling which makes one cling to such an old and venerated friend as you are, at such a moment . . .' He had six daughters by his second marriage, the eldest aged twenty-five, the youngest sixteen, and a son, William aged fourteen.

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myself, the loss of one so kind, so gentle, so open and true a friend, whom I sincerely admired and loved, who talked with me so frankly and familiarly, and made me know her by that most winning ease of her conversation, — ah! it is a great distress to think I shall not see her again, — but still to know that the worst is over, that all the terrible suspense of pain and dying is ended, that she has crossed the awful river, this is to me a thought full of comfort. She cannot die again — she has heaven before her — O what a thought of peace is this! And you too, my dear Henry, must feel it, and you will feel it more and more. I doubt not you will be supported through your suffering, and learn to love God more and more, the more He afflicts you.

Thank you for the kind thoughtfulness of your letter — Your dear girls will let me know how you are

Ever Yours most affectionately in Xt
John H Newman of the Oratory

H Bowden Esqr

TO HENRY BOWDEN'S CHILDREN

The Oratory Bm June 28/64

My dear Children,

You have all begun life with one of the greatest trials you can have till the end of it. You can but lose a Mother once. God support you under it — and I know He will. Take a delight in kissing His rod, when He strikes you — as if you saw it — and the taste of it will be sweet to your lips. The Almighty Paraclete will be with you, and give you great consolation amid your great grief.

We have been saying Mass for the Soul of dear Mama this morning. I have been saying Mass for her daily — yesterday 'as alive or departed.' Fr Neville has said a great many Masses too, and Fr St John. I think of each of you, my dear girls, separately, and of dear Willie. I know what a thoughtful boy he is — he looks calm and quiet, but he has many thoughts — and, though he is little, he will learn to be a support to his sisters. And you will all of you be a support to each other — every one to all the rest — And now the worst is over — that is the great thing. It is indeed most piercing to see the pain of those we love, and not to be able to help them — a wall of separation between oneself and them! But it is all over — and don't doubt that all the suffering which she has had, borne so bravely and lovingly, has brought her near to God, and to a state of peace and rest. And now, while you bid adieu for a while, only for a while, to dearest Mama, offer yourselves, my dear children, to your great and tender Mother in heaven, the Blessed Mother of God, who will not refuse to have you, and to watch over you, and to give you all that gentle and true guidance which you need so much, and which you hoped to have from her whom God

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has taken from you. But all He does is good, and we shall see and know it one day — Let us trust in Him meanwhile, and pray Him, that, when our turn comes, we may die as happily and hopefully, as she has died for whom we mourn.

Ever Yrs most affly John H Newman

I inclose a letter, which you may like to see — you need not return it.

TO FREDERICK CAPES

The Oratory, Birmm June 28/64

My dear Mr Capes,

I thank you with all my heart for your most kind letter about me.¹ It is most gratifying to my feelings. I have had a great trial, and really have suffered a great deal in having to go through the memories of the past, so long as so painful — but I have had a number of kind letters from friends and strangers, which have been a great recompense, and yours is one of the kindest of them.

Give G. my affectionate remembrances, and tell him I don't forget that he is to accept an *Imitatio Christi* from me, if he will kindly do so,²

....

Very sincerely Yrs John H Newman of the Oratory.

TO HENRY JAMES COLERIDGE

The Oratory Birmingham June 29/64

My dear Fr Coleridge,

I will not forget what you say about your brother, and rejoice to find you say as much as you do.³ I have within the last hour received a most touchingly kind letter from Keble, but it is, alas, as you would anticipate, only personally kind — still, even that is something.⁴

¹ Capes wrote on 23 June, 'I cannot but rejoice that you have been forced once more into the arena, though it was by an attack at once brutal and cowardly, wanton and indecent. Of course, like most men, I like to see a bully so effectually crushed, but that is the least part of the matter; he will pass away and be forgotten, while your good and noble work remains to influence and instruct, as it must do, thousands of honest minds. Nothing was wanted to increase the affectionate veneration with which your name is regarded by me and my household, and yet another claim is added to it. . . .'

² This was Capes's son Gerard, who had been at the Oratory School, and was now training for the Royal Navy.

³ Coleridge wrote on 26 June asking prayers for his brother, John Duke Coleridge, 'I cannot conceive anything, humanly speaking, more likely to reach him, than the VIIIth part of the *Apologia*,' i.e. Chapter V, 'Position of my mind since 1845.' On 24 June Bellasis wrote, 'I meet John Coleridge now almost every day, and he frequently talks of it [*Apo.*] and you, he says he has devoured every word of it, and with the greatest interest, and he speaks of you in terms of the warmest affection.'

⁴ See letter of 4 July to Keble.

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The great difficulty I find in any project of a periodical, such as you imagine, (and projects are ever making) is to find an *object* likely to secure success.¹ If it is to pay, if it is to have influence, it must have readers — who are they to be? *Catholics* are not a reading set — but if they do read it, what do you want to do with them? To be their organ? if so, against whom? What chance have you of representing them better than the *Dublin* does, which has the prestige both of authority and of thirty years. Are *Protestants* to be your readers? then, you must not offend them. They will not read a work which aims at converting them. But, if you don't, what is the good of their reading it? I am not certain that I am not over-fearful — but should like to be set right, if I am; for this seems a real difficulty. Tell me what you aim at; and then, consider what chance you have of success in your attempting it.

Then on the other hand, recollect you are sure to have a strong muster of influential Catholics, whose one business is, not to consider whether you have an aim, or what it is, or whether it is important, but to criticise what is done in and for itself, and that in the most effectual way they can — and recollect too (or at least this is what I think) that it is impossible to write any thing really effective without the risk of mistakes, and that censorship will not destroy that risk, unless it is of such a formal and searching character as in one way or another to issue in compositions which have lost all their edge, even if their metal remains pure, and you will understand why I feel little disposed to encourage such projects

Yours very sincerely John H Newman

TO WILLIAM MONSELL

The Oratory Bm June 29/64

My dear Monsell

I have not given the writer of the inclosed the most distant hint that I am showing you his letters, and the more so, that he mentions your name.²

He called on me some months ago, to be satisfied that I had not turned Protestant from my own lips — as he was becoming a Catholic himself, and his friends had deterred him with their strong assertions on this point.

You will see that he is not a Catholic yet. I have told you all I know of him. In answer to his first letter, I said that I had no means of serving him — but that I would *ask advice* of a friend, if I might show his letters. In the second letter he gives me leave.

¹ Coleridge hoped that after the success of *Apo.*, Newman would gather round him a set of writers, and launch a review. See letter of 24 July to Coleridge.

² This was Mr. Kearney, who called on Newman on 9 Oct. 1863. See also second letter of 26 July 1864 to Monsell.

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I think you may know more about him and his than I do — that you may advise him — or if it be a case and you can, may assist him

Ever Yrs affly John H Newman

The Right Honble W. Monsell M P

P.S. I see he says that I offered him an *introduction* to you; — if so, it was simply on the *religious* question — for I knew nothing about him else, till *now*.

TO LADY CHATTERTON

The Oratory Bm June 30/64

My dear Lady Chatterton,

Mr Dering's letter seems to me a very clever one — and his answers upon the quotations made by his friend from St Alfonso, seem to me particularly good.¹

I consider he goes somewhat too far in what he says in depreciation of St Alfonso's importance. Certainly, as far as I know, it is the high character and great labours of the Saint (as he says) which have made him so prominent. In Italy I have heard him spoken of as but of secondary value as a theologian, and, when I was first received, an Italian Religious in England spoke as if he thought little of him as an authority. Therefore, Mr Dering is right in saying that his reputation has been made by his missionary labours. Among these labours was his foundation of a religious order — and, since his death, that order has increased and thriven — and has naturally sounded the praises and extended the influence of their Founder's works. Then, Cardinal Wiseman took them up, and is the chief instrument of their introduction into England. Then, it cannot be denied that there is a great deal in them especially suited to these times, (as is natural, since they are written so lately) and that they are a necessary and advantageous reaction from the rigour of the French School of theology.

Then, in order to his being canonized, his works were examined — and it is not wonderful that there was nothing found in them to *censure*. The Church judges in matters of faith, the greater questions of morals — but, about lesser points, e.g. minute points in detail, the particular application of great principles she does not judge. Her approbation of St Alfonso's teaching is negative, and restricted even in that negative approbation — but still her *act* is positive. It is the *affirmation* of a negative; and therefore St Alfonso is not in the position

¹ Lady Chatterton on 25 June sent Newman from Wareham in Dorset, a letter which her husband, Edward Dering, intended for a young clergyman in their neighbourhood. They had sent him the numbers of the *Apologia* and he had retaliated with a copy of *Awful Disclosures of the Iniquitous Principles taught by the Church of Rome; being extracts from the Moral Theology of Alphonsus Liguori . . . with remarks thereon by the Rev. R. P. Blakeney*, London 1845, second edition 1852. Dering and his wife wanted Newman's opinion on their reply. Dering wrote on 5 July that he had rewritten his letter in strict accordance with Newman's criticisms. Dering became a Catholic in 1865 with his wife.

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of 'Hannah More.'¹ He is an *authority* — and, if a priest chooses to follow him in the Confessional, he may. On the other hand no one is obliged, by any rule of the Church, to go to any particular Priest. The freedom of the Confessional is very great with us — it is one of the points in which a great deal is left to private judgment. But, though St Alfonso is not *the* authority there, he is *an* authority — and a priest is safe in going by any of his practical decisions, unless, since his death, any has been proscribed.

It is quite correct to say that books on Moral Theology are guides to the Priests, and not to Penitents; still they are put into the hands of Priests *for the sake* of their Penitents.

It is hardly correct to say that *portions* of St Alfonso's writings have been proscribed since his death — but it is true, or may be true, to say that *positions* in them have.

And this is all I have to say in criticism of Mr Dering's excellent letter.

I thank you and him very much for your kind wish to see me at Smedmore. Were it in my power, I would gladly accept the invitation — but, from the number of duties upon me, my time is not my own — and, if ever I go away, it is under medical orders to definite places.

I am, My dear Lady Chatterton, Very truly Yours John H Newman
Lady Chatterton

TO BARONESS VON KÖLLER

July 1. 1864

My dear Madam²

I think you should be open with your Protestant friends. Nor do I like to have further correspondence with you without their knowing of it.

If you wish instruction, you should procure some Catholic Catechism — such as Doyle's abridgment of the Douay. It is only a sixpenny book, but very instructive³

J H N

¹ Hannah More (1745–1833), Evangelical writer and philanthropist.

² Mildred von Köller was the daughter of Fitzgerald Wintour, Rector of Barton, Notts, from 1829 until his death on 1 Dec. 1864. She first wrote to Newman on 11 May 1864, when she was thirty-one years of age, explaining that she had had a life of great suffering, had been abandoned by her Prussian husband after nine months, and was now living with her family, on which she was dependent. She hoped to 'obtain a rest and peace in the Catholic Church which is denied me in my own'. She also hinted that she might be supported from Catholic sources, should she be converted. Newman told her she ought to make her views known to an Anglican clergyman she mentioned. After she refused to do this, and when she also said that she could consult no Catholic priest at Nottingham without having to make her doubts known to her family, Newman wrote this letter.

³ *An Abridgment of Christian Doctrine*, by Henry Turberville, Douai 1649, revised by James Doyle, Bishop of Kildare and Leighlin, Dublin 1822 and later. See also third note to letter of 13 Aug. to Daunt. Mildred von Köller replied on 2 July that nothing was to be gained by making known her religious opinions, when she was still uncertain whether she could accept Catholic teaching. Newman noted down a summary of his reply of 3 July: '1. When I thought her clear about Catholicism I advised her to be received at once, but not to do it secretly. 2. now

2 JULY 1864

TO EDMUND S. FFOULKES

The Oratory. Bm July 2/64

My dear Mr Ffoulkes,

I hope you have understood the reason of my silence since your letter of 'Maundy Thursday.' In truth, from Easter Monday down to June 14, I was engaged more closely than ever I have been in my life — and then I had great arrears in correspondence to satisfy, and much weariness to retard my work. And then again friends, who had kept back their letters, as soon as my work was over, wrote all at once, and interfered with my arrear duties — so that I am now making very slow progress with them.

And now I see that Mr Dodson's bill has been lost in the last step in the Commons — but, even had it past [sic], and past the Lords too, I do not see that it would have practically altered our relations with the Universities.¹ A majority of our Bishops have been against availing themselves of the opportunity at present of opening Halls, if it had been granted by law; on the other hand, various Bishops, I suppose, would sanction the use of Oxford for our youth, as the law stands at present, and, I suppose parents will avail themselves of this leave.

I do not think that the Bishops or Propaganda will take any other line than the present, except there is a real cause for their altering their view. Of course if a considerable number of young Catholics went to Ch Ch [Christ Church] and elsewhere, or if some youths of consequence were made Protestants, or a Protestant tone given to them all, then they would feel that there was a serious call of duty to take the matter into consideration — but Englishmen cannot wonder that they should wait for the emergency, considering in Law and also in Parliament very little can be done in improving things till a real *grievance* is made out. I inclose Mr Gladstone's letter²

Very sincerely Yours John H Newman

E. S. Ffoulkes Esqr

I know she is *not* clear, I think she should study our catechisms J H N³ Her next letter of 4 July, Newman annotated on 6 July:

¹ I shall not answer this — I have not confidence in her.

She has got a husband and a father — and, if I do not look sharp, will be playing me off against them. And she seems to want to be *supported* with money from some Catholic source. J H N⁴

Eventually on 24 July Newman wrote to tell the Baroness that she must take the advice of a priest with whom she could converse. See also letter of 8 Nov. to her.

² See notes to letter of 22 March to Ffoulkes, who replied to Newman two days later, on Maundy Thursday. Dodson's bill for the abolition of religious tests for certain Oxford degrees, and which would have enabled a Catholic to open a hall, was defeated at the third reading on 1 July, by 171 to 173 votes.

³ See last note to letter of 22 March to Ffoulkes.

2 JULY 1864

TO HYACINTHE DE VALROGER

The Oratory. Bm July 2/64

My dear Revd Fr de Valroger,

I feel very much obliged and flattered by your Reverence's letter. It is a great encouragement to me, and I beg to thank you most heartily for it.¹

I received M. Hogan's letter, and felt the honour which he proposed to do me; and, if you see him or your brother, I beg you will be so kind as to convey to them my best acknowledgments. I could not give him an answer at once, nor can I now. I am not certain that the translation will not been [sic] undertaken by a friend of mine in England.² But, besides this, I am so conscious of the local and occasional character of the book, that I doubt if it admits of being translated, and I cannot believe that it is worth the attention of readers in a foreign country. The whole scene is English, the Oxford characters introduced and the allusions, are all English. And indeed it is full of allusions which, not only would trouble a translator, but would vex him, when made out, on the ground that they were after all so unimportant.

I shall be truly glad to make M. Hogan's acquaintance, and only hope that he may not come when I am away

I am, dear Revd Father, begging your good prayers,

Your very faithful Servt in Xt John H Newman of the Oratory³

The Revd Fr de Valroger

TO WILLIAM LOCKHART

The Oratory, Bm July 3. 1864

My dear Fr Lockhart,

Thank you for your Lectures.⁴ They are clear and cogent, and I hope will answer the good purpose for which you have drawn them up. And besides, they contain a great deal of valuable knowledge on the subject of Catholicism and Protestantism.

I hope your health is better than it was; but you do not allow yourself long rests enough to get well

Ever Yours most sincerely in Xt John H Newman of the Oratory

The Revd Fr Lockhart.

¹ Newman had sent a copy of *Apo.* to Valroger, who on 29 June asked if his brother Achille, who was a Sulpician, might translate it into French, assisted by another Sulpician, John Baptist Hogan. Hogan, who was born near Ennis in County Clare, and went to France at the age of fifteen, had written to Newman on 31 May, to ask for permission to translate *Apo.* He was about to revisit Ireland and hoped to see Newman on his way.

² See letters of 5 and 12 Aug. to Monsell.

³ This letter never reached its destination. Newman wrote on it 'returned by Post Office'.

⁴ Lockhart wrote on 13 April asking Newman's advice as to whether he should publish a popular answer to Renan, which he had written in five short lectures. Lockhart also asked for a word of introduction from Newman, but his lectures seem never to have been published.

TO JOHN KEBLE

The Oratory Bm July 4/64

My dear Keble

Your letter has been one of the great recompences which have come to me for a very great trial.¹ I cannot think how I have got through it. Sometimes I all but despaired. I was simply overwhelmed, if crying, profuse, frequent, and more at last than at first, be a token of it. However, now I am very thankful — it is done, and I trust I may dismiss it all from my mind.

Thank you for your allusion to the Article in the *Guardian*.² I cannot guess who it is better than you — there was not (to answer your question) any single sentence which seemed harsh to me; on the contrary, I thought it from beginning to end written with great consideration and forbearance, to say nothing of the positive praise which it gave me and which was far beyond my deserts.

It has been my great reward, (tho' I fear, if I boast some evil may come on me) to please readers in both communions.³ I have had, since the controversy began, addresses from London signed by 109 priests, from York signed by 70; — from this diocese signed by 123; besides one from a body of the chief gentry etc in London.⁴ My friends too in London and elsewhere bear witness to the general feeling in their own neighbourhood. I earnestly trust and pray that in some way or other it may turn to some Divine Purpose, and not be a barren fact ending with me.

Ever Yours most affectly John H Newman

The Revd John Keble

¹ Keble wrote on 28 June: 'My very dear Newman I will not wait any longer before thanking you with all my heart for your loving words *to me* and far too loving *of me* — If I wait till I write as I could wish, I should never write at all — for indeed dear friend the more and the more intently I look at this self drawn photograph (what a cruel strain it must have been to you) the more I love and admire the Artist — Whatever comes of controversial points, I see no end to the good which the whole Church, we may reasonably hope, may derive from such an example of love and candour under most trying circumstances.'

You have said things which by the blessing of God will I trust materially help us in our sad weary struggle against Unbelief.'

² Keble continued: 'I quite envy the friend, whoever he is, who has poured himself out on the subject in the *Guardian*. I hope and trust that it will not have vexed you in any way. Not that I have any guess who the writer is.' R. W. Church was the author of the review of *Apo.* in the *Guardian*, (22 June 1864), pp. 609–10, reprinted in his *Occasional Papers*, London 1897, II, pp. 379–97.

³ Keble also said: 'You will, I feel almost certain, even by this time find compensation for the pain and worry of this undertaking by the tokens that (D.V.) it was for good and is doing good, in a very great number of ways . . .'

⁴ See letters of 16 March to Maguire and Oakeley, 15 June to Trappes, 15 June to Patterson and Lucas, and diary for 1 June.

6 JULY 1864

TO JAMES HOPE-SCOTT

The Oy Bm 'July 6/64'

My dear Hope Scott

Your letter hardly requires an answer — but I write a line to say that 'this Oratory will always feel it to have been a high honor and a mark of great confidence on the part of the Duchess that she has entrusted us for these several years with the education of her son — and that, whatever may have been our shortcomings we have not been wanting in a deep sense of the importance and anxiety of the charge.¹

I am glad you are going abroad again if it were only for this, that it shows you thought you got refreshment and strength from going last year —' I suppose this political crisis will shorten the Session and thereby your labours in Parliament.²

Private

'As to my writing more, speaking in confidence I do not know how to do it. One cannot speak ten words without ten objections being made to each. I am not certain that I shall not have some remarks made on what I have just finished. The theology of the Dublin, is to my mind, monstrous — but I am safe there, from the kindness which Ward³ feels for me. Now I cannot lose my time and strength, and tease my mind, with controversy. It would matter little, if I might be quiet under criticisms — but I never can be sure that great lies may not be told about me at Rome, and so I may be put on my defence. A writer in a Review of this month says (he knows personally) that persons in Rome within this three years spoke publicly of the probability of my leaving the Church.⁴ And Mgr Talbot put about that I had subscribed to Garibaldi,

¹ The Duke of Norfolk, who came to the Oratory School in April 1861, was to leave at the end of the term.

² Palmerston's Government was under attack for its weakness over the German war against Denmark. On 8 July a censure motion was defeated by only eighteen votes in the Commons, and carried by nine in the Lords.

³ [[the editor of the Review]]. But see note to letter of 13 Dec. 1864 to Copeland. *DR* put forward extreme ultramontane views as the only tenable ones.

⁴ Newman is referring to a letter in the *Union Review*, (July 1864), pp. 427–8, headed 'The *Dublin Review* and Anglican Calumnies':

'Sir, — In the current number of the *Dublin Review* the report which Dr. Newman had to contradict in the papers two years ago, to the effect that he was about to leave the Catholic Church, is in two distinct places (p. 502–03 and 521) flung in the teeth of Anglicans as "one of the many calumnies" which they have circulated about him. I can only say that I heard the report from English Catholic priests, who believed it two years before it appeared in a Protestant print, and I can assert further that it was talked of as not incredible in high ecclesiastical circles in Rome, a year at least before he had to contradict it publicly. Dr. Newman was then spoken of by the obscurantist party among Catholics in the same tone, and with as good reason as Dr. Döllinger is now. I well remember how a book by an illustrious Neapolitan Oratorian, in which certainly not more than common justice was done to his genius, was designated by a well-known Roman prelate as "a romance" . . .'

This letter was signed 'A CATHOLIC WHO WAS AT ROME IN 1861.'

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and took credit for having concealed my delinquencies from the Pope.¹ I take all this, and can only take it, as the will of God. I mean, I have done nothing whatever to call for it. I know well enough *how* the movement against me at Rome began, in 1855; for I have seen some of the letters.² But such is the fact, and I can only bear it, and leave it³

Ever Yours affly John H Newman

J R Hope Scott Esqr

TO AUBREY DE VERE

The Oratory, Bm July 6/64

My dear de Vere,

Your letter was most acceptable and pleasant; thank you too for your beautiful little book.³

As to myself, I have had a great trial, and am very wearied — but I trust that on the whole I have done my work — though of course, being done so hurriedly, it might have been done better.

As to my writing any thing on subjects of the day, recollect the Duke of Wellington's saying that a great country cannot have a little war — nor can a great subject in theology. To touch on a subject is to be crude and misleading; it is to incur nearly all the censures which the Church uses of books, to be erroneous, next to heresy, ill-sounding, scandalous, and temerarious. Already, as it is, I hear murmurs about my book, which may give me trouble.⁴ *This* is the main cause I cannot write — I have no wish at my age, to be involved in controversy, and to spend my strength in self defence. I think it very hard that I may not write under the antecedent concession that I am a fallible mortal, but that every turn of expression is to be turned into a dogmatic enunciation. Those who thus wish me to talk with the tongues, not of men, but 'of angels,' had better themselves have a little 'charity.'⁵ I say this even supposing I am wrong — but I am not conscious I am — but see what loss of time it is to prove *after all* that I am *right*!

Ever Yours most sincerely in Xt John H Newman of the Oratory
Aubrey de Vere Esqr

¹ Already in 1860 Newman had been accused of preaching in favour of Garibaldi. See diary for 9 June 1860. Neville in the draft of a letter confirms that Talbot made the statement that Newman had contributed to the funds of Garibaldi. Neville gave as a possible explanation of this story that Newman's contribution to the Pope's fund, sent to the Nuncio in Paris had never been acknowledged. Then the Nuncio 'embezzled some of the money entrusted to his keeping to be forwarded to the Holy Father and applied a part thereof to the uses of the Italian party — and such being really or being said to be the case such is the animus of people towards him [Newman] that M.T. [Talbot] has thought himself enable [sic] to turn it into a charge of active co-operation on the part of Dr N. with the Italian party'.

² i.e. the letters written from the London Oratory to Propaganda against Newman. See note to diary for 28 Dec. 1855, and letter of 17 Jan. 1856 to Caswall, with third note there.

³ Presumably *The Infant Bridal and Other Poems*, London 1864.

⁴ Cf. next letter.

⁵ 1 Cor. 13:1

6 JULY 1864

TO J. WALKER OF SCARBOROUGH

The Oratory Bm July 6/64

My dear Mr Walker,

I thank you sincerely for the pains which you have taken to explain my passage, in which you have quite succeeded.¹ The best illustration of what I hold is that of a *cable* which is made up of a number of separate threads, each feeble, yet together as sufficient as an iron rod.

An iron rod represents mathematical or strict demonstration; a cable represents moral demonstration, which is an assemblage of probabilities, separately insufficient for certainty, but, when put together, irrefragable. A man who said 'I cannot trust a cable, I must have an iron bar,' would, *in certain given cases*, be irrational and unreasonable: — so too is a man who says I must have a rigid demonstration, not moral demonstration, of religious truth.

You have illustrated the point yourself most appositively.

Thus I thought as a Protestant; and I observe there are Catholic theologians of authority who *go further* in their estimate of the legitimate force of probability in creating certitude than I went, — maintaining that the *greater* probability is a sufficient, or rather the intended and ordinary, ground of certainty with men in general; or that that Religion, which is evidently more credible than the rest, is that very religion which is revealed by God, and therefore most certainly true, or demonstrated, for there is a way, by which the highest certainty of religion may be arrived at by fundamental articles which are only *more* probable.²

For myself, I never, that I recollect, took this ground of 'the *more* probable,' but of a certitude which lay in an assemblage and accumulation of probabilities, which *rationally demanded* to be considered sufficient for certitude

Very sincerely Yours John H Newman of the Oratory
The Very Revd John Canon Walker

¹ Walker wrote on 4 July that he had received a letter of enquiry from Ushaw College, from someone who appeared to be startled by the passage in *Apo.* p. 199 on probability. There Newman explained that in 1843–4 he believed in God, in Christianity, and in Catholicism on a probability, 'a cumulative, a transcendent probability, but still probability; inasmuch as He who made us has so willed, that in mathematics indeed we arrive at certitude by rigid demonstration, but in religious inquiry we arrive at certitude by accumulated probabilities'. Walker had replied: 'Newman is not talking of probability in the popular sense in which it has *always* some uncertainty or misgiving about it, but in the philosophical sense in which it rises to the highest certainty in given cases equal to but differing from demonstration.

Reasoning is rightly divided into demonstrative and probable corresponding to mathematical and moral — each applicable to its special material and inapplicable to the other — the one attaining its certainty with one stroke, the other with many attaining to its own not a jot inferior to the other — as is plain in thousands of cases.' Cf. letter of 8 Dec. 1846 to Dalgairns.

² Cf. letter of 24 June to Coleridge.

7 JULY 1864

TO JOHN CHARLES EARLE

The Oratory Bm July 7/64

(Copy)
Dear Sir

I see in the *Union Review* a copy of verses, with your name attached to them, of such a character that I have been perplexed whether to write to you in consequence of their publication or not.¹ If I do not, I seem to be insensible to the extreme kindness towards me on your part which has led to your writing them, and the honor which you have done me; if, on the other hand, I make my acknowledgments to you for them, I seem in some sense to recognise the justice of a eulogy to which even to refer has some semblance of vanity and arrogance.

Deeply conscious, however, as I am, that I do not deserve what you have with so much friendliness said of me, I cannot be wrong in writing these lines to thank you for what at least is unquestionable, the noble sympathy you have shown towards me in your vigorous and eloquent stanzas, at a time when kind feeling and hearty support are very valuable to me.²

I am, My dear Sir, Very faithfully Yours
John H Newman of the Oratory

C. W. Earle Esqr

¹ Earle, a clergyman who had become a Catholic in 1851, was the author of 'John Henry Newman, D.D.,' *The Union Review*, (July 1864), pp. 432-3. The first two verses and the last ran:

'Whene'er I con the thoughtful page
My youth so dearly prized,
I say, "This foremost of his age
Is Plato's self baptized."

But kindling, weeping, as I read,
And wondering at his pen,
I cry, "This Newman is indeed
Augustine come again."

The clouds disperse to clear his fame;
His foes begin to own
A prince of an immortal name
Is mounting to his throne.'

² Earle replied on 10 July, that he had met Newman once, in 1844, when staying with Pusey. In reference to *Apo*. Earle added, 'The argument you have recently sketched for the existence of a God from individual conscience, and the necessity, in strict logic, of his believing in Catholicism who believes in God, would, if worked out by your hand, be an incalculable benefit to society . . .'

8 JULY 1864

TO DANIEL PARSONS

[8 July 1864]

(in substance)

My dear Mr Parsons,

Three magazines, I believe, are in the field — whether started or projected.¹ With two of them I was already more or less connected, when Miss Maling came with your letter and the particulars of the 'World.'² Of the World I had not heard till this last week — The Month is already begun, and I have promised, if I could, to aid it. As to the second I have no right to talk about it — but it is only fitting that you, who are interested in the 'World,' should know that it is projected. I told Miss Maling about it in confidence, and in the same way (if you please) I tell you. I have no hand whatever in the origination, and, for myself, rather despond about the success of any periodical just now, but, if it began, I should certainly wish it to succeed. Whether it would interfere with the World or the Month — whether it would be monthly or not, what its subjects would be, no one can tell, for nothing is decided. I suppose its projectors would do what seemed most to promise success. I suppose they will decide nothing till the Autumn.

I was very glad to hear from you, and am sorry I cannot send you an answer more to your purpose

J H N

D. Parsons Esqr

TO FANNY MARGARET TAYLOR

July 8/64

wrote to Miss Taylor

1. that I found I could not without a good deal of labour, to which I was just now unequal, turn out the article on Poetry — it was so incomplete.³
2. Miss Maling, independently of this, called today to say — first — that

¹ These were the *Month*, the first number of which had just appeared, a magazine projected by Monsell, (see letters of 10 July), and the *World*. Newman first heard of the plan for this last on 28 June, from Miss Taylor, the editor of the *Month*.

² Parsons wrote on 6 July from Malvern: 'Miss Maling, who brings this letter, is a friend of Mrs Parsons and mine. She is engaged in starting a New Magazine, to be called "The World," and to be published by Chapman and Hall.' Parsons and his wife were going to write for it, and they asked Newman to do the same. The magazine represented a long cherished plan of Mrs Parsons, who was a writer of religious stories. 'Unfortunately,' wrote her husband, 'it has been supposed by several persons that "the Month" was the thing to which Mrs Parsons was to contribute. But the Magazine in the interests of which Miss Maling comes to you is the only Magazine with which Mrs Parsons is concerned.'

³ Newman had on 28 June, offered Miss Taylor an article for the *Month*.

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there was a chance of some arrangement being made with her by Miss Taylor, by which the *Month* would *cease*; why then should I write for it?¹

3. Secondly she let out accidentally, that she had the patronage of the Cardinal — I made no remark but it would be evidently improper in me in the *commencement* of things to take part against him.²

TO THE DUCHESS OF NORFOLK

The Oratory Bm July 9/64

My dear Duchess,

Your letter is not only very kind, but very valuable to me.³ I have already written to Mr Hope Scott on the subject of Henry's leaving us. He gave me a message as from you, but I prize and shall keep your own letter as a memorial of the great confidence you have placed in us, and of the considerateness with which you have accepted our attempts duly to respond to it. As to ourselves, we can honestly say, that we have felt the seriousness of our charge, and have never forgotten how much depended on us, though the good and great points in Henry's character assured us that we could not fail in any grievous way in the duties which we had undertaken

I am, My dear Duchess, Most sincerely Yours in Xt
John H Newman

The Duchess of Norfolk

SUNDAY 10 JULY 1864 Mr and Mrs Madan here

TO MISS E. A. MALING

July 10/64

Dear Miss Maling,

I find I misunderstand you in thinking you said that the *Month* was not certain to continue after October, from what Miss Taylor says; so I am writing to her, as I do to you, to set right my mistake.

¹ Miss Taylor replied on 9 July that there was no question of stopping the *Month*, and that Miss Maling had been told this. When Miss Taylor heard in June, of the proposed *World*, she had offered to hand the *Month* over to Miss Maling, but this offer had been refused. Miss Taylor's supporters included Fathers Coleridge and Gallwey, Canon Morris, Richard and James Doyle, H. E. Manning, and Lady Georgiana Fullerton. They insisted that the *Month* must continue.

² Miss Taylor replied that she had had Wiseman's full approbation from the first, and that Miss Maling was aware of this.

³ The Duchess on 6 July wrote her gratitude for all that had been done for her son, the fifteenth Duke, at the Oratory School. 'I must always feel what I owe to the school where he has acquired so much of what I wished him to gain, and where he has lost nothing of what I hoped he would retain.'

10 JULY 1864

I find from my friend by this post, that his Project of a periodical is making progress — but whether it is likely to be a rival either to the *World* or the *Month*, he knows as little as I do, for its originators have decided nothing and are looking out to do whatever is most called for and most promising, whatever it is.

As to myself, I could not but take part in my friend's plan, if it were set on foot. But, before I had heard of it as seriously intended, I had already promised to aid, if I could, Miss Taylor

I am likely to be in Town soon, and hope to call on you¹

J H N

Miss Maling

TO WILLIAM MONSELL

The Oratory Bm July 10/64

Private

My dear Monsell,

I inclose two Prospectuses — the *Month* has begun — the *World* is beginning. It seems to me you are bound in charity, I don't say in justice, to do what you can, and as soon as you can, to relieve the suspense of the parties interested in both these undertakings.²

Miss Taylor took up the *Lamp* some year and a half ago — and, I am told, has improved it and increased its sale greatly.³ At the beginning of this year she wrote to me wishing me to write in it, or to do something for a monthly Magazine which she thought of beginning. I gave her a three-quarters promise — and, on her pressing me, said I would try to send her some thing at once. This, however, I am unable to do.

About the *World* I never heard of it till this last week.

I should *think* that the *Month*, in which Lady G. F. [Fullerton] and A. de Vere write, was more or less under Dr Manning and Fr Gallwey.

I suppose that the *World* would aim at being simply un-theological — would have a Protestant publisher, and in part Protestant writers. Among these would be A. Trollope; the author of *Bella donna* (G. Dyce) etc.⁴ Other writers would be Mr and Mrs Parsons. It is simply a rival publication to the *Month*; with some rival feeling between the conductors.

One or other of these two will fail, perhaps both.

I don't think the *Month* *could* coalesce with you. I think the *World* might.

¹ See diary for 23 July. Miss Maling was living at 34 Alfred Place West, London S.W.

² Monsell wrote on 9 July, 'There is a great deal of interest expressed in the new review question. Perhaps during the autumn we may be able to set it going.'

³ See first note to letter of 10 March to Miss Taylor.

⁴ Gilbert Dyce was the pseudonym of Percy Fitzgerald, author of *Bella Donna or The Cross before the Name, a Romance*, London 1864.

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The Editors of both are ladies. Would you like to see one or both? or could I say any thing instead of you? Perhaps you may in prudence say 'We had better keep off —' but then as to charity. The Month will lose perhaps £100 if it stops now. But I don't think it need interfere with *you*, though it does with the World. But if you took up the World's people or publisher, you would extinguish both its collision with you, and with the Month. A Chapman and Hall publication with you etc. for directors, and a 'Month' would proceed without rivalry. If you don't take care, the World will start before your plans are settled. But this is going too fast. What you perhaps *can* do is to say 'We *shall* rival the World' — If you said this, perhaps the World would come to an end, before it began¹

Ever Yrs affly J H N

P.S. There is a chance of my being in London next week.

TO FANNY MARGARET TAYLOR

July 10/64

My dear Miss Taylor

What you say of your expectation of getting the Month reviewed in the Times, if any thing of mine appears in it, only serves to remind me that I must not send you any thing which is crude.² It continually happens to me that I write a thing, and have a feeling that it is not sound, and thorough. For years I have put such attempted compositions on one side. The paper on Poetry in question I have taken up several times.³ You pressed me for something at once, and I took it up again, hoping and expecting that I should have better luck this time. I got through two chapters of it, and then broke down. One of the great temptations of periodical literature, (as we see before our eyes) is the publication of random, unreal, speculations. I could instance it in my own writing; and put my papers by; and now, what you say today shows, that had I acted otherwise, the Times would deservedly have been down upon me.

Before I took up this subject, I carefully looked over a set of letters of mine for you, which I thought would be interesting; but they would not do.⁴ Then

¹ Monsell wrote on 14 July, after seeing Miss Maling, 'I think that her work may be made to develop into ours.'

She will probably from the first get into a class of circulation not easily accessible to us, and gradually her Protestant writers may be extruded and Catholic ones brought in in their places — This is what she would herself wish —

She thinks that she could edit the lighter parts herself but would like to get Wetherell to undertake the more serious parts. . . .

² Miss Taylor wrote on 9 July, 'I am very sorry about your article because I had a half promise for a review in the Times if there was anything by you and I fear I shall not get it without.'

³ Newman first wrote 'I attempted in 1849, in 1856.' See letter of 23 July 1849 to Miss Giberne and that of 22 May 1856 to Pollen.

⁴ This was probably a part of Newman's correspondence with Miss Holmes, which he copied out in 1863, calling it 'A History of a Conversion to the Catholic Faith, in the years 1840-1844 exhibited in a Series of Letters'.

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afterwards I sat for an hour and more thinking what else I could do — but I found nothing. Nor am I strong enough to write something new.

But, even as it is, tho' I cannot promise you any thing at once, I trust I have been of some use to you — since you have made use of my name.

But now on what is a more serious subject. Three or four months ago, a friend wrote to me 'We talk of setting up a magazine; if so, may we use your name?' I answered 'Yes' and it went out of my mind, till June 19 or June 26, I cannot tell which day, when I saw my friend and he talked to me on the subject.¹ Then I saw that it was seriously contemplated. I wrote to you soon after on the subject. This morning I have heard again; they have not determined any thing yet, and therefore could not even themselves say whether they would be interfering with you or not. They had not heard either of your plan or Miss Maling till lately. In the letter I have just received, it is called 'the new review' and it is added 'Perhaps during the autumn we may be able to set it going.' I am writing by this post to my friend, and under the feeling that three periodicals are impossible.

Miss Maling would not say to another what she said to me; I have not mentioned it except to you. I dare say it was my misunderstanding of her words: and I did not learn from her more about the Month than I could have gathered myself as possible from the circumstances of the case. She did not say any thing to the effect that *you* had *not* the Cardinal's favour. I will write by this post to try to set right the misunderstanding.

Very truly Yrs J H N

P.S. I hope to be in Town shortly, and I will call on you.

MONDAY 11 JULY 1864 School Examinations began. day of the Guild² at Rednall

TO ROBERT ORNSBY

The Oy Bm 'July 11/64'

My dear Ornsby

I write long after the day to thank you for your letters — but I have not yet caught up arrears of my correspondence, or my full strength — for I have been very much wearied with what I have had to do.

Thank you for the letter which you inclosed me. It was too late for me to make use of it — but I was very glad to have it.³

'Dr Woodlock has lately sent me a magnificent view of the new University edifices. It is quite a palace.' When he was here, he said that you were likely

¹ Newman's friend was Monsell, who stayed at the Oratory from 18 to 20 June.

² i.e. the women's guild attached to the church of the Oratory.

³ On 3 June Ornsby sent one of Newman's early letters, which he had been given long before, thinking it might be useful for the appendix of *Apo.* or for a second edition.

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soon to begin to build. 'However, I have heard since that Dr MacHale is still in the way — and there was a report here that a railway had taken a line which would interfere with the University grounds.'¹

Dr Woodlock seemed out of spirits — not however so much by any new obstacle, as by the fatigue which long efforts and procrastinated results continue to spread over the mind. He is a ready worker with a cheerful and happy temperament — and he had seen his work prosper at Allhallows — so I dare say he feels the contrast.⁷

There is no news here

Ever Yours affectly John H Newman of the Oratory

R. Ornsby Esqr

TO BARTHOLOMEW WOODLOCK

The Oratory Bm July 11/64

My dear Rector,

I have to thank you for the splendid present of the copies of the view of the new University edifices, which came to me lately, and which I should have acknowledged sooner, had I not been so tired, and had such arrears of correspondence. I congratulate you on having got so far as to publish such a promise of the future — for the publication is one step towards the performance, as involving the assertion of a prospect. It must cost a great sum of money, but I suppose, you would do the work by instalments.

I see the late minority has been increased by various high spirited Catholic members, as Myles O'Reilly. Surely the division is near enough, and the Irish members have shown strength enough, to oblige the Ministry, or a new Ministry, if it comes to that, to treat Ireland and the Catholic interest, more respectfully than it has done of late.² I am, My dear Rector,

Very sincerely Yrs in Xt John H Newman of the Oratory

The Very Revd Mgr Woodlock &c &c

¹ The views were those of the projected University buildings, the foundation stone of which had been laid on 20 July 1862, at Drumcondra, in the north of Dublin. See next letter. The buildings, which were to have included two quadrangles, never got beyond the foundations, and in fact, during July 1864 it was agreed to sell the land to the promoters of the Dublin Trunk Connection Railway. See L. McKenna, 'The Catholic University of Ireland', the *Irish Ecclesiastical Record*, (April 1928), p. 369, and (May 1928), p. 482.

² Disraeli's censure motion against the policy of Palmerston's Government in regard to Denmark was defeated by only eighteen votes on 8 July. See second note to letter of 6 July to Hope-Scott. A number of Irish Catholic members helped to swell Disraeli's minority, including Myles O'Reilly.

13 JULY 1864

TO MRS THOMAS LOMAX

The Oratory Bm July 13/64

My dear Madam

The word Economy is often used by the Fathers to denote that necessary and religious prudence in the use of words and in conduct, which marked their dealings with the heathen — and which we feel it a duty to observe still towards children, or ignorant persons, or scoffers.¹

But it is so difficult to hinder Christian prudence from degenerating into craft, that oftentimes what is intended to be an economy, would become artifice or deceit — or at least would reach the very limits of what was allowable, even if it did not pass them.

This is the sense in which Mr Froude used the word — as a prudential mode of speech which approached towards artifice — or was very like artifice.

A bad argument, known by the speaker to be bad, would be an economy, doubtfully allowable, or certainly unlawful. An evasion, again, might be so broad as to be an equivocation, or a trick.

I am obliged to you for the interesting details of your letter, and congratulating you upon your early conversion to the True Church, and upon your knowledge of the eminent Catholic writer whom you mention,² I am,

My dear Madam Very truly Yours in Xt John H Newman

Mrs Lomax

TO HENRY JOHN ROSE

The Oratory, Birmingham, July 13, 1864.

Rev. Sir,

I have had my attention called to a passage in a printed letter, to which your name is attached, which runs as follows:³

'If I remember rightly, about the time of Dr Newman's secession a letter appeared in the *Britannia* and the *John Bull*. . . [in which the writer made this

¹ Mrs Lomax, daughter and heiress of Charles Sanders, Vicar of Ketton and Tixover, Rutland, became a Catholic in 1834, and married into a Lancashire Catholic family in 1837. On 11 July 1864 she wrote to ask Newman to explain the meaning of Economy. See *Apo.* pp. 27-30 and 343-7.

² Mrs Lomax, who spoke of her conversion and of her co-operation in social works with Anglicans at Preston, wrote at the end of her letter, 'Dr Lingard was my "guide philosopher and friend" and wrote to me every week for 17 years.' Cf. Martin Haile and Edwin Bonney, *Life and Letters of John Lingard*, London N.D., p. 367.

³ Rose, who was Rector of Houghton Conquest, Bedfordshire, and the younger brother of Hugh James Rose, sent a long letter to the *Churchman*, concerning the fourth Part of *Apo.*, now Chapter II. He described Newman as appearing to take up opinions 'not from examination of the grounds on which they rest as on their truth as inferred from other doctrines . . . to the defence of which they were logically necessary'. The *Churchman*, (7 July 1864), p. 655. Rose then continued as Newman quotes him; omissions made for brevity are here re-inserted in square brackets.

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the special ground of defence of Dr. Newman. He made these strong statements not because he had convinced himself of their truth by examination of the grounds on which they rest, but as a logical consequence of his own dogmatic position.] This letter was often ascribed to Dr Newman himself. . . . [but I have no authority for such a statement, and have, therefore, no right to assume it. If this statement should meet the eyes of Dr. Newman, and he had no claim to the authorship of that letter,] his simple denial will settle the question for ever.'

I have no recollection of having ever heard of this letter before. I believe that at the time of my conversion, I wrote no letter whatever in any paper, on any subject of controversy; nor caused any such letter to be written, or saw any such letter. If I were now to see the letter in question, I doubt not I should be able to give a direct denial to the report that I had anything to do with it.

I am, Revered Sir, your obedient servant,
John H. Newman.¹

Rev. H. J. Rose.

TO T. W. ALLIES

The Oratory Bm July 14./64.

My dear Allies,

I wonder whether you would let me dine with you on Tuesday or Wednesday next. I cannot name which day. But, as I am so unceremonious, do not hesitate to say, no — if it puts you to any inconvenience. For I can call on you, even if I do not dine with you.

Ever yrs affly John H Newman

TO ELEANOR BRETHERTON

The Oratory, Birmingham, July 14th. 64.

My dear Child,

I have some rheumatism in my hand and can hardly form my letters. Father Austin and I propose to come tomorrow by the 1.55 train — but I have a stranger coming here in the evening and therefore I fear we must leave you early, that is, by the 6 o'clock train. Tell Mama this, and thank her for her thoughtfulness as to my sleeping — but I must get back.

Ever yours affectionately John H Newman of the Oratory.

¹ This letter was published in the *Churchman*, (4 Aug. 1864), p. 763, with a covering letter from Rose: 'It is only an act of justice to Dr. Newman to publish the following letter from him, which I found awaiting my return home to-day. I regret that my absence from home has delayed the publication. This letter, of course, sets at rest the question of the authorship of the letter in the *Britannia* and the *John Bull*. I am very glad that the matter should be cleared up.' Rose also wrote in the same sense privately to Newman on 29 July.

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TO WILLIAM MONSELL

The Oratory, Bm July 14/64

My dear Monsell

I propose, if all is well, to be in Town some days next week — but my movements and even my whereabouts are uncertain. I suppose I shall decide on being at the Railway Hotel — it will be more convenient to me than lodgings, thank you. Several definite matters lead me to London, and my time is not my own. I wonder whether you could give me the choice of breakfasting with you on Wednesday or Thursday, (20th or 21st) — As to Blennerhassett, if you see him, be so good as to warn him against coming here next week.

Though I partly promised I would write something for Miss Taylor, I have not anticipated doing so for your Review — or for Miss Maling. And for a very good reason. I could send any thing, however old or trivial, to the Month, and I told Miss T. as much — but I could not write for you without trouble to myself. I could send Miss T. a sermon — but to write for such a magazine as you or Miss M. propose, I must dress myself out full fig; and this I have no stomach for doing. I say this merely lest what I said about my dealings with the Month might lead to mistake.

Ever Yours affectly John H Newman of the Oratory

The Rt Honble Wm Monsell M P

FRIDAY 15 JULY 1864 went over with Austin to dine with the Brethertons at Broms-grove School retreat began under Fr Suffield.

TO T. W. ALLIES

The Oy Bm July 16./64.

My dear Allies

I will dine with you then on Wednesday the 20th.

Thank you for your thoughtfulness. I did not forget what you had said before. But I have secured a bed at the Great Western Hotel, Paddington Terminus, as I shall be about the Town on business all day, and go back as soon as I have done my work there.

Will you send a line to the Hotel as above, to tell me your *hour*, which I ought to have asked.

Ever yrs affly John H Newman of the Oratory

16 JULY 1864

TO WILLIAM MONSELL

The Oy Bm July 16/64

My dear Monsell

If all is well, you shall see me at nine o'clock a.m. in Half Moon Street next Thursday morning. I am almost startled to find that you have given up your plan absolutely¹

Ever Yrs affly John H Newman

TO SIR FREDERIC ROGERS

The Oratory Birmm July 16. 1864

My dear Rogers,

If all is well, I will make my appearance in Radnor Place on Wednesday at 9 a.m.

What a shame you should so speak of my P.S. Such an idea had not come into my head. I had simply forgotten the misdemeanour, whatever it was. I wanted to complete all my engagements accurately.²

I suppose the Photographs — they have *just* come, as I write this sentence.³ I open them. They are certainly wonderful — and do prove your point because there is no colour — and whatever is striking in them must consist in the form. They require studying and getting the eye to understand them. I suppose the eye would soon get educated by contemplating them. But still my doubt is not at an end. Could you have made the Byzantine erection of the size of S. Peter's or, of Cologne? Can you secure *height* in the Byzantine style? I still think that it does not admit of that endless ramification or development out of itself to any size required, which you have in Gothic. Perhaps what I mean is this — that Byzantine cannot give an external — whereas I have long thought that Gothic excels far more in the outside than the inside. The beauty of an inside is that it should be broken up — but of an outside that it should be seen as a whole. Thus Byzantine admits of inside, not outside, — for this reason. I am running on very crudely — and I dare say you have already refuted me, before I come to an end of my sentence. Thank you very much for them

¹ See last note to letter of 10 July to Monsell.

² The letter which would explain this allusion is not to be found. Rogers lived at 18 Radnor Place, Paddington.

³ These were photographs Rogers had taken of St Mark's, Venice, which he sent on 14 July, saying, 'they may be of some use to yourself or your architect'. For Newman's appreciation of St Mark's, see letter of 10 Jan. 1856 to Bowles.

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In rummaging among my letters, I find some property of yours, which I inclose.

Ever yrs affly John H. Newman¹

Sir F Rogers

TO ARTHUR OSBORNE ALLEYNE

The Oratory Bm July 17/64

My dear Mr Alleyne

You must be so kind as to excuse me for not having yet thanked you for your very kind letter of last month.² At the time I was too busy to write any letter, and since then I have been gradually making up my arrears of correspondence. But, as a man who has for sometime lived beyond his income, is a long while before he can by his retrenchments make up for past extravagance, and, as we all feel how difficult it is in walking to catch up another unless we run or he stops, so am I very much put about in my attempts to make up for my delinquences of letter-writing in May and June, while I also have still to answer the current letters of each fresh day and week. And moreover when once I feel that my character for punctuality is gone in this or that quarter, I am naturally led on to think that a more continued silence will not make me worse in the eyes of my correspondent than one of half the length. Now all these mixed considerations you must be so kind [as] to admit into your mind, and so to excuse my silence, when you wrote me a letter of so welcome and gratifying a character.

And now I can only say that the words you sent me were very affectionate and I pray with all my heart that they may be returned into your own bosom. I was sadly afflicted with the duties which lay upon me when you wrote, and I am very thankful that I have got through them

Yours, My dear Mr Alleyne, with every grateful and tender feeling

John H Newman

The Revd. A. O. Alleyne

MONDAY 18 JULY 1864 went to London — put up at the Paddington Hotel

TUESDAY 19 JULY 1864 went to Lintott *dentist*. called on Mr Monro. went to Zoological dined with Oakeley to meet Dr MaGuire

¹ Rogers concluded his letter of 14 July, 'I suppose you saw that when I wrote to you I had not read your Appendix [the final Part of *Apo.*]. I cannot fancy any of your old friends so unreasonable as to find fault with it. Nor can I imagine that they do so.'

On 15 June he had said, 'it is to me surprising how you could have written a history of your own mind, with so little in it that visibly injures the Church of England's position'.

² Alleyne, after being received into the Church in 1849, became an Anglican clergyman, and in 1860 corresponded with Newman, to see if the obstacles to his return to Catholicism, could be removed. On 8 June 1864 he wrote that 'it will be a relief to me to have expressed to you the grief and dismay I have felt at the way that odious man has treated you, and my increased devotion, and affectionate respect towards yourself'.

19 JULY 1864

TO WILLIAM FROUDE

Paddington Hotel, July 19/64

My dear William,

I must collect my thoughts to write to you. I am here for a day or two having had a talk with Eddie before I left.¹

I told him that *he* must speak to you on the subject which he opened to me, and that then I would write. It seemed to me better, and so it was settled — but, since leaving him, I came to think I had better write first. He talks of returning home tomorrow; and you may like to be prepared.

He told me that Fr Suffield told him that he had a vocation for the Priesthood. Before his retreat, I had warned him against acting under excitement. He said yesterday, as if in answer to this, that nothing that had passed in the retreat had moved him, but that for some time he has wished to ask the question, and that he should have asked me, if he had not had the opportunity of asking Fr Suffield.

I said to him that it would never surprise me to find that he had a true call to be a Priest — but that I did not think he could be sure of it yet. He wished to stay in the Oratory some little time — I suppose Fr Suffield had recommended it — but it seemed to me his better course was to see you at once.

I think it exceedingly likely that he will ultimately find such a great desire and such a feeling of duty to give himself to the direct service of God, as to make it almost clear that it will end in his entering the ecclesiastical state — but I certainly could not myself recommend him to make up his mind at once. Then he says that you will have had all the expense of sending him to Oxford for nothing.

I have much anxiety lest this should be an additional pain to you. Yet I do not know what to say more than I have said. His primary duty is to obey you — I do not see that he can plead any sense of ecclesiastical duty strong enough to overcome this — yet, just as I think he will go through Oxford (if sent there) as a religious youth keeping his principles, so I expect that he will keep to this wish.

I think you had better tell him that I have changed my mind and written to you at once.²

Ever Yours affly John H Newman

WEDNESDAY 20 JULY 1864 breakfasted with Rogers — went to Lintott — called on Miss Taylor and Fr Gallwey etc. dined with Allies. Ambrose came up

THURSDAY 21 JULY breakfasted with Monsell; with him and Ambrose to

¹ R. E. Froude, aged eighteen, had left the Oratory School in June, but returned for Fr Suffield's retreat to the School in the middle of July.

² See letter of 28 July to W. Froude.

24 JULY 1864

MacLean for Photograph¹ and the Houses of Parliament, dined with Ambrose at Victoria Station — went to British Institution Pictures.²

FRIDAY 22 JULY went to Lintott — went with Ambrose to Hampton Court and back

SATURDAY 23 JULY went to Lintott — breakfasted with Badeley — called on Longman — called on Monsell — saw Miss Maling — dined with Ambrose in St James's Street, and then back to Birmingham.

SUNDAY 24 JULY Henry, Ignatius, Ambrose, away. Began preaching (twice on Sunday) have not preached since beginning of Lent

TO HENRY JAMES COLERIDGE

The Oratory Bm July 24/64

My dear Fr Coleridge

I have nothing worth writing in answer to your letter of this morning — but I do not like to be silent.³

I forget what I said to you in the letter to which you refer — but I fear I am less and less sanguine about any periodical.⁴ I said I would do something for the Month, as you had done — but it would be nothing out of the way, and without any great hope — nothing would be better than an Historical Review — but who would bear it? Unless one doctored all one's facts, one should be thought a bad Catholic.

The truth is, there is a keen conflict going on just now between two parties, one in the Church, one out of it — and at such seasons extreme views alone are in favour, and a man who is not extravagant is thought treacherous. I sometimes think of King Lear's daughters — and consider that they after all may be found the truest, who are in speech the most measured

Very sincerely Yours in Xt John H Newman of the Oratory
The Revd Fr Coleridge S J

TO EDMUND S. FFOULKES

The Oratory Bm July 24/64

My dear Mr Ffoulkes,

I have never seen reason to be discontented with that reference to three

¹ McLean and Haes, 26 Haymarket.

² The British Institution for Promoting the Fine Arts held its annual exhibition of Italian, Spanish, Flemish, Dutch, French and English masters at 52 Pall Mall, beginning on 6 June.

³ Coleridge wrote on 23 July, 'It seemed to me that the latter part of the Apologia contained a kind of "programme" as to dealing with Anglicans . . . If the legitimate issue of the Oxford movement is in individual submission, might not something be still done towards helping that on, preserving at the same time the kind of "truce" of which you speak?' [*Apo.* p. 342].

⁴ In answer to Newman's letter of 29 June, Coleridge urged the starting of an historical periodical under Newman's name. He thought hostile critics might perhaps be mollified, 'if it were called the Historical Review, and made to be chiefly such as that name implies, not *professedly* theological'.

24 JULY 1864

points, in the Oxford question, which I have already on several occasions brought before you.

1. Is a Catholic College in the Protestant Universities allowable *on principle*? I think it is.

2. Can it start without the Bishop's sanction? I think, no; and that sanction is withheld.

3. If set up, would it *work*? that it would cost a vast sum is indubitable — but it *is* doubtful whether it would work?

I have not yet seen the Pamphlet you speak of. Certainly, did I myself express my opinion on the subject, I should convey it through the 1. 2. 3 which I have been above setting down.¹

Very sincerely Yours John H Newman

TO ROBERT EDMUND FROUDE

The Oratory Bm July 24/64

My dear Eddie,

I got your letter here on my return last night. As I went up to Town, it struck me that it was hardly fair to leave you to break what Fr Suffield said to Papa: when I spoke to you, I thought it more manly and confiding in him that you should do so. But then, on further thought, it seemed to me that. . . .² I was bound to write to Papa myself, lest there should be cowardice in me.

For myself, I can but repeat what I said. Almighty God calls the soul in various ways and seasons. It is very seldom that one can know at *once* that one is called. I think that time is generally necessary. This requires patience, and patience is very difficult. I do not see that you can know in three days that you have a vocation to the *priesthood*. But till you know, your father has a call on you. If you were quite sure, you must follow God. Again if papa says 'I urge nothing' — then you may at once follow that path which, even if it did not turn out in the event to be your vocation, would, while you were in it, be of great use to you, and which may turn out in the event to *be* your vocation — but if papa said definitely 'I wish you to remain at home,' or 'I wish you to go Oxford,' I do not think that you have that certainty about your vocation, to warrant you to go against his wishes. All this has reference to the *Priesthood*. But you speak of entering *religion* — this is not what I understood you to say last Monday. I thought you said a vocation to the Priesthood. A vocation to religion is a very different thing. If it would be a difficulty to decide on the Priesthood, much greater is the difficulty to decide on religion. And I confess

¹ Ffoulkes had heard from W. G. Ward that, in the next number of *DR*, he would criticise *University Education for English Catholics. A Letter to the Very Rev. J. H. Newman, D.D.*, 'by a Catholic Layman', a pamphlet just published. Ffoulkes asked whether Newman knew the author, and whether he intended to express any opinion publicly on the matter. See letter of 7 Aug. to Ffoulkes.

² These marks of omission are in the copy.

24 JULY 1864

that your letter has frightened me in this respect. Of course I understand there is a fulness of divine grace which leads the soul to go right in the most unusual courses — but we ought to be sure that we have it. Ordinarily speaking, ordinary means must co-operate with grace. Ordinarily speaking, a greater imprudence could not be committed than for you at your age to decide upon religion. Recollect it is said that as many souls are lost by choosing wrongly as in any other way. A man may be more easily lost by becoming a religious when he is not called, as by not becoming one when he is. And from the difference of what you said to me and write to me, I don't think you have a clear idea of the difference between the *religious* and the ecclesiastical state. There are *various* opinions given by Catholic writers on the subject of the religious state. Partly it depends on countries and on the character of nations. Again, regulars are inclined to take one view, — secular priests another. I trust I never should keep a soul back from God who was called to religion, but I have known so many try and fail, that I am always glad to see a person slow in determining — (a person who tries and fails may do himself great harm) and when ultimately a person waits and does *not* become a religious, though I know some persons will say 'You see he has *lost* his vocation by waiting,' it is quite as open to say, and sometimes I *should* say 'You see he has *found out* what *is* his real vocation by waiting.'

I should recommend your going about your direct duties whatever they are — and reading *obvious* religious books — but not thinking at all about any religious vocation or order (anyhow you must go, not by books, but by a director.)

I have written hastily, but I hope intelligibly¹

Ever Yrs affly John H Newman

TO MRS WILLIAM FROUDE

The Oy Bm July 24/64

My dear Mrs Froude,

I have told Eddy to shew you my letter to him, but can't help writing to you too.²

Deeply do I grieve for this additional trouble to William and you; but God's will be done. I would not tell Eddy of Fr Suffield's coming, not being quite satisfied about it — and before he went into retreat, I cautioned him — but I was not satisfied after, more than before it.

I understood Eddy when he spoke to me last Monday that Fr Suffield spoke of the *ecclesiastical state* — but by his letter of to-day I find he speaks of

¹ R. E. Froude replied on 27 July that he had been mistaken in approaching Fr Suffield and intended in future to follow Newman's advice.

² Mrs Froude wrote on 23 July about her husband's great pain at his son's decision, just as they were becoming companions to each other. See *Harper*, pp. 157-8. She also discussed R. E. Froude's immediate future.

the *religious* state. Does he know the real difference between them? certainly he so speaks as if he thought them about the same, that is, he does not know enough about them to be able to have any view at present on the subject.

He speaks of setting about to read about 'religious orders' — all this afflicts me. It is not the way, I think, to find God's will. He says that St Alfonso speaks of the danger of losing a vocation. Then I say seriously, there is danger in *reading* St Alfonso, (as well as there may be in reading the Bible) — The truth is there is as great danger in taking up a religious vocation when one has *not* one, as of neglecting such vocations when one *has* one.

I do not doubt at all he will bear this in mind. He is quite docile — but he must choose whom he will go by — anyhow he must not go by books. He may go by Fr Suffield, if he thinks it is God's will — or not — But Fr Suffield did not come here to fix vocations. Eddy says he came up here to *ask* Fr Suffield whether he had a vocation — does he mean 'to the priesthood' or 'to a religious order?' I can't help thinking, that the idea of a religious order did not come into his mind till the retreat.

You will ask me what I think should be done. From what Eddy says, I suppose Wm has decided not to send him to Oxford. This I take for granted. I think that Wm will fully expect that in the event he will *not* go on with any secular profession, and that Wm will naturally say 'I have no wish merely to educate him for the Catholics.'

If this is so, next comes the question, where should he be? The chance is that, *wherever* he goes, he will be committed to that place *when* he goes; and I should not wish him at his age committed *anywhere*. He really must *not* commit himself. The idea distresses me.

Well, I think he must first get his father's wish. *If* his father said 'I wish you to engage in this or that,' I think he must do so. But he says that papa 'recommends that I should now wait at home *till* I can determine to *what* community or order to go.' Oh how unreal this is! How can I let a poor boy be forced into making a choice *now*? Not that Wm means it — but it is the consequence of what Eddy has (from ignorance) told his father.

At the moment I do not know what to advise — and I would rather think more about it — and hear from you.

I grieve to trouble you, if this letter will do so — but I am in great trouble about it myself.

I think he was wrong (poor fellow) in asking Fr Suffield the question and not me. He might go to Fr Suffield for a retreat but not to make up his course for life. I think he should have asked me *whether* he might ask Fr Suffield. But it was a natural mistake. Unless he had distinctly said that he *came* to ask Fr Suffield I should have thought that Fr Suffield began — but Fr Suffield could not help answering according to his own view, if Eddy asked him. Pray God it may all turn to good.

Ever Yrs affly John H. Newman

24 JULY 1864

TO J. H. MAC MAHON

The Oratory Bm July 24/64

My dear Sir

The book of yours which you speak of will be most acceptable to me — and I shall thankfully receive it. It is on a subject on which I feel much interest.¹

I return the Part of the *Apologia* which you sent me²

Very truly Yours John H Newman

TO HENRY BITTLESTON

The Oy Bm July 25/64

My dear Henry

It is well you are away. The wind is like March — and the heat of the sun makes it worse. Certainly this place has an unlucky roughness for most of us. I caught a bad cold at once. A mile or two from Bm [Birmingham] I had to put up the window of the carriage, and I wish I had put on warmer clothing at once. I have done so now, when the cold is on me — but it is hard too, with this sun, to have winter jerseys on. But the wind and the *house* are like March.

Mgr Talbot came here on Saturday, before my return. He only saw Austin. He asked what I *did* — he did not seem to have heard of my controversy. He wanted to know what I said about Catholic youths going to Oxford — said that he himself was against it, but that the Catholic gentry, he feared were 'worldly.' Also he wished me to preach some Lent sermons in Rome next spring. He said that it was his idea, but when he mentioned it to the Pope, he seemed pleased. Austin said that I preached *here*, but he answered 'Ah but it is another thing there — educated people etc etc.'

I did a great deal in London — all I proposed — not near so much as I wished. The distances are intolerable. I went over the Houses of Parliament — and went with Ambrose to Hampton Court. Fr Gallwey has taken up Miss Taylor's 'Month' and is full of it. He has got a large sum of money.³

The Patriot has got a very friendly critique of me — but thinks my views on Lying and Equivocation utterly astounding. The Press and John Bull too have good articles.⁴

I have lost your direction at Hastings.

Ever Yrs affly J H N

¹ MacMahon on 18 July asked if he might send Newman a copy of his *A Treatise on Metaphysics chiefly in reference to Revealed Religion*, London 1860. See letter of 2 Aug. to MacMahon.

² MacMahon had asked Newman to sign the Presentation copy.

³ In July 1865 Miss Taylor transferred the *Month* to the English Jesuits, who paid all the expenses she had incurred. Fr Coleridge then became its editor.

⁴ The Congregationalist *Patriot*, (21 July 1864), pp. 69–70, contained a long review of *Apo. John Bull* and the *Press* were conservative. The former reviewed *Apo.* on 23 July, and the latter reviewed the first four Parts on 11 June and the last three on 16 July.

25 JULY 1864

TO W. J. O'NEILL DAUNT

The Oratory Bm July 25/64

My dear Sir

Thank you for your remark. I have no Crux about the devotion to the Blessed Virgin. I don't like some things which I read in foreign books on the subject — but I have a right to my own opinion — and am not likely to alter it.¹

I thank you very much for your Tract, which Mr Fowler has sent me — I shall read it with pleasure. Somehow I would not draw the maxim 'Lex credendi lex orandi' too tight — for the faith, being objective, is one — whereas devotions, being subjective, are many²

Very truly Yours John H Newman

W. J. O'N. Daunt Esqr

TO AMBROSE ST JOHN

['The Oy Bm July 25/64']

My dear A

I shall transcribe for your benefit some sentences of my letter to Henry. I tell him 'the wind here is like March, and the heat of the sun makes it worse.' Certainly this climate is most unlucky for nearly all of us. I caught a bad cold as soon as I came near it. A mile or two from Bm [Birmingham] I had to put the glasses up, and I wish I had put on warmer clothing at once. I have been lying in bed this morning. 'The house is quite cold and the wind comes in gust down my chimney.

Mgr Talbot came on Saturday before I returned. Only Austin saw him. Wm [[William]] was sulky at his name. Edward said, 'when told, that 'he would not go to any of those bumptious Romans. He sat and talked with Austin in the Boys' Refectory. He asked what I thought of Catholic boys going to Oxford — he was against it — but the Catholic gentry, he feared were 'worldly.' He wished me to preach some Lent Sermons at Rome — and said that the Pope was pleased at the idea. 'Austin said I preached *here* — but he said 'Ah, but this would be a very different thing — educated people etc etc.' It puts me in mind of the story of the two Smiths, when they suddenly became famous in 1812 by their Rejected Addresses. Albina Countess of Buckingham the famous blue, asked them to some conversazione. They answered that they were sorry that 'Mr Horace was engaged that evening to be

¹ Daunt had asked about a passage in *Apo.* which he had only seen in extract, p. 195, where Newman spoke of how certain Italian 'devotional manifestations in honour of our Lady had been my great *crux* as regards Catholicism'.

² The tract appears to have been one on our Lady.

25 JULY 1864

Clown at Saddler's Wells and Mr James to play the part of the Yellow Dwarf in the Pantomime.¹ 'What is Brummagen to Mgr Talbot but a region of snobs. Yet souls are souls, your Rt reverence. He went on to ask what I *did* — did I read? Austin said he did not know — but he saw me take out books from the library.' (the German flute!)

Ornsby is going with the young Duke in the winter. His daughter has a vocation at Stone.

'We have put off the Wareing mortgage'²

Ever Yrs affly J H N

FROM GEORGE TALBOT

8 York Place. Portman Sq. London. July 24/1864.

My dear Dr Newman,

I called upon you yesterday at Edgbaston, and was very sorry not to find you at home.

One of the reasons for which I called upon you was to invite you to come to Rome for next Lent to preach at my Church in the Piazza del Popolo, where you would have a more educated Audience of Protestants than could ever be the case in England, and where they are more open to Catholic influences.

When I told the Holy Father that I intended to invite you, he highly approved of my intention, and I think myself that you will derive great benefit from revisiting Rome, and again showing yourself to the Ecclesiastical Authorities there, who are anxious to see you.

We shall have an Apartment prepared for you at the English College where Doctor Neve will be very glad to receive you.

I am afraid that you may plead age etc. as an excuse for not taking so long a journey, as some persons have told me you are likely to do, but I feel convinced that you are prepared to make any Sacrifices where the greater glory of God, and the Salvation of Souls are concerned, and that you are prepared to forgo your own comfort, when the high interests of the Church are concerned, and you have an opportunity to serve the Holy See.

To me it would be a great consolation to be able to tell the Holy Father that you have accepted my invitation, and I am sure that the Blessing of the Vicar of Christ will amply repay you for going so far.³

Believe me Very Sincerely Yrs Geo. Talbot.

¹ The brothers James Smith (1775–1839), a solicitor, and Horace Smith (1779–1849), a stockbroker, published *Rejected Addresses* supposedly for the reopening of Drury Lane theatre in Oct 1812, imitations of Wordsworth, Southey, Coleridge, Scott, Cobbett, Crabbe and others. Albinia Bertie (1738–1816), who married the third Earl of Buckinghamshire in 1757, appears to have been more of a social than an intellectual celebrity. For another version of the story see Henry Crabb Robinson, *On Books and their Writers*, edited by Edith Morley, London 1938, I, p. 113.

² A mortgage of £1500 was paid off.

³ 'Mgr Talbot, who had been spreading the report that I subscribed to Garibaldi, and said other bad things against me [letter of 6 July to Hope-Scott], had the assurance to send me a pompous letter asking me to preach a set of sermons in *his* Church, and that then I should have an opportunity of showing myself to the authorities, (that, I think, was his phrase,) and to rub up my Catholicism. It was an insolent letter.' Newman to Miss Bowles, 31 Dec. 1866. On 15 April 1867 he wrote to the same correspondent that the invitation 'was suggested by Manning — the Pope had nothing to do with it — When Talbot left for England, he said among other things to the Pope, "I think of asking Dr Newman to give a set of lectures in my Church —" and the Pope of course said, "a very good thought," as he would have said, if Mgr. T. had said "I wish to bring your Holiness some English razors."'

25 JULY 1864

TO GEORGE TALBOT

July 25. 1864

Dear Monsignor Talbot

I have received your letter, inviting me to preach next Lent in your Church at Rome, to 'an audience of Protestants more educated than could ever be the case in England.'

However, Birmingham people have souls; and I have neither taste nor talent for the sort of work, which you cut out for me: and I beg to decline your offer

I am &c J H N¹

TO LORD LYTTELTON

The Oratory Birmingham July 26. 1864¹

TO WILLIAM MONSELL I

The Oratory Bm July 26/64

My dear Monsell

We agree with you — and I return the one which we think decidedly the best.

Will you take the trouble of sending it back to Mac Lean

No, on second thoughts I had better do so, and save you the trouble. It is the full face, one of the two which you marked.²

The more I think over the matter, — the more I think it better to wait as to the Periodical Project. Would it not be possible to form a coalition with *high* Anglicans? If a Weekly admits of Protestants, to *them* surely one might go. Suppose you took Gladstone's Politics, the vague theology of Pusey or Liddon, the Guardian's metaphysics etc it would not be difficult to get on with them. Surely you would find many Anglicans to write for you, and many to take it in. It would not be so obtrusive in its Catholicism as to annoy them

Ever Yours affly John H Newman

TO WILLIAM MONSELL II

Oy Bm July 26/64

My dear Monsell

I forgot to ask you on the subject of the inclosed; but take it for granted you have been able to do nothing. Mr K spoke in his letters, not only of Mexico but of any thing any where.³

¹ This letter was discovered too late to be inserted in chronological sequence. It has been placed at the end of June 1865, p. 503.

² See diary for 21 July.

³ See letter of 29 June to Monsell.

You must not be disappointed about the Periodical. It is best to wait a while, and see how things go. As to money, are there no rich men who would think the matter worth taking up? Lord Dunraven, e.g. People seem to think he could risk £1000 without an effort — and things are always exaggerated. Would not Gaisford give a good lump? or Sir John Acton (for a sort of Saturday Review is a new idea, in which he might take part)? or Hope Scott?

Two things would be necessary *before* you went to them, viz to *name* several good and regular writers, whose names would be a fair promise of success.

The second requisite is a statement, in which it was clearly set down the line to be taken, the questions to be avoided, the difficulties to be turned and how etc etc.

And thirdly the whole ought to be done silently, with a very few being in the secret of who the writers, editor, etc etc. were. And therefore a £5 subscription would not do. To make a sensation, there should be a secret

Ever Yrs affly John H Newman

The Rt Honble Wm Monsell M P

TO AMBROSE ST JOHN

‘The Oratory Bm July 26/64’

My dearest A

‘Thank Miss Boys for her letter. In such matters I always think ‘In the midst of life we are in death.’ I can only be thankful that you are among friends who can take care of you — but Miss Boys cannot shave you.¹ I look with much anxiety at your trip now. Recollect that you will certainly have to *take care* of your companions — and that a sprained wrist is *not* got over on a sudden. If you do not give it *good* rest, it will *never* get well, and recollect the exercise of the wrist in forking out coin from the pocket, in opening doors, in handling baggage, however light etc etc. Then you will not be able to use a stick, and will be falling off rocks — you will be going down the companion and save yourself from slipping by the use of your wrist.² Moreover, Miss Boys speaks, not of your wrist, but your arm, and you do not deny that it is swollen up to the elbow. You must be content with Dieppe or Rouen —’ I do think, and I hope you will think so too. ‘Then, how can you sign the papers for which you are waiting?’ your writing will look like a forgery. ‘I shall not

¹ St John fell in the street and sprained his wrist on 24 July. He was staying at Deal with Miss Boys, and was about to go to Switzerland with his nieces.

² [[by clutching hold with your wrist of the rope.]]

27 JULY 1864

grudge your remaining at Deal, if you don't find it dull — (*I think it is very dull*)¹

We sent you copies of Talbot's letter and my answer to 3 Terrace, Putney — etc etc. You had better send for your letters to Deal. I have had a very civil letter from Lord Lyttelton this morning apropos of my book¹

Ever Yrs affly J H N

TO EDWARD BELLASIS

The Oratory Bm July 27/64

My dear Bellasis,

It was quite a trouble to me that I did not call on you when I was in London last week — but I went up for particular business at particular places, and London is so large, that isolated hours go to waste. I was near you one day, but could not have both called, and kept an engagement which I had made.

I should have liked to have told you myself about your boys. You know they *all three* got prizes. I was quite surprised at Edward's papers — they were wonderfully creditable — Neither he nor William had *quite* satisfied me in the course of the Term — but the examination showed that they had really made progress.

Richard too has to learn to be more exact and careful, and to have more command over himself. I think he is getting to an anxious age — he is a good religious boy — but the world will soon open on him, and he must be sure and give his heart to God. Mr Arnold's report on him is as follows:

'He was absent from class some considerable time owing to illness. This must be taken into account in his favour; nevertheless, I think I must say that he has disappointed me a little this term. His lessons have been, on three or four occasions, imperfectly prepared; nor is his composition, though it has certainly improved, as good or accurate as it ought to be. I am aware, however, that in Mathematics, he has acquitted himself extremely well.'

I had him, with others, in lecture in Lent Term, when Arnold was away — and thought I saw the same fault in him in class — want of self command in bringing his whole mind to attend to what was going on

Ever Yours affectly John H Newman

¹ See letter of 26 July 1864 to Lord Lyttelton, placed at p. 503

27 JULY 1864

TO CLEMENT MANSFIELD INGLEBY

The Oratory Bm July 27/64

My dear Sir

I have received with much pleasure the first part of your *Introduction to Metaphysic*, and thank you for the words of kindness with which you accompany it.¹ I am only sorry that I shall not be able, while reading it, to do it that justice which it claims of me — for I am no metaphysician myself. But be sure, I shall do my best to avail myself of the instruction which I see it contains — and I say the same of the subsequent portion, should you have the great kindness to send it to me²

I am, My dear Sir Very faithfully Yours John H Newman
C. M. Ingleby Esqr LL D

TO JOHN SPARROW

The Oratory, Bm July 27. 1864

My dear Mr Sparrow

I saw a good deal of William [Sparrow] in Lent Term, but in the Summer Term, both from his illnesses, and my own engagements I have seen very little of him. I was very much pleased with him in Lent Term, and think he promises excellently. He is a very improving boy. As to his progress during the Summer Term I will transcribe the report of Mr Arnold, his Master —

‘He began the term extremely well, but he fell ill, and has only quite recently returned to school. I vote highly both his ability and his application and confidently look forward to his giving satisfactory proof of both next term’

I am, My dear Mr Sparrow Sincerely Yours John H. Newman
John Sparrow Esqr

TO ROBERT EDMUND FROUDE

The Oratory Bm July 28/64

My dear Child,

From what Papa and Mama have told me, I think I understand more about you than I did, and therefore can speak more directly to your purpose.³

¹ On 26 July Ingleby sent Newman the first part of his *Introduction to Metaphysic*, Berlin and London 1864, which contained Book I, ‘On the Psychology of the Senses’. An accompanying note shows that he thought it relevant to what Newman said in *Apo.* about the unreality of material phenomena. ‘I cannot help believing that Dr. N. will rejoice to find that his *philosophy* is supported by the whole weight of *physiology* and *physics*.’

² Newman possessed a copy of *Introduction to Metaphysic*, Book II, London 1869, ‘On the Psychology of the Understanding’.

³ Mrs Froude wrote on 26 July that her daughter Isy thought R. E. Froude was acting precipitately, ‘also she thinks he has been getting notions from books, in a theoretical way, and

1. It was very natural that you should do what you have done; but you have not acted with prudence, which is a great Christian virtue, though not that which comes first.

You ought to have spoken on the subject of your vocation, not to Fr Suffield, but to me. You had long the intention of asking a question on the subject; you knew I was anxious about you. When I warned you about being excited, I gave you an *opportunity* to speak, yet you said nothing. Then you went and asked Fr Suffield.

A soul cannot have two directors, any more than a body can have two physicians. You know, that if Dr A. found that his patient had called in Dr B. without his being told of what was going on, he would at once withdraw. School Boys don't go into retreat to fix vocations. You came, as I thought, for a school retreat — and that retreat was on certain definite subjects — I never should have allowed, nor would a Priest giving a retreat have proposed, a Sermon on *Vocation*. You came up to Bm [Birmingham] with a deliberate *intention* to consult Fr Suffield on this all important subject, and without saying a word to me, your director. This was, (not, I say, unnatural,) but a *young* act, an imprudent act.¹

Fr Suffield is a good and holy Priest. If you judge² it to be God's will that he should be your director, you are quite at *liberty* to go to him for guidance. You have the right to do so; but you must do so seriously and with a clear conscience, — and in no other way. If you remain with me, I must put you under strict obedience not to write to *Fr Suffield* or to *any one else* (except indeed Papa and Mama) on the subject of your vocation. If Fr Suffield were to write to you, which is not likely, you must send his letter to me, and I must determine what is to be done.

2. You refer to St Alfonso about vocations. Here is another fault. 'To dabble in spiritual books, is like reading books of medicine. Every man is [his] own physician; I am sure that is not your doctrine. I must simply prohibit your reading any thing on the subject of vocations from this moment.

3. And I must beg you to bear in mind, as I said in my last, that, if one may lose one's soul by *not* following a religious vocation when one *has* it, one may incur the same loss also by *embracing* a religious life *without* a vocation.

that he does not understand what he talks about, — and is *not aware* that he does not understand. She said too "why did he speak to Fr Suffield, when Fr Newman was his Director"?' Mrs Froude added, 'I see your letter [of 24 July] has affected him much, as his eyes were red when he came to breakfast. He tells me he sees now it was a mistake his speaking to Fr Suffield without telling you first. — But as he says he is going to write to you, he will tell his own story. I think he considers that it must *end* in his joining a religious order . . .' R. E. Froude's letter of 27 July crossed Newman's present letter.

One reason Froude gave to his father, for wishing to become a religious, was that he feared he would get too much attached to the world if he remained in it. On which his mother commented she had often thought he 'did not quite estimate the duty of trying to lead a religious life in the world'.

¹ Mrs Froude corrected this on 30 July. Her son spoke to Fr Suffield on impulse, and meant to speak to Newman, but procrastinated.

² Newman first wrote 'think' and then erased it.

4. Even if you wished and asked it distinctly, I could not consent to your taking another director just now instead of me. You would have a full right to do so, but I mean I should make you do it *on* your right, if you did it, and not as if from me. Now, though you might not quite observe it, you *have* asked me to let you leave my direction and go to Fr Suffield's — for you have at least shown a *wish* to go to him 'to try your vocation,' to try your vocation in a religious house. What is this but to put yourself under another director?

Now I do not deny that persons could be found to give you much better advice than I can — but I do not know of one at the moment. A director should be perfectly disinterested; no priest in a religious (i.e. regular) community can be such. They are biassed in favour of their own order or community. They can not be impartial. But I can be impartial, or at least more so than the run of men; because I am an Oratorian. It is hardly a paradox to say that an Oratorian is neither regular nor secular. No decision I could make would bring you to the Birmingham Oratory. If I said 'You ought to remain in the world, and be a civil engineer,' *that* would not bring you to St Philp of Birmingham. If I said 'You have a vocation to be a secular priest,' *that* would give you the range of all the dioceses in England. If I said 'You have a vocation to be a Jesuit, or a Dominican, or a Trappist,' that would separate you for ever from me. Even, did I say 'You ought to be Oratorian,' you would fulfil this in going to the *London* Oratory. Therefore, my dearest Eddy, I have no personal interest in the matter, and besides, I am old, and have less temptation to selfishness — and I am in Birmingham, a place which has less to tempt young minds than most places, and therefore I have a right to consider myself as in a position to be more impartial than most men — and accordingly, though there are far holier men than I am in the Church, I think I have a right to call myself more disinterested than the majority. And I will not willingly give you up to another, unless I have reason to have a great confidence in that other.

Of course, as time went on, I might find that you required a more learned, more experienced, more spiritual director than I can be — and then I should feel it a sacred duty to give you up — I don't feel this yet — I feel that you are a boy, and I an old man with a certain experience.

5. Now to this moment I do not know clearly what you mean by a 'vocation;' is it to the ecclesiastical state or to the regular? for they are very different.

If you say, 'May I try in a religious house whether I have a vocation to the *religious* state?' I should say distinctly, No — and for this reason, that, if it were decided that you *had* the vocation, in the course of a year you would take a vow of perpetual obedience. Your state would be fixed for *life*.

If you say 'May I try whether I have a vocation for the *ecclesiastical* state?' I shall answer, your best trial is patience — to go about your present duties and to wait upon God. Put away your scientific books. Keep to the New

28 JULY 1864

Testament, the Imitation of Xt, the Spiritual Combat, and some book of meditations¹

Ever Yrs affly John H Newman²

P.S. I said mass for you this morning, the mass of the Holy Ghost.

TO WILLIAM FROUDE

The Oratory Bm July 28/64

My dear William

Though I was seriously distressed that you should suffer so much, there was nothing in your letter for anyone to take offence at.³ And I was rather annoyed at Eddy myself. His letters to you have in great measure cleared the matter up, tho' I am still expecting a letter from him and cannot write absolutely, any more than you could to him, without knowing more of his feelings and wishes — and I half fear I have shown my state of mind to him, and that that is the reason why he does not write.

The reasons which he gives to you were news to me, though I see at once they are the real ones. I suppose he could not all at once bring them out to me -- and I cannot but feel great sympathy and pity for a poor boy wishing to flee the world because it is so sweet — and I am sure you do too.⁴

Nothing can shew both the naturalness and the confusion of his idea better, than the way he has mixed up, as I think, two things quite distinct — the religious state and the ecclesiastical state. His one object is to leave secular pursuits, and he does not care how. When he spoke to me, I understood him to be desiring the ecclesiastical state, and to be aiming at orders, the priesthood. To that effect I wrote to you. In his letter from Elmsleigh, he writes to me about a *religious* order — as if it were the same thing.⁵ His mother writes to me about his wish for the *priesthood* — and to you he writes (somewhere) of the ecclesiastical *or* religious state, (or some such words). In truth his one object is to leave the world.

¹ *The Spiritual Combat* was published by Lorenzo Scupoli about 1585. By scientific books Newman meant scientific books on the religious life. R. E. Froude explained on 4 Aug. that it was Fr Suffield who had recommended him to read St Alphonsus.

² Mrs Froude wrote on 30 July, 'Eddie read your letter this morning and showed it to me. — He sees perfectly the justice of what you say, — and thinks it both kind and wise.'

³ Froude replied on 20 July to Newman's letter of the 19th, 'You could not have written more kindly. But what you tell me is a great blow to me — one of those blows which make one wish at the moment that what is to be done were done quickly.'

In one side of Eddy's mind there was growing up a fund of common feeling and interest with me, and this seemed to give one little spot of light . . . but this intention quenches it by what seems to me . . . not an impulse really divine and from above.

But it is useless to give vent to what on my part is hasty and impulsive feeling.'

On 25 July W. Froude wrote, 'I fear my letter of the 20th must have seemed to you — as indeed it was a hasty and even passionate one. You will I am sure make some allowance for a cry of pain.'

⁴ See first note to letter of this day to R. E. Froude.

⁵ Letter of 22 July from the Froudes' house at Paignton.

So it seems to me; but this is the point which he has not cleared up. I have written (July 24) to him for information — but I shall send this whether it comes today or not.

I did not know of his feelings before this last week, much less of the strength of them — yet I was not quite taken by surprise. . . .¹ In view of your purpose to send him to Oxford, I took counsel with myself whether I should tell you this; but I thought I had not sufficient grounds, — that (if even he had now such an idea) it might blow off, — and that it was troubling you for nothing. But I was quite on the look out, if I had real reasons, to tell you at once, even though Eddy did not speak to me. I saw nothing at all in him of his thinking of the *religious* (or regular) state; except that the thought crossed my mind, 'Anyhow, if he becomes a priest, he will not come to *us* — for if he does join a community, it will be one of *regulars*.'

I have just heard from your wife to say that Eddy is going to write to me. I suppose he hardly knows what to say, and, if his letter does not come before evening, I shall write to him. The notion of his going to try his vocation as a regular *at once*, is to me simply preposterous — and I never will give my consent to it. It would, in a year perhaps, determine his calling for life. As time went on, he might bitterly regret what he had done, and find that he must put the regret from him because he was under a vow. His life might be miserable. Of course it *might* turn out very well — and so it may turn out well if a child engaged herself to be married; but we must go by our best judgment. Nor could I trust the Religious fathers, under whom he put himself for trial and decision, unless I knew them most intimately — because of course they would be biassed as well as he, and, unless they were men of great caution and experience, would consider the devoutness and religiousness of youth the sufficient token of a vocation for themselves.

The notion then of his trying a religious vocation at once, I should quite put aside. As to an ecclesiastical vocation, if I understand his mother's expressions in the letter just come, I don't think he contemplates that, as distinct from the other — but I cannot make out. However, I look at it very differently. First, it seems to me in many cases the first step *towards* a religious vocation — therefore in admitting the idea of it in his case, I am saving myself from the danger of quenching his desire for a religious vocation, if it really comes from God. He would be proceeding by steps, not per saltum. 2. The listening to the idea determined nothing *at once* — for the irrevocable engagement to the ecclesiastical profession is not incurred by minor orders, but by the subdiaconate — which he could not receive before he is 21, and need not of course then — and 3. there is no reason, even if he *had* a calling to the priesthood that he should not go to Oxford.

In saying all this I am speaking as his director, and I should give (if I could safely) this advice, viz go on just as if no thoughts had come across you — go on with your secular studies — go to Oxford or Cambridge if papa

¹ The copyist omitted a passage here, probably that in note to letter of 8 Oct. to Mrs Froude.

28 JULY 1864

wishes, and see where you find yourself when you have taken your degree. If *then*, you deliberately consider that God wishes you to be a Priest, nay or a religious, I have nothing to say against it — or rather, I thank God.

And for yourself, my dear William, I think you would be in the position of many a parent besides yourself, who wishes his son to succeed him in his Bank, and a fine profitable business, and he *will* go into a profession or into the army — or who wants his son to marry a certain lady, and he *will* fix his affections on some one else. I do not think you would have any right to complain, *because* Eddy would be a *man*. And as to his pledging himself by a vow, so does every Anglican Clergyman on his ordination, and it is attended with serious civil disabilities — as they find full well when they (Anglican Clergymen) become Catholics; moreover, when a man is old enough to vow to love for ever a certain woman, I think he is old enough to vow celibacy.

There is only one difficulty which I should find on my side in *insisting* on Eddy going to the University (i.e., if *you* wished it) and it is what you speak of yourself when you allude to his being 'placed in a perpetual conflict with himself.'¹ *As time went on*, I might find that it was the lesser of two evils for him to make up his mind about the Priesthood or Religious Order sooner than the date I have mentioned.

You must recollect that he is quite at *liberty*, if he *chooses*, to leave *me* and to take Fr Suffield for his director. I think he *ought* not to do so — and, if he remains with me, I shall insist on his having no communication with Fr Suffield. A soul cannot have two physicians at once. He never ought to have consulted Fr Suffield on the point. I shall tell him so — but he is so distressed just now, that I must not wound him. Please do not hint this to him.

Thank you for letting me see the correspondence, which I return. I think his letters very good ones — and yours a very good one, and I trust and pray that, where every one wishes what is right, every thing will go well; though (if I am right in thinking he will not ultimately depart from at least his *ecclesiastical* direction,) there must be in the event pain to you.²

Ever Yours most affectly John H Newman

¹ Froude had written on 25 July that he was against his son's binding himself, but was content to leave it to Newman to guide him as to how far he should conform himself to his father's wish. 'Were I to succeed in urging him to go beyond this, I know I should place him in a perpetual conflict with himself which I could not expect would lead to good.'

² Mrs Froude wrote on 30 July:

'Your letter to Wm came most opportunely yesterday evening, when all the young folks were gone on an expedition to Dartmouth and Dartington, — and Wm and I were alone. He showed me the letter and talked about it, saying it was excellent common sense as well as most kind. But he sighed a great deal as we walked about the garden together, — and said much which there is no use in repeating, but which made me feel what a gulf there is between us. — It is always extraordinary to me (seeing what excellent sense and judgment he has on most subjects) that in talking of Catholic matters, he does talk such nonsense. Such as "there can be nothing in the system of spiritual direction unless every director is infallible," as if one ought never to go to a doctor unless the doctor is infallible . . .

With respect to the question of Eddy, I think *that* will go on all right now, thanks to you! Wm has said nothing but I hope he will wish him to go to Oxford or Cambridge . . .'

29 JULY 1864

TO ROBERT MONTEITH

The Oratory Birmingham July 29. 1864

My dear Mr Monteith,

Joseph has made considerable progress in his arithmetic. And he is high up in his class. His masters report favourably of his progress this Term — generally — and I think his mind is if I may use the expression, growing into shape — at the same time I hear complaints of him still, as if he might be more diligent

And this is pretty much what I have to say of him; and I hope you will consider it satisfactory

With my best remembrances to dear Mrs Monteith, I am,

Very sincerely Yours in Xt John H Newman of the Oratory

R. J. J. Monteith Esqr

TO JAMES WHEBLE

The Oratory Bm July 29. 1864

My dear Mr Wheble,

Your boys have been sadly interrupted in their studies by their illnesses. This makes it scarcely possible for me to give you a report of them, such as I should wish. They both acquitted themselves very fairly at the examination. James has been a promising boy from his first Term, and his masters tell me that, in spite of the drawback of which I have spoken, he has done himself credit during the Term and made progress

I am, My dear Mr Wheble, Sincerely Yours in Xt

John H Newman of the Oratory

J Wheble Esqr

TO THE SECULAR CLERGY OF THE DIOCESES OF LIVERPOOL AND SALFORD

Birmingham, July 30th, 1864

My Very Rev. and Rev. Brethren,

I little thought when I entered the controversy which has given occasion to the letter you have sent me, what special rewards were in store for me in compensation for the trouble and anxiety in which I found myself involved.

One of the greatest earthly rewards which a Priest could name were he told to solicit some recompense for any exertions which he had made in the interest of religion, would be to have merited by them the praise of his brethren; and

31 JULY 1864

this is the very honour, so extraordinary and rare, which I now receive from your Reverences the Secular Clergy of the Dioceses of Liverpool and Salford.¹

An address from two such large and important bodies of Clergy is indeed a great gratification to me, as giving me a warrant for believing without presumption that whatever be the shortcomings of my work it has been of service to the Catholic cause, and it is rendered doubly welcome and grateful to me by the tone of cordial personal kindness in which their approbation of me is conveyed.

I really do not know in what terms fittingly to express my gratitude to you for so friendly and considerate an act; I can but pray, as I do fervently, that the generous sympathy which you have shown towards me may be paid back in full measure to every one of you in such trials as the duties of the Christian ministry may at any time bring upon yourselves.

I am, my dear Very Rev. and Rev. Brethren,
Your affectionate servant in Christ,
John H. Newman, of the Oratory.

TO AMBROSE ST JOHN

The Oy Bm July 31/64

My dear A

I rejoice to find you write so well — but don't presume. You won't be content without some new accident. You forget you are an old man. In one year, (from your volatility, most unsuitable at your time of life,) you have broken your ribs and smashed your wrist. This is the *only* difficulty I have in your going to Lucerne. You will be clambering a mountain — bursting your lungs, cracking your chest, twisting your ankles, and squashing your face — and your nieces will have to pick you up. If you will not do this, I shall rejoice at your going to Lucerne.

I have received an Address from all the secular Priests in the *two* Dioceses of Liverpool and Salford, as good as any of the others or better — 179 altogether. This makes up about 500 Priests — a great number. The address alludes to the points I have *elucidated* as *well* as about 'truthfulness' — and Provost Cookson, in sending it, speaks in especial praise of the part about St Alfonso.² I shall not know how to carry myself under such kindness and honor — for I have got into a grumpy way. Meditor esse affabilis.

¹ This Address, drawn up at Preston on 27 July, and signed by Thomas Cookson, Provost and Vicar General of Liverpool, is printed at the end of *Apo.*, p. 376.

² The Address included a paragraph: 'In addition to answering the original accusation, you have placed them [the Catholic Clergy] under a new obligation, by giving to all, who read the English language, a work which, for literary ability and the lucid exposition of many difficult and abstruse points, forms an invaluable contribution to Catholic Literature.' Cookson wrote on 27 July, 'We are especially thankful that you have given an explanation of the doctrine of St Liguori on equivocation, its agreement and disagreement with other writers and the value of the approbations given to his works by the Sacred Congregation.'

I AUGUST 1864

Lord Lyttelton has written to me a kind conversational letter, which I have answered in the like style.¹

We are in sad way today. La Serre is gone. Stokes and Aplin are ill — Godwin is gone to Town; and Lambert is obliged to be a jack.²

I should take it for granted you would be going to Lucerne, except that you have said that you intend to go there, which is against it. Write to us with your left. It is quite good enough for ordinary purposes. Vivas valeasque charissime

Yrs affly J H N

TO LORD EDWARD HOWARD

The Oratory, Birmingham. Aug. 1st. 1864.

My dear Lord,

I thank you very much for your letter and the interest you take in my present proceedings. I fully recognise, as you imply, that I ought to consider whether I have an opportunity just now of doing good to the Catholic cause, which may not occur again.³

Of course, it makes me anxious to feel this, and I am grateful to any friends who will make suggestions to me, which are always serviceable, whether they admit of being carried out or not.

As to the present case, I am not clear whether it will not be best to let well alone, I have suddenly and unexpectedly had a success; the sale of my book is scarcely slackening yet. Of course it will soon cease to be a new work — but still it may have an ordinary, regular sale, though small, for years. Now John Bull is very suspicious and angry at *controversy*. If I went off to attempt to convert him, he might on his part fly off again — and we should have a second split, which might last my life. Without intending it, I have been led into a personal encounter, in which I have pleased him — in various indirect ways I have recommended the Catholic religion, without at the time knowing that I was doing so. I was full of fears lest I should but make matters worse, but I have been prospered. But if I attempt more, I may do less.

This is the sort of feeling that I have. I have a dread of going out of my way. Through my life I have for the most part, written what came *in* my way to write. For the last six years I have written little or nothing, because *nothing* came in my way. I fancy I write better when I am led to write by what comes in my way — or rather I am sure to make failures if I go out of my way. I have waited for six years and then something *has* come in my way — and I have been prospered in meeting it. If I had attempted such a work 4 or 5 years ago,

¹ See letter of 26 July 1864 to Lord Lyttelton, placed at p. 503.

² Jack of all trades. Those mentioned were all working at the Oratory in some capacity.

³ Howard wrote on 31 July, suggesting that Newman should write a controversial historical work on the Mass.

2 AUGUST 1864

I could not have written it well and the public would not have read it. Times and seasons determine all things. I know I have not many periods of six years to trifle with — but still it is better to do nothing, than to do amiss.

I am, My dear Lord, Very sincerely yours in Christ,
John H. Newman

TUESDAY 2 AUGUST 1864 went over one of these days to Rednall and back.

TO J. H. MACMAHON

The Oratory, Bm August 2. 1864

My dear Sir

I acknowledge with many thanks your present, and am very glad to have a book, which carries on its very surface the evidence of so much learning and so much thought.¹ I do not think you have any cause to be discouraged at any want of circulation; (if such is the case,) which has been its lot — for from the nature of the subject it could not be otherwise. Meanwhile, you may be congratulated on having accomplished a work on so noble and so difficult a subject at so early an age; or rather, I should say, envied.

I thank you for your verses on Archbishop Whately. It pleases me to see in them the proof that he continued to the end in the possession of that gift of drawing young men to him which I felt so powerfully in him in my own case.²

I am, My dear Sir, Very truly Yours John H Newman
The Revd J. H. Mac Mahon

WEDNESDAY 3 AUGUST 1864 Lord and Lady H Kerr and daughter called?

TO ROBERT EDMUND FROUDE

The Oratory Bm August 3. 1864

My dear Eddy,

Your letter is a very good one, and perfectly reasonable. I suppose I have answered most of it in my letter which crossed it.³

1. I certainly think you *should* have some definite mortification. From my own fault, I daresay, I did not understand your wish for one till now. It is

¹ *A Treatise on Metaphysics chiefly in reference to Revealed Religion*. See letter of 24 July to MacMahon, who wrote on 30 July that his book 'fell dead from the press'. Newman's copy is still preserved in his room at the Birmingham Oratory.

² MacMahon, who was curate to Archbishop Whately's only son, replied that the verses were by William Alexander, who later became Archbishop of Armagh.

³ i.e. that of 28 July.

always advisable in such cases as you describe your own to be. The anxiety is to fix on one which is fitting — which may neither be a burden on your conscience nor interfere with your duties to others, and yet answers its purpose.

I do not know how to mention anything at once; — 1. because I do not know what you do already. 2. next because it ought to be something which suits you. I will put down on a separate paper two or three penances, which you might choose from, or use as suggestions for others which I do not happen to mention.

2. I think it would be distinctly wrong in you to try your vocation for *religion* at once. You *must* try it in a particular place and order — and places and orders are *toto cælo* different. Nothing is more common among women (who more often try their vocation than men) than to try in a wrong Community, and to get disheartened altogether, and to leave a religious vocation which they might have had, had they tried in the right place. And among men it occurs not unfrequently too. Great deliberation then is necessary as regards the place of attempting, lest vocations be quenched.

Another danger is this, lest a postulant and novice, being young, with warm affections and religious earnestness, should have all the signs of vocation and take the vows, and then after a while fall into a state of tepidity, which *may* indeed only be a fault of natural weakness and a re-action of mind which is to be resisted as a temptation, but on the other hand may quite as easily be the result of that spiritual constitution which God has given him, and such, that, if it had shown itself in him *while* he was a novice, might have made clear that, without any fault of his, he had *no* vocation for a religious state at all. Certainly, I think I see men who have made serious mistakes in becoming religious suddenly. Of course there are always two ways of explaining the failure — it may be said 'he *fell* from his vocation' — or — 'he *never had* a vocation' As this applies to an ecclesiastical vocation as well as to a religious, I will instance it in the case of Mr Conelly, an American convert. He separated from his wife; she became a religious (and is still a very good one — she is Mother Superior of the St Leonard's Convent), he a Priest. Then he found he had mistaken his vocation — wished to get back his wife — left the Church and is now an Irvingite. He *could* have got her back *legally* — and there was great trouble about it. Mr Sibthorp may be taken as another case in point.¹

Then again, when the event does not shew it, yet one's own previous experience of individuals may lead to the same conclusion. I have known persons suddenly become religious, who (I am quite sure) were not fit *except* by quasi-miracle or a real miracle. Such a gracious act of Providence there *may* have been; but, when I see cases before my eyes, of false vocations (as I think), from *the event*, and therefore know there *are* such things, it is natural for me to fear that in the cases I am immediately speaking of, there is not

¹ On the Connelly case see letter of 11 May 1851 to Monsell. Richard Waldo Sibthorp, an Anglican clergyman, who became a Catholic in 1841, and then a priest, returned to the Church of England in 1843. He was reinstated as a Catholic priest in 1865.

miracle, but hasty decision — and I look on gravely and anxiously to see what will come of it. But even if no *scandal* came of it, I should not be at my ease — because there is a dreadful case supposable of a soul under vows which he does not *visibly* break, but which enter like iron into his soul; and though, of course there is provision in the Church by which such vows may be dispensed with and souls set free, yet such a dispensation (it stands to reason) is a very serious matter and cannot occur every day, but requires extraordinary circumstances. Again, another case, really not uncommon and very sad, is when young women (who are in the world) deliberately, without their confessor's leave or knowledge, make vows of perpetual celibacy. Then perhaps, they repent of what they have done, and their confessors can do nothing to help them. I would not say all this to every one — but I know you are a prudent boy, and I wish you gravely and continually to pray God, that you may be *taught* His Will as regards you. For we must persevere in prayer, if we would learn it.

3. I think it likely that you *have* a vocation to the priesthood — by which I mean that a vocation to a religious life is so much *rarer* than a vocation to the ecclesiastical state, that the latter is more *easy* to believe. As to the religious state, to take one particular, a very holy regular Jesuit once said to me at Rome, 'No one knows what it is to be in *the absolute power* of another who has not experience of it.' He indeed was called to it, yet he *felt* it — but he said what he said to caution me and others from acting hastily. Therefore I say I see nothing in you of a vocation to the religious state, but what a number of persons have who have no vocation to it at all, for they are not slight tokens which are the real evidence of it — but, as to the ecclesiastical state, it is no difficulty to me to believe that your present wish *may* be the incipient token of a vocation for *it*. Still, you are yet a boy — and the question is whether this token, whatever be its just value, is so strong and clear as to be a justification of your acting upon it against your Father's wish. I do not deny that it might be so strong and clear — nay, nor that there might be a token of a *religious* vocation strong enough, to justify or to require you to follow it out at once. I don't see that you *have* such strong evidence of a vocation.

Well then, as to ecclesiastical vocation, moreover, even if you had one, *that* would not interfere with your going to a University, unless there was a great danger of residence at a University causing you to lose it. I do not think it need, even if you had one. On the contrary, I think University education may make you so useful as a Priest, that, though you had one, I should be glad of your having that education. Moreover, I think it may be a good test, whether you have a vocation, to see if you can *persevere* in your desire for one, through your residence. I do not see that such residence need interfere at all with a vocation, if a youth had one.

Ever Yours very affectly John H. Newman

3 AUGUST 1864

TO MISS HOLMES

The Oratory Birmingham August 3/64

My dear Miss Holmes

I write you a line to congratulate you on your having got to Mapledurham.¹ Now don't leave it, please. Don't be angry, if I say that you like strangers at first, but you tire of them, when they become acquaintances. No one, but yourself, can know the penances which you undergo in any family, be it ever so near perfection — much more in families which are not perfect — but you can't tell how it distresses me when I see one like yourself, who deserve so much better things, tossing on the waves — and this distress both makes me pleased, as now, that you have come into port again, and desirous that in port you should continue.

I was saying Mass for you the other day, and am always

Yours affectionately John H Newman of the Oratory

Miss Holmes

THURSDAY 4 AUGUST 1864 Ambrose and his party got to Lucerne

FRIDAY 5 AUGUST two young men <converts>, one Oxford, one Cambridge to dinner

TO W. J. COPELAND

The Oratory Bm August 5. 1864

My dear Copeland

I am writing selfishly about my own matters; i.e. about my Parochial Sermons.

As I suppose I shall make some money by my *Apologia*, I have no difficulty in reprinting them *proprio Marte*.²

Then comes the question whether *all* should be printed, or a selection. I incline to a large selection, — of those which are more important.

It seems Rivington has still on sale copies of vols 2, 3, 5, and 6. I don't know how many. But, this being the case, (did he say any thing about it to *you*?) it might be a courtesy to offer him to publish. Else, I should ask Longman.

Then, you must be editor, and must put an Advertisement with your name, stating that it is from the last Anglican edition, with no alterations but grammatical corrections.

This is my scheme — if you are kind to help me in it.

¹ Miss Holmes had found employment with the Blounts, at Mapledurham, Oxfordshire.

² Rivington wrote on 3 Aug. about *Apo.*, 'The number of copies printed is from 4,500 to 5000 — the Parts having varied somewhat in sale.'

August 8. I have come to the conclusion that, since volume 1 is out of print, it will be best to print that, and at first that only — in small octavo or duodecimo, and see whether it sells. In small octavo the first volume would make about 320 pages.

Your trouble would be confined to this: viz. 1 giving your name. 2. seeing by the proof sheets that no alterations of consequence were made. 3 saying so in a few lines of advertisement prefixed to the volume.

How does your History get on? When do you come to consult my Letters? I was in Town for a day or two lately and breakfasted with Rogers. I had thoughts of trying to find you at Farnham, but Ambrose came and brought me to the Parliament Houses and to Hampton Court

Ever Yrs affly J H N

TO WILLIAM MONSELL

The Oratory. Bm Augst 5/64

My dear Monsell,

I will send for the volumes of School Reports directly, and thank you for them². There is no hurry about Madame de St Maur. What I should like would be that she should translate a *second* Edition, in which I should retrench the beginning and end in part. But the first Edition will not end selling — so I am kept in suspense.³

The August Number of the 'Month' seems to promise well. And the Cardinal, I hear, has written to Parsons (Miss Maling's great ally) to get him and his wife not to set up any thing against the Month. So it starts with a fair prospect of success. We shall see what Fr Gallwey puts in and what he keeps out. I dare say it may be made a creditable publication — though it will not be what you want.⁴

¹ i.e. that of the Oxford Movement. Copeland was Rector of Farnham in Essex.

² Monsell had obtained for Newman the four volumes of the *Report*, published in 1864, of the Royal Commission set up under Lord Clarendon in 1861, to inquire into the revenues, management and studies of the nine chief public schools.

³ Monsell was arranging for Madame de St Maur to translate *Apo.* into French. See letter of 12 Aug. to him.

⁴ Wiseman informed Fr Gallwey on 31 July of his intervention, as Newman learned from Miss Taylor. Monsell reported on 3 Aug. that he had arranged for Fr Gallwey and Miss Maling to meet. 'I think that unless she goes on in conjunction with him she will not go on at all.'

Although Miss Taylor was editor and proprietor of the *Month*, she later wrote, 'I consider the real founder was Father Gallwey. He took the greatest interest in its start.' M. Gavin, S.J. *Memoirs of Father P. Gallwey, S.J.*, London 1913, p. ix. Miss Taylor also wrote, 'I was only an *avant-courier*. Father Coleridge, I think, wrote for each number; Cardinal Newman took it up from the first, and called on me that summer [1864] about it.' F. C. Devas, S.J., *Mother Mary Magdalen of the Sacred Heart (Fanny Margaret Taylor)*, London 1927, p. 320. The *Month*, (Sept 1864), pp. 209-12, contained two poems about his sister Mary, that Newman had included in *Memorials of the Past*, Oxford 1832, 'A Picture' XVIII, and 'Epiphany Eve', XXVI. Some alterations were made in them, they were now headed 'To the Memory of a Sister', and signed 'Daleth'. See *Ve.*, pp. 29-32 and 52-55. For Oct. and subsequent numbers of the *Month* Newman contributed 'Saints of the Desert', sayings of the Fathers, selected and initialled 'J.H.N.' See also letter of 23 Aug. 1865 to H. J. Coleridge.

Well then, if one might choose what was best, I should say, Let things alone a while — the *Month* may answer in raising the tone of our literature, and will be a nucleus for a good deal of thought and right feeling to gather round — In a year or two we may see our way for some thing higher.

This is what I should be tempted to say — but I believe you consider we are at a sort of crisis, which makes it desirable to do something at once.¹ If Lord P. [Palmerston] went, and Gladstone was at the head of things, it might be desirable to have an organ semi-political, semi-ecclesiastical. Well, if so — why do you not attempt publishers such as Chapman and Hall, Miss Maling's people? Would they not they [sic] take half the expense? Could it be so planned as to take in Miss Maling and the Parsons? I suggest this because I suppose they have money. But they are *literary* people. *How* could you so contrive your cast of subjects as to give literature a fair share? Reviews of books would perhaps be hardly enough. Mr and Mrs Parsons, I believe, are original writers. She has written several clever novels. French Newspapers always contain a novel. I suppose we should think this childish and absurd. A man like Wetherell would never connect himself with novel-writing. The paying the Editor would be the great difficulty — for it must be a *salary* — *writers* are paid by the piece. The salary must be enough to tempt a man who was obliged to give up his existing occupation. What should this be? £300 guaranteed for so many years, with the promise of an increase with the sale? of the writers, some might be paid, some not.

Ever Yrs affly John H Newman

TO J. WALKER OF SCARBOROUGH

The Oratory, Bm Augst 5/64

My dear Mr Walker

Your news from Ushaw is very pleasant to me.² My present wish is, in a second edition, to drop nearly the whole of Part 1. and to introduce what I keep with Part 2, into a Preface, leaving out Kingsley's name and in the Appendix to drop all except my account of my Sermon, 2 the Church of E. [England] and 3. Lying and Equivocation.

¹ Monsell wrote on 3 Aug. that in order not to interfere with the *Month* there only remained the project of a weekly. He described his visit the previous week-end to the widow of the seventh Earl Waldegrave at Strawberry Hill, 'There was a large party composed of representatives of the governing classes — of fashion and intellect . . . Probably most of the party were, more or less liberal towards us but the very air seemed to me to be charged with a sort of anti Catholic *ηθος* . . . I suppose to influence the body is impossible, but no doubt a really able weekly journal would do more whether with individuals or with the mass than anything else could — only it must not depend for its support on its Catholic circulation.'

² John Gillow, who in 1859 had attacked Newman's article 'On Consulting the faithful in Matters of Doctrine', was in 1863 promoted to be Vice-President of Ushaw College. Walker reported on 4 Aug. 1864 after he had visited Ushaw, 'nothing turned up — nothing but praise and honour and felicitations, heaped upon your name, and this without qualification there'. Cf. letter of 6 July to Walker.

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But there are great difficulties, e.g. in the Appendix about Miracles — I am able to give my view of Miracles, which will never be read in my other books. And again, the Appendix will be unmeaning, as being fragmentary. Then again — I must see what Kingsley does — for he *may*, when the Long Vacation is over, come out with an answer.¹ I am told there is an Article in Macmillans this month covertly against me.²

As to my writing more, I am tempted to say 'Let well alone.' If I attempt to do more, I may do less. Almost to my surprise, I have succeeded. I have sincerely tried to keep from controversy, and to occupy myself in simply defending myself, and in myself my brethren; — and, without my intending it, I have written what I hear from various quarters is found to be useful *controversially*. If I *attempted* to be controversial, I may spoil all. Some people have said 'Your history is more to your purpose than all your arguments'.³

Then again I never can write well, without a definite *call*. You were rating me for several years, because I did not write, but, if I had attempted it, it would be a failure, like a boy's theme. But when the real occasion came, I succeeded. I almost think it is part of the English character, though in this day there seems a change certainly. Grote, Thirlwall, Milman, Cornwall Lewis, Mill, have written great works for their own sake. So did Gibbon last century, but he was half a Frenchman. Our great authors have generally written on an occasion — controversially as Burke, or Milton, officially, as Blackstone — for money as Dryden, Johnson, Scott etc or on sibyl's leaves as Addison and the Essayists

Yours most sincerely John H Newman

P.S. Scarboro' is too cold for us — we always go south.

SUNDAY 7 AUGUST 1864 Mr Hanley called from Oxford about the Church ground⁴

TO EDMUND S. FFOULKES

The Oratory Bm. August 7/64

My dear Mr Ffoulkes,

I received the Pamphlet you spoke of from London yesterday — and then I found I had reason to surmise the author. Then I recollected, or seemed to

¹ See note to Hutton's letter of 15 June, placed before that of 18 June to him. Edward Dean wrote to Newman on 30 Aug. that he had heard from Max Muller, who was connected by marriage with Kingsley, that he 'had been forbidden to read the Apologia by his medical adviser'.

² Whately, Newman, and "Phenakism," *Macmillan's Magazine*, (Aug. 1864), pp. 289-94, acquitted Newman of deliberate dishonesty, but interpreted his actions very unsympathetically.

³ Rogers wrote to Newman on 15 June, 'The fact of your leaving us was itself an argument. And I am not sure that a phenomenon of that kind is not rendered less impressive as an argument by almost any kind of explanation.'

⁴ See letters of 9 Aug. to St John and 12 Aug. to Hanley.

recollect, that he had *said* to me several months ago, 'I have had thoughts of addressing the Pamphlet to you —' and I suppose there is no doubt that I must have thanked him for the compliment which he intended me, did he say so.¹

It seems a very good pamphlet — but it does not meet two out of the three questions, which I have ever kept before my mind — 1. how can you set up a College without the Bishops? and 2. will the scheme work?

I used to think the Long Vacation the pleasantest time of the year in Oxford — for every thing was so beautiful, and the place so quiet — but, from what I hear, it must be too much burned up for beauty just now, and the summer glare and dust are often trying. I do not know too whether you do not find the new suburbs to the East and the North, and the destruction of the Parks, a drawback in this weather

Very truly Yours John H Newman of the Oratory

E. S. Ffoulkes Esqr

TO THE AUTHOR OF PROPITIATORY SACRIFICE AND THE SACRIFICE OF CHRIST

Aug 7/64

Sir

I thank you for the gift of your interesting dissertation to which I am sorry I cannot do justice.² It is on a point, which I have never carefully examined, and have never felt any real difficulty. There is nothing against reason (i.e. as I feel) in the doctrine that one person should suffer in the place of another for that other's offence, when both he and the person offended against are willing, as he may be for various reasons. Such a proceeding I should not say was rigorously a satisfaction to justice, but it might be called a satisfaction in a true form, in a case where one man went bail for another, even when the <vicarious> payment was one of personal suffering. This being my own feeling, I have taken the words of the Fathers, as they come without any particular interest of my own in weighing their significancy.

¹ See letter of 24 July to Ffoulkes. Renouf was the author of the pamphlet, *University Education for English Catholics. A Letter to the Very Rev. J. H. Newman, D.D.*, 'by a Catholic Layman', and he visited the Oratory on 8 June.

Renouf's Pamphlet began as an article for the *Home and Foreign Review*, at Acton's request. Then Acton wished it to appear as a pamphlet, but urged on Renouf the postponement of its publication, when he was a candidate for the vacant Inspectorship of Schools, in the spring of 1864.

After his visit to Newman, Renouf wrote to Acton: 'I was at Edgbaston last week, and spoke to Newman about the "Catholic Layman." He had no objection to its being addressed to him, and said that he would probably agree with it. But he was not enthusiastic. He was too full of the Kingsley business to think of much else.' *The Life Work of Sir Peter le Page Renouf*, IV, *The Book of the Dead*, edited by Professor E. Naville, Paris 1907, p. lxxi.

² *Propitiatory Sacrifice and the Sacrifice of Christ according to Scripture and Catholic Antiquity*, published by Rivington in 1864. The anonymous author of it wrote anonymously to Newman, asking for his judgment on the point of doctrine he discussed 'which is not in controversy between the Churches of Rome and England'. He thought there had been a change of emphasis about the beginning of the thirteenth century.

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Now I fully grant that the Greek Fathers, of whom I have read more than of the Latin, look at our Lord's death more as a matter of grace to us than as the vicarious penalty of our sin; but I have never fancied that, because they held this view more explicitly, they did not hold the other view implicitly also. So too they consider original sin as a loss of grace rather than as a positive state of natural weakness; yet I have never felt this to be inconsistent with the Tridentine words about Adam's fall, to the effect that 'totum Adam secundum corpus et animam deterius commutatum fuisse', and 'liberum arbitrium viribus attenuatum et inclinatum'.

I am prepared to believe, however, that in the Western Church the notion of vicarious atonement was brought out distinctly. One passage occurs to me at once in St Augustine which I quote:¹

TO EDWIN PAXTON HOOD

[7 August 1864]

Sir

The number of your Review for August has been sent me — and, though it may be an unusual proceeding, I cannot help writing you a line to thank you for the Article you have inserted in it upon me.² I know I do not deserve half the praise which the writer of it has given me, nor do I write exactly to thank him for that praise, tho' of course I do feel very grateful for it, even while I can not accept it. But what I do thank him for, is the tone of genuine sympathy and cordiality towards me, which I value very much in spite of my great differences from him in religious belief. It is indeed the most cruel of thoughts that such keen and inscrutable differences should exist as they do between man and man.

As I am writing, I am obliged to express sorrow about what the reviewer has said of Hurrell Froude.³ He would not so speak, if he had known him; Mr Froude was a man who did not live long enough to be known — Ostendit terris tantum hunc Deus —⁴ he had not time for such varied disclosures of his

¹ Newman noted on his draft '(those quotations not sent as being [word illegible] and remote)' They were: 'de Civ. Dei XVI. 37,' 'Contra Mendacium X,' 'Serm. 120 de diversis, cap 16'

The author replied, again anonymously, and Newman made a note: 'a second letter came and I answered it — I did not keep a copy. I said 1. I did not like explaining away Scripture because of a mystery. 2. Catholic theologians so stated the "satisfaction" that there was scarcely a mystery'

² 'John Henry Newman', the *Eclectic Review*, VII New Series, (Aug. 1864) pp. 182–206. The reviewer, while emphasising how much his principles differed from Newman's, spoke of the 'light and comfort, awakening of conscience, and every kind of intellectual delight' derived from reading his works. p. 185.

³ 'Everything associated with the name of Richard Hurrell Froude is as good as a pestilence to us. . . . We cannot understand that kind of mind, and have no desire to understand it; he simply seems to us an intolerant and coarse buffoon . . . *loc. cit.* p. 191.

⁴ 'Ostendent terris tantum fata neque ultra esse sinent.' *Aeneid* VI, 869–70, about the heir of Augustus, Marcellus, who died at the age of twenty.

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mind as were necessary for his being understood by the world at large, as well as by his friends.

J H N¹

The Editor of the Eclectic Review

MONDAY 8 AUGUST 1864 Austin went away or tomorrow

TO WILLIAM FROUDE

The Oratory Bm Augst 8/64

My dear William

I will not speak on the subject of your distress, because I may seem to have no business to do so — All I can say is that Eddy's inclination is not my doing.² No one can answer for a boy's mind — and no one can turn him at his will — No one can control his ultimate intentions. One can but influence him for a time, and *then* he must be his own master, and he must decide for himself whether that influence has succeeded in the interval to determine his decision or not.

When he spoke to me the other day, I might have put off the question (as I did) and *also* have said nothing to you about it. I might have said nothing to you till such time, if the time ever came, when he actually had determined on orders. I might have said to him 'Don't tell your father your thoughts, go to Oxford as he wishes — if you ultimately make up your mind for the ecclesiastical state, then tell him — but give him the chance of having no annoyance, by not telling him now when it is uncertain.' Then perhaps the idea of Orders would have died out of his mind, and you would never have known the difficulty.

But neither he nor I felt that such a course was possible. I did not see I had any right to keep you in ignorance of what was going on in his mind. Supposing, after being 4 years at Oxford, his mind had been made up to follow up his wish to take Orders, and it had then come out that he had spoken to me on the subject before he went there. I think you would have had good reason to be much hurt, considering the expense which you had been put to for him at the University. Of course a residence there would have only been so much gain to him when he became an ecclesiastic, but it would be sharp practice in me to have allowed it.

I doubt not he will say to you, if he has not already, that he wishes to do just what you decide about Oxford, a Tutor etc. — but I have not liked to

¹ Hood, who was the minister of the Congregational church, Queen Street, Brighton, thanked Newman on 8 Aug. for this letter, and explained how much he liked the works of F. W. Faber and the 'Lives of the Modern Saints'.

² Froude wrote on 5 Aug. appreciative of Newman's tenderness towards himself. He then spoke of the pain he felt when his son, who seemed made to share his father's interests and career, proposed to adopt a profession that would put an end to their sympathy, and appeared at the same time to be impervious to argument.

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press him strongly, for he seemed to me disturbed, and I thought it best to give him time to recover himself.¹ Many a Protestant boy with his strong feelings would have in a headstrong way acted upon them. He has been saved from this conduct by his own good principle, and the *influence* you have over him: and partly by his religious advisers.

Ever Yrs affly John H Newman

TO AMBROSE ST JOHN

‘Aug 9/64’

My dear A

Wm [William] says he has nothing to say and at the last moment has left it to me. ‘Edward, he and I have hardly had a mouthful of dinner today. Nor I — yesterday — nor Saturday, and so on.’¹ It is impossible to get on so.² ‘I can’t help thinking it is the reason, why I am so low and dissipated and doing nothing, when every thing is so much in my favor. I find from Canon Walker that, so far from the Ushaw people having bones to pick with me, he heard nothing but praises of me. And some of the dissenting organs have had the strongest articles in my favour’³ of any.³ As to old Talbot, you have vastly more physical pluck than I — but you are a moral coward — and, as we have many semi doubles just now, I must think of you in the ‘juva pusillanimes.’⁴

‘A Catholic of Oxford has bought for £8000 the 5 acres’ <(*don’t tell*)> ‘between St Giles’s and the Printing Office. It is simply freehold — he has come to Bm [Birmingham] (i.e. his son-in-law) to offer it to me’⁵ for a College. ‘I have till Christmas to find the money —’ I am going to write to Hope Scott — Edward wants to advance of his own £4000 etc etc. The *hitch* is that, as there are *no* buildings on the ground, the 5 acres would be simply unproductive except to grow potatoes on, till it was used for its purpose — nor could it be used for buildings under £20,000 — and ‘then for whom have you done it? for old Talbot. *Sic vos non vobis!*⁵ Austin has gone off today to a cousin. Henry comes back Saturday, his cough not gone. *We MUST have a curate*, or we shall die. I am glad you are so well’

Ever Yrs affly J H N

¹ Froude wished his son to prepare with a tutor for Oxford, and to work there for honours in mathematics and natural science, with a view to being an engineer like his father.

² The cook was to blame.

³ Letter of 5 Aug. to Walker; also 25 July to Bittleston and 7 Aug. to Hood.

⁴ i.e. in the commemoration of the Blessed Virgin made on semidouble feasts, at Lauds and Vespers, which began, ‘Sancta Maria, succurre miseris, juva pusillanimes . . .’ St John, on 5 Aug., after speaking of the consensus of the English Catholic clergy in Newman’s favour, added, ‘I have a secret dread of old Talbot’s being a *veuveur*, only a dread lest you may have to explain.’ On 13 Aug. St John answered, ‘I think a quarrel with the Pope personally would vex you, and it is said he likes Talbot better than anybody about him. That’s all I mean. It is pusillanimous I know, for T’s impertinence is consummate.’

⁵ ‘*Sic vos non vobis mellificatis apes.*’ See letter of 12 Aug. to Hanley. Newman did not think of going to Oxford himself. See diary for 23 Aug.

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WEDNESDAY 10 AUGUST 1864 Began work in Library

TO AMBROSE ST JOHN

「Augst 10/64」

My dear A

I sent my letter yesterday without the chief thing I had to say — 'you must complete your four weeks at Lucerne' which will bring you to the last day of the month. Unless you give some better reason than that you have no money, you must. 'I will lend you £20' at *not more* than 12 per cent interest, and you must forestall your money. It would be cruel your coming back sooner.

'After all Mrs Wootten does *not* go with her uncle,' and therefore is away, I fear not very comfortably at Streetly. Mrs Peter and the boy are to depart today.

'Lord E. Howard' wrote to me lately, to say that he 'hoped I should bring out some controversial work.' But I answered that I thought it best to let well alone; that John Bull's back would be put up if I came the controversialist over him — while I should do more good by aiming at less.¹

William is but half inclined to go to you — and Henry is stopping away another week, so I don't see how he can, if he would.

I am buying a lot of books at Stewart's — but they are not in your way — chiefly comments on Scotus.²

'The thing would be to found an Oratory at Oxford —' it only requires men and money

Ever Yrs affly J H N

THURSDAY 11 AUGUST 1864 Mr Jackson in the House Mr R. Barrow called³

FRIDAY 12 AUGUST Triduo before the Assumption

¹ Letter of 1 Aug.

² Already at Littlemore Newman had a copy of C. F. Maresio, *Promptuarium Scoticum*. He seems now to have bought Scotus's *Opera Omnia*, Lyons 1639, twelve volumes, marked as 'sold by C. J. Stewart'. Also in the library at the Birmingham Oratory is Hieronymus de Montefortino, *Joannis Duns Scoti Summa Theologica*, Rome 1728, which was perhaps bought at the same time. The set of C. Frassen's *Scotus Academicus*, Venice 1744, came a few years later, a gift from the Duchess of Argyll.

³ He was the bearer of a letter from his brother John, written from Vals, Le Puy, on 3 Aug., 'I think you will not have forgotten me, and will be glad to know that by God's mercy I have become a Catholic.

After being some weeks under the care of F. Ramière (Soc. Jes.), whom you have seen in England, I was received last Sunday, the Feast of St Ignatius, in the chapel of the Jesuits House here. . . .

It is nearly 19 years since I parted from you. They have been very sad years for me — But I have never ceased to have the same feeling of gratitude and affection for you'

John Barrow, who contributed St Herbert to the *Lives of the English Saints*, spent twenty-five years at Queen's College, Oxford, and after that was Principal of St Edmund Hall, 1854-61. In 1867 he became a Jesuit.

12 AUGUST 1864

TO MARIANNE FRANCES BOWDEN

The Oratory Bm August 12. 1864

My dear Child

I don't know where you are, and hoped to have heard from some or other of you — tho' I don't want to tax your kindness.

But I should like to know what you have to say about Papa and all of you

Ever Yrs affly John H Newman of the Oratory

Miss Bowden

TO WILLIAM FROUDE

The Oratory Bm August 12, 1864

My dear William

I am sure there is no one who can ask so little, as a Father, as you do. You are a great deal more than fair, you are most kind. And really, though it does no good to say so, I am really quite pierced, when I think how much you must suffer. And if I have said a single word, against my will, which you felt I need not have said, I am very sorry for it.¹

I won't say that Eddy's communication to me took me by surprise, for I had already, as I told you, some anxious suspicion on the subject — but it is nothing but the fact to say, that it was very unwelcome to me — unwelcome, except so far as my duty calls on me to rejoice that God brings a soul into His more immediate service. When I received Protestant Orders, I believed no state of life so excellent as that of the Christian ministry — and much more do I think so now — Putting this aside, it is to me a simple trouble that Eddy is not giving himself to the profession you intend for him.

I wish to press upon him that, if there is a danger of his swerving from God's will by not going into Orders, so he may be swerving from it by going into Orders. And I hope he will go to Oxford resolved to make the most of his time and opportunities — and you, better than I, know what good foundation there is for this hope.²

Ever Yours most affectly John H Newman

¹ In reply to Newman's letter of 8 Aug., Froude wrote on 10 Aug. thanking Newman. He then spoke of his disappointments, and his realisation that when he had interfered, he had not been helpful to his sons.

² R. E. Froude, owing to the fear that he had the family disease of consumption, was sent for two winters to Mentone, and so did not go to Oxford. He settled down to work under his father, for the Admiralty, experimenting in the designs of ships, and became a very distinguished naval architect.

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TO D. HANLEY

The Oy Bm Aug 12/64¹

Dear Sir

I am much obliged to Mr Smith for his wish to call on me here; but I do not know that at the present moment it is necessary that he should take the trouble.

What I want is something which I can show my friends. If I have a few lines from him to the effect that he has the land, that it is freehold, that the title is good, that it is 5 acres, and that he is willing to sell it, and for how much, and the prospect of reselling to advantage, if our project fails, so as to make up the lost interest of the money, he will enable me at once to communicate with others. I will make no delay.

I am not sure that I shall be able to meet his offer — as the sum is large, and a far larger sum would be necessary for building. The money would certainly remain unproductive for years.

J H N.²

TO JAMES HOPE-SCOTT

‘The Oratory Bm August 12/64

My dear Hope Scott

Confidential. I am offered for £8000, with till Christmas to raise the money, 5 acres of freehold ground in Oxford with a poor law commission’s Title, situate between St Giles’s and the Printing Office.

It is the Home stead of the old Work house. It has no buildings on it, *so it is and will be unproductive*. Of course *we* cannot do it — but they say that, if cut up into portions and sold for building, it would ultimately realize £12,000, if it was to be got rid of ultimately.

I have written for the facts to be put on paper.

¹ Newman labelled the collection of letters, which began with that of 11 Aug. from Hanley, ‘History of the Negotiations for buying and selling the Five Acres of Land’. On 7 Aug. Hanley had visited Newman on behalf of his father-in-law Ambrose Smith, who had purchased this land on the west side of St Giles, Oxford, and wished to give the first offer of it for Catholic purposes.

² Smith replied on 15 Aug. from 10 Walton Street, Oxford, ‘I purchased a few days ago a certain piece of Freehold Land . . . about 5 acres — it is considered to be bought very cheap and that a very handsome profit may be made by letting it out in lots for building . . . I offer hereby to sell you the Land as I bought it for the sum of Eight Thousand Six Hundred Pounds. Scarce any one values it at less than 10,000 pounds . . .

If your Project fails the Land is as good to you as sovereigns and perhaps better, and may be sold any time. . . .

I would just observe that such an opportunity can never happen again in Oxford, as to have 5 acres of Freehold offered in one piece . . .

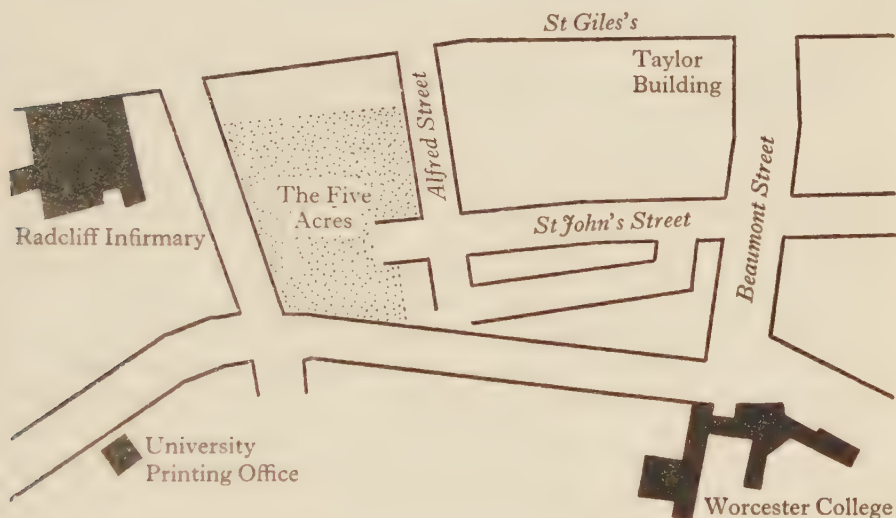
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Can you do any thing? the Duke's Trustees? Monteith? Lord E. Howard?
or any one else?¹

I hope you are better

Ever Yrs affly John H Newman

P.S. At present the Old Work House is standing — but is to be pulled down
before Christmas. I suppose it might be bought at the price which the
materials would fetch. If I recollect, it is of stone.¹



¹ Hope-Scott did not reply until 18 Aug. See letter of 21 Aug. to him.

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TO WILLIAM MONSELL

The Oratory Bm August 12/64

My dear Monsell

I fear I must give you a little more trouble, if you are in a position to undertake it. I cannot puff my book myself to a Paris publisher, and I cannot do without a puff. You see the proposed Translator had not heard of the book: nor doubtless has M. Douniol. But a publisher has both to pay for printing and translation¹

The two French priests who offered to undertake it, would do it without trouble to me in the matter of money; but how else it is to be done I don't see.²

This difficulty comes up in *this* way. On hearing from you, I wrote at once to Longmans, who, I thought, would have done the whole matter for me. But they write me word by this morning's post that it is not in their line, and that they don't know French Publishers.

I cannot stir a step then, unless I am able myself to get a publisher to take the risk; and this can only be done by you and some other friend.

Were I left to myself, I should do nothing, for I have no great notion that my book will interest French Catholics; but it will be ungracious to leave Fr de Valroger without the permission to translate, if I do not translate by my own translator —

So I must have your advice. I have not yet written to Mde de S. Maur. The publisher is the first thing.

Confidential

I am offered 5 acres of freehold land between St Giles's and the Printing Office at Oxford for £8000. How am I to raise the money? Is there *any* one in Ireland who would help me?

Ever Yrs affly J H N

The Rt Honble Wm Monsell M P

SATURDAY 13 AUGUST 1864 Mr Pike came Austin returned

¹ Charles Douniol, 29 rue de Tournon, Paris, was to be the publisher of de Saint-Maur's translation of *Apo*. A letter of 31 July from Madame de Saint-Maur showed that she did not yet know the book. *Histoire de Mes Opinions Religieuses*, a translation of the 1865 edition of *Apo*., translated by Georges du Pré de Saint-Maur appeared in 1866. Already in 1865 Casterman of Tournai published a translation of the greater part of the 1864 edition, *De l'Anglicanisme au Catholicisme*.

² See letter of 2 July to Valroger.

13 AUGUST 1864

TO W. J. O'NEILL DAUNT

The Oratory Birmingham August 13. 1864

My dear Sir

I thank you very warmly for the most interesting letter you have sent me. It surprises me much to find that you are a convert. I do not recollect your saying so in any former letter.¹ Truly do you say, that the ways by which souls arrive at the home of their true Mother are wonderfully various. That drawing of the heart to the Church, which you speak of, is very common, and most mysterious. It is wonderful the sort of innate curiosity which Protestants, who have no intention, and no ground of reason, to join the Church, feel when they come near Catholics. They cannot help asking questions, and showing an interest, as if from some inward impulse and sentiment, similar to that which is described in novels, when some unknown heir of a great family comes into the presence of his relations or is brought within the walls of his own castle.

You speak of feeling drawn to the religion of Ireland by your love of Ireland; I felt something like this as regards the Fathers. After my conversion I had a sensible pleasure in taking down the Volumes of St Athanasius, St Ambrose etc in my Library — The words rose in my mind 'I am at one with you now.' I had a feeling of family-intimacy with them then, the want of which I suffered from before, without recognising it.²

Another thing, apropos of a remark of yours. You speak of the Douay Catechism. It is (as, abridged by Dr Doyle) almost the only book of a distinctive Catholic stamp which I knew as a Protestant. It was a delight to me to read it. And now, whenever a person comes to me to speak about religion, I set him to read the Douay catechism, or any similar work which he can get.³

When I spoke of extravagant devotions to our Lady, I did not of course mean any which were in ordinary use — but such as mark the foreign schools — e.g. the Psalter *attributed* to St Bonaventure (tho' not his) —⁴ and that inflated unreal style (as it seems to me) which calls her e.g. an 'Amazon' etc etc.

And as to the Church of England, I spoke of our '*National Church*,' in order to distinguish it from the Anglican Church in Ireland which is emphatically *not* National.⁵ As to the Anglo-Irish Church, you know more about it

¹ Daunt, who had been in correspondence with Newman since 1853, sent on 9 Aug. a long account of his own conversion to Catholicism.

² See *Diff.* II, p. 3, and *Ess.* II, p. 74.

³ Daunt described his finding as a boy a copy of the Douay Catechism, and how eagerly he read it, and verified its quotations from Scripture. Newman acquired his copy in 1834. See also letter of 1 July to von Köller.

⁴ This *Psalter* is in the thirteenth and last volume of the *Works* of St Bonaventure, Venice 1766, pp. 232-54.

⁵ In a postscript to his letter Daunt wrote 'I am sure the quasi friendly feelings expressed in your Appendix pp. 27, 28 [*Apo.* pp. 339-42], towards the Anglican Church, do not extend to the endowment of that Church in Ireland. Its endowment here operates in many ways, direct and indirect, to the bitter detriment of this poor nation.' Daunt was one of the leaders of the movement for the disestablishment of the Church of Ireland.

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than I can know. A greater insult to a nation cannot be imagined than it is — as to its clergy however, it has seemed to me that a vast difference is to be made between the Orange and Evangelical parsons, who are firebrands, and the learned moderate people connected with Trinity College, (which I suppose has a *wide* connexion) — connected too with the sees of Armagh and Dublin, e.g. with Archbishops Beresford, Whately, Trench etc¹

Most truly Yours, My dear Sir, John H Newman

W. J. O'N. Daunt Esqr

TO EDWARD HENEAGE DERING

The Oratory Birmingham August 13. 1864

My dear Sir,

I ought to have thanked you for your kind letter, at the time that I received it — but at the moment I had some terminal work on my hands, and then I went from home, and thus I was led to delay what I so much desired to perform — and on my return, feeling that I must have lost my character with you for punctuality, I have allowed myself to delay again.²

But you must not think on this account that I did not feel much the great friendliness of your letter; for I did, and I now thank you especially for your wish that I should visit you in Dorsetshire — though I am unable to avail myself of it.

Pray present my best respects to Lady Chatterton and believe me to be

My dear Sir, Very truly Yours John H Newman

E H Dering Esqr

TUESDAY 16 AUGUST 1864 Mr Jackson and Mr Pike went

TO THOMES GAISFORD

The Oratory, Birmingham, August 16. 1864.

(Confidential)

My dear Mr. Gaisford,

The enclosed letter explains itself.³ The land, bought by Mr. Smith, lies

¹ John George Beresford was Archbishop of Armagh from 1822 to 1862. Richard Chenevix Trench succeeded Whately as Archbishop of Dublin in 1863.

² Dering wrote on 5 July to thank for the letter of 30 June to his wife, Lady Chatterton.

³ It was the letter of 15 Aug. from Ambrose Smith, quoted in note to letter of 12 Aug. to Hanley.

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between the street in which Worcester College and the printing house stands, and St. Giles's.¹

I write to ask you, if you think it worth while to co-operate with other gentlemen in purchasing the ground, with a view of using it as the site of a Catholic College in Oxford; and, if so, whether you could give me an idea to what amount.

I have not mentioned the subject to our Bishop, in whose Diocese Oxford is situated, for various reasons; — primarily, because the purchase of the ground is only a preliminary step, and hardly one in which he would wish to be consulted. Should he, a year or two hence, when the time for acting comes, be opposed to the project of a Catholic College in Oxford, or should there be insurmountable difficulties in raising the sum required for its establishment and in providing a suitable staff of Tutors etc., I take it for granted, that the ground could be re-sold at such a price as would remunerate its purchasers for the loss of interest in the interval.

I believe that the old Poor House still stands on the ground, and might be purchased at the price of its materials.

I have written a copy of this to Mr. Hope Scott, and to Mr. Scott Murray

I am, my dear Mr. Gaisford, Sincerely yours, John H. Newman
T. Gaisford Esq.,

TO JAMES HOPE-SCOTT

The Oratory Bm 17 Augst 16/64

My dear Hope Scott

I am writing by this post to Scott Murray, Mr Gaisford, and Mr Waldron — the only rich men we have, asking whether they feel inclined to co-operate in the purchase, and inclosing a copy of Mr Smith's letter, which I inclose here also.

I wish our School could buy it — but we are still losers

Ever Yrs affly J H N¹

P.S. I wrote to you on the subject about a week ago.

WEDNESDAY 17 AUGUST 1864 Lord and Lady Feilding called?

¹ In the draft of this letter (which went also to Waldron and Scott-Murray), Newman added here: 'It is cut off from St Giles's by the houses and gardens which flank that latter opposite to St John's College. The ground has three frontages; all the whole length of two of its sides: an eligible one on the street in which the Printing House stands; another along Little Clarendon Street. It also has an access from the end of St John's Street.'

18 AUGUST 1864

TO ROBERT MONTEITH

The Oratory Bm 'August 18. 1864'

Confidential

'My dear Mr Monteith'

I must first explain why I wrote to Hope Scott on the subject of the land at Oxford. 'For myself, I have a great misgiving about the success of an Oxford plan. Perhaps my own experience in Ireland has unconsciously an influence upon me —' tho' there is this great difference in our case, that in Great Britain the Catholics are not the lower classes, but those who by their social position would both have weight with the ecclesiastical authorities and would supply youths for a Catholic College. But 'my own difficulty is thrown into the following form, as I have mentioned it to various persons perhaps to you 'Either such a College will be a poor¹ establishment and then it will be despised and Catholic parents will not send their sons there — or it will be a great establishment and then it will both cost a great sum and will excite the jealousy of Protestants.' I cannot get out of this dilemma.

But then a *practical* dilemma may arise, and one may be obliged to advocate a College in Oxford by the logic of facts. Suppose it becomes a fashion with Catholic parents to send their sons there, — is it not better to have them lodged in a Catholic College than in a Protestant? The *answer* to this comes from those who are against a College altogether. They say that parents will send their sons, not simply to Oxford, but to Christ's Church [sic] to Merton, or to Oriel — and they care little for Oxford except as connected with the best Colleges.²

Under these circumstances a large piece of *freehold* ground is offered, which is almost impossible to get elsewhere in Oxford, which is an opportunity which never will recur, which is in an improving neighbourhood, and will sell again at such a price as to make up the intermediate loss of interest. I certainly think it should be secured in order for us to be *ready* for the turn-up of things — for, if we *did* want ground in a year or two, and had not bought this, we should seek it in vain. And if *we here* had the money to buy it, I suppose (after due inquiries) we should buy it at once. The great probability is, that, if we sold it again in a year or two, we should make money by it.

'You ask about the Bishops.² A *majority* of them was *against* a College in Oxford; that is all I know. My fear is that the day may come when they may wish to have a College there, and wish in vain, from the circumstance that Catholic parents will have got into the way of sending their sons to the existing

¹ [[(mean)]]

² Monteith, who wrote on 17 Aug. after having seen Hope-Scott, asked whether the scheme would start with the approval or at least the consent of the English bishops and of Rome. Monteith also thought that a college should be begun very quietly, and that Newman's name was essential.

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Colleges. On the other hand,¹ reverting to the point with which I started, 'I think' Propaganda 'would mismanaged [sic] matters, if a College was started.' It 'knows nothing of Oxford,' any more than the mass of our Bishops and Priests — 'and would go by the advice of one or two men, who, I think, would be likely to spoil the whole undertaking.

Under these feelings, I should not dream of forwarding the purchase of the land in question, except on the full certainty that it would be possible to sell it again¹ and sell it to advantage. It has been sold by the Poor Law Commissioners — and a friend, who is in the Commission and understands the circumstances of the particular property, tells us by this morning's post that the value of land there is improving.¹ I send you the letter sent me from the Oxford purchaser and a sketch of the situation. Do you know Oxford well enough to follow it? Old Oxford is built on each side of the High Street and Broad Street. Beyond that have been till of late St John College and Worcester College and Wadham to the North, and that North quarter is now getting covered. There are two avenues to the North with trees — on the Eastern is built the New Museum — on and *near* the Western (which is called St Giles) the Observatory always stood. The New Printing Office Taylor Buildings (a Museum) and a Church were built in addition in my time — and in *this* locality lies the ground which is for sale

I am, My dear Mr Monteith Sincerely Yours in Xt
John H Newman

P.S. In a letter which I sent the day before yesterday to three friends I said

'I have not mentioned the subject to our Bishop, in whose diocese Oxford is placed, for various reasons. — primarily, because the purchase of the ground is only a preliminary step, and hardly that upon which he would wish to be consulted. Should he, when the time comes, say a few years hence, be opposed to the project of a Catholic College in Oxford, or, should there be difficulties in raising the sum required for its establishment, or in finding a suitable staff of Tutors, I consider, from what I am told, that the ground could be sold again by its purchasers at a sum which will repay them for the interest lost in the interval.'²

J H N

FRIDAY 19 AUGUST 1864 Henry returned

¹ This was Sir John Lambert, who on 17 Aug. in reply to an inquiry from Caswall, thought £8000 a big price for five acres but added that land at Oxford was sure to increase in value.

² Monteith replied on 22 Aug. that he thought he should husband his resources, since the Oxford plan was so doubtful.

20 AUGUST 1864

TO THOMAS GAISFORD

The Oratory, Birmingham Aug 20. 1864

My dear Mr Gaisford

I should like nothing better than to accept your invitation — but I am tied by the leg just now. Many of us are away — I am taking duty for the rest — and besides that, I have particular matters on my hands.¹

Not only for the pleasure of paying you a visit, but on account of the anxious subject, on which I am writing, I should like to have availed myself of your kindness. I put 'confidential' on my letter, because there are many persons of influence *opposed* to the idea of a College at Oxford, and it seemed to me better that the thing should be done, if it was to be done, without the chance of interruption.

Now, having said this, I must add that I have no great *confidence* in the College plan myself; I think it probably will be spoilt in the executing. Yet, if young Catholics multiply in Oxford, the Bishops may have a College *forced* on them, to prevent what is not so good, though they may not like it for its own sake — and then they may look in vain for ground, if they do not get this now. So that, without *deciding* anything on the question, it seems good policy to secure the ground, *provided* it can be sold again at a profit, if it be not wanted.

And, when I spoke of waiting a year or two, it was because the majority of the Bishops are at present against a College (our Bishop, who is diocesan of Oxford, is, I suspect, *for* it) and are doubtless waiting to see the *need* of a College, before they sanction it.

In England the Catholic gentry have it all in their own hands, if they choose to exert themselves, because they have the purse. Of course I meant, and wish, Sir John Simeon to know about the plan. He would be a most important person in it — but I looked first to the chance of raising so large a sum as £9000 and it seems to me the very first thing is for some sharp *man of business*, land agent etc etc to go to Oxford, and *report on the prospective value of the property*. Every thing turns upon this. The money cannot be raised, unless there is a prospect of a remunerative sale, if it is to be sold again. Mr Smith wants an answer by Sept 1st! Hope Scott is out in the Highlands, where there is a post 3 times in the week. Mr Scott Murray is indisposed to the notion of a college — I suppose he desponds, as I do, at least just now.² Mr Monteith seems interested in the plan. But I think some one who is concerned in raising the money ought at once to send a man to the spot. Several of us here feel strongly on the matter, and, if it were needed, would rather risk some hundreds in the purchase, than let it slip out of our hands — but I should not

¹ Gaisford, who invited Newman to Offington, Worthing, offered £500 towards a college at Oxford, and wanted also to consult Sir John Simeon on the subject.

² Scott-Murray replied on 17 Aug. to Newman that he did not think Catholics wanted a college, and that he was content to send his son to one of the existing colleges. Waldron replied on 24 Aug. that he was unable for the time being to contribute.

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like to take the responsibility of sending a man to inquire, when the money must come after all from others.

If you can advise on this point, it will be a great kindness.

Very truly yours, John H. Newman of the Oratory.

Thos Gaisford Esqr

P.S. August 21. Since I wrote the above, I have heard from Hope Scott. Tho' he offers to contribute handsomely, on the whole his letter is not encouraging. Indeed, I do not think anything will come of this opportunity. For myself, I cannot put myself forward, or do more than suggest the matter to others. This I have done — but it is quite beyond my power to set about *collecting* so large a sum as £8,000 or £9,000 nor do I see that it can be done except by a few really wealthy men, to whom it is no object that their money should lie awhile without interest. Few men can do without the interest of their capital. I had thought the Duke of Norfolk possibly might have done it through his Trustees, but I suppose the Court of Chancery is very jealous, and Trustees obliged to be very cautious.¹

TO MISS HOLMES

The Oratory Bm August 20/64

My dear Miss Holmes,

As to Fr Barrow's question, I waited, in the matter of the translation of Scripture, *till* a great hitch should be taken out of my way. I found the Cardinal was washing his hands of the whole affair and throwing the responsibility upon me. First he threw all the *money*-transactions on me. I was to make all engagements with the publishers, and the Bishops were to have nothing to do with it. To this I had consented — but next he gave *me* to manage the *American* difficulty — not that he said so — but he sent me the American Bishops' letters, wished me to answer them, and did not answer them himself. If I am right, he did not send me a single line with the American letters, but simply the letters. I foresaw clearly that I should have endless trouble with publishers, American hierarchy, Propaganda etc etc if I took this upon me. So I waited *till* I heard something more about it, but I have never heard till this day any thing.²

¹ Gaisford replied on 21 Aug. that he was ready to risk up to £1000.

² Miss Holmes appears to have been questioned by Andrew Barrow, the Jesuit chaplain to Sir Charles Robert Tempest, Broughton Hall, Skipton. For the translation of Scripture see letter of 7 Dec. 1858 to P. N. Lynch, Bishop of Charleston. In one of the drafts of this letter to Miss Holmes, Newman wrote, 'Now I had the American correspondence cast on me without a word of assistance, and, as time went on, I should still be left in the lurch, as I was now left. The Cardinal says to this day that he cannot make out why the project does not go on — and a Bishop told me the other day that he shed tears about it — but if he has been shy of meeting prelates who are not so great as he is, why should not I be shy of corresponding with prelates much greater than myself.' See also letter of 30 Nov. 1864 to Patterson.

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That there is some mystery about it, I know, though *what* it is I have not a dream. Fr Faber, on his death bed, told me that he knew how badly I had been treated in the matter — I did not ask him his meaning.¹ A writer in the *Union Review* says that the project was 'defeated by the remonstrances of a single bookseller, whose stock in trade proved to be a more valuable consideration than our intelligences.'² I never heard this before.

This alone I felt — that the course of things, if I went on would be this. 1. a literary trouble and anxiety which would last my life, 2. a vast deal of harassing correspondence on money matters, and a pecuniary responsibility. 3. after all, my translation to be so frittered away by Propaganda, Committee of Revision, ordinary revisors etc that it would be made as great a hash of, as the Irish University has been hashed.

So, though I lost good part of £100 by stopping, I thought it well not to throw good money after bad

Thank you for your explanation about yourself. I am sorry if I seemed unjust.³

Ever Yours affly John H Newman⁴

TO MISS S. M. TRUTCH

Aug 20 [1864]

Copy

My dear Madam

I am sorry that any thing should have been reported about us which has given you pain. We have not spoken of you, as you consider, but the reports may easily arise out of the circumstance of you having mentioned the name of the Oratory in your orders to Tradesmen — and, as it is undesirable that such reports should be, I hope you will allow me to ask you not to mention our name on any occasion.⁵

J H N

¹ See Volume XVII, Appendix 3, p. 559.

² The *Union Review*, (May 1864), p. 298. This statement came in an anonymous article, 'Experiences of a Vert', written by E. S. Ffoulkes.

³ See letter of 3 Aug. to Miss Holmes.

⁴ In another draft Newman wrote before concluding: 'A friend gave me an unexpected and pleasant account of poor Thackeray. He said he certainly had still a drawing towards the Church at the time of his death, and deliberately was bringing his daughter under Catholic influences. This was the better news, because I certainly did not like the commencement of his new story, and still less what it promised.' This was the incomplete *Denis Duval*, which began to be published posthumously in the *Cornhill Magazine* in 1864.

⁵ Miss Trutch claimed to be 'connected with some of the oldest families in Somerset', and also from childhood to have known Keble. Her letters show that she was giving the impression that she was also known to the Oratorians at Birmingham.

TO JAMES HOPE-SCOTT

The Oratory Bm 'Aug. 21/64

My dear Hope Scott

Thank you for your letter and your coming into my wishes so readily, but I don't think I can have explained sufficiently what I meant.¹

I did not wish to determine any thing — and certainly I do not feel hopeful about a College scheme. But it is one thing positively advocating, another liking a cause to be put out of court.

My notion in securing the ground was merely a *protection* of the project of a College, supposing a year or two hence (e.g. by the growth of Catholic youth at Ch Ch [Christ Church] etc) it should be advisable or imperative. My fear is, that, if the Bishops some time hence *wish*, for some such reason to gather Catholics into a home, they will not be able — for few parents but will prefer the splendour of a College to the best lodgings in the High Street.

If indeed this measure (buying the land) involved an outlay, I should not advocate it — but I go on the assumption that it would involve *no* loss — so that as I view it, nothing more than a question of *fact* has to be decided. If some trustworthy agent reported from Oxford that it was *doubtful* whether the land will re-sell, or sell at a remunerative price, I should have nothing to say; but this and this only, in my view of the matter, is the issue, i.e. in the case of those who are wealthy enough to do what they will with £8000 or £9000.

Very few are, I know — but I thought the Duke's Trustees might — I dare say I could in two sentences be shown to be absurdly mistaken. I know they cannot make ducks and drakes of his money — and I dare say they are bound to put before them, as the sovereign end of every transaction, the improvement of his accumulations — also, that outlying bits of property are undesirable. Still I thought it worth giving it the chance whether, on the hypothesis that it is a sure investment (as a mortgage might be) his Trustees might not have advanced (say) £5000 for 5 years, on the condition they were to re-sell it at a remunerative price (either to the College-trustees or to the public) at the end of that time — and that six friends of the plan were to give £500 — then, the remaining £600 with £400 for the materials of the *standing* work-house (*that* is the price, and we should not pull it down, and there is abundant available room in it for a *temporary lodging* for students, between this and the end of the 5 years) making £1000, we would take ourselves.

¹ Hope-Scott replied on 18 Aug. to Newman's letter of 12 Aug. He said that he would contribute £500 if Newman could raise the rest, but that the Duke of Norfolk's 'Trustees and Guardians cannot be approached at *this* stage, even if later.' He doubted whether Lord Edward Howard would contribute, and said that Robert Monteith would write direct to Newman.

In a postscript Hope-Scott wrote: 'Remember — 1. That you are dealing with a question on which Catholics are divided. 2. That 5 acres of land mean £30,000 spent on buildings, if proportion is to be observed — and that a private house, with one Tutor, and 4 or 5 pupils, would settle the principle without risk, and in a way less likely to cause an outcry.'

Now I bring all this out to you in order that you may see what I meant — and for the chance of its enabling you to make me some suggestion.

Of those to whom I have written, Scott Murray all but declines, preferring, I believe his boys to go to Ch Ch. Gaisford is warm for the purchase, and for an immediate execution of a College plan (but then he does not know that the Bishops as yet withhold their sanction —) Monteith is favorable, but I suppose wishes to think more about it.

However, I look at the project as at an end — and I dare say it will be for the best. It seems unlikely, if not impossible, that such an opportunity should recur — and, on that ground, if the Oratory had the money and could lose the interest, I think *we* should buy it at once, supposing we had the certainty we could sell again at a remunerative price. Father Caswall is so strong about it, that he wished £2000 given to the Oratory by Catholics interested, out and out, and we would engage at the end of 5 years either to resell and repay the money — or to sell it to the College-trustees for the sum which we gave for it. (On this plan we should be applying the £2000 to make up our own loss of interest at 4 per cent viz £400 for five years.) I do not know whether it is worth while asking you to give an opinion upon this, for *my* feeling is that we have too many irons in the fire, as it is — the school is still a loss, or all but a loss. On this plan four friends giving £500 a piece would do it.¹

Ever Yours affly John H Newman

J R Hope Scott Esqr

P.S. Mr Ambrose Smith, the owner, wishes his answer by September 1 — so, if you have any thing to say, please, write at once.¹

TO SIR JOHN SIMEON

The Oratory, Birmingham. August 22. 1864.

My dear Sir John,

I wish I could promise myself the pleasure of accepting your kind invitation; I thank you and Lady Simeon very much for it — but there are only two Fathers here besides myself, and this has been pretty much the case for weeks. They are taking their holiday — and I am thankful to say that I do not need one, and, as I have been withdrawn from the work of the Mission during the Spring, (in writing what you speak of so pleasantly and kindly) I am glad to take my turn.²

¹ When I Hope-Scott replied on 25 Aug. he raised his gift to £1000. He explained that he had written discouragingly because he feared the Oxford scheme was beyond the capacities of English Catholics, who had so many other needs. The estate of the Duke of Norfolk was already being used as far as it could be for Catholic purposes.

² Sir John Simeon wrote on 18 Aug. about the backwardness of his son John, aged fourteen, who was at the Oratory School. He complained of the lack of private tuition, and said that his son was unconscious of his incompetence 'owing I suppose to the general lowness of the standard among Catholics'. Simeon also thought it a mistake to use the Roman pronunciation of Latin instead of that usual in England. He ended by a warm invitation to Newman to visit him at Swainston in the Isle of Wight.

As to Johnny, during last term I had him in Terence, and I can only say that my evidence is against yours, for he did it very well, and I had to praise him. Also, I do not think you would hold to your present idea, if you knew our boys, viz that our standard is low. I don't think it is — and I have very encouraging letters from various Fathers — but I think that Johnny has an enormous difficulty in letting things gain possession of his mind — they come and they go — and it is most discouraging to find him, as is the case, knowing them one week and forgetting them the next.

If there is one point, which (I may say) makes us ill, it is the difficulty of drumming grammar into the heads of one half of our boys. I think the fault is, they ought to have gone to school earlier — but that is a matter of opinion. By 'us', I mean in the first place Father St. John and myself. I know well, how he has improved many boys in grammar — I know what a great effort he has made at verse-making. He is most ably seconded by Mr. R. Pope. As to Johnny, *I think* the case has been this: — certainly in last term he did very well — I was so busy in the summer term that I could not attend to the boys — and saw nothing of him till the examination in July — then I found his whole class unsatisfactory. It arose, as I think, from their having since Easter, got under Mr. Arnold — who is *above* them — I think he has been teaching them higher things, and has not so much attended to their grammar, and I must see to this when the new term begins. I say this to you (if you please) *in confidence*. Arnold is a very superior man — but he ought not to have little boys — no one comes near him without gaining from him — but he is what his father was — he opens a boy's mind — he gives him a great (deal) of information — but he thinks he may take it for granted that a boy knows grammar.

We wish of all things to have a system of private tuition — we have long talked of it — the great difficulty is the expense. As it is now, we cannot make two ends meet. In the Protestant schools, they have buildings and grounds provided — endowments — and numbers of boys. We on the contrary are burdened with the rent of the grounds and the interest of borrowed money — with a scanty and varying number of boys. Not a year passes that we do not add to the school debt, and thus we cannot do what we would.

As to prospective competitions and examinations after leaving school, to which you allude, I know it is an anxious thing to us — but not, as you think, from our being embarrassed by any Catholic system, but because of our being *Oxford* men. This modern system is essentially un-Oxford — it is a system of cramming and shallowness — and is a great anxiety to us, I repeat — but good scholars we *ought* to make good boys, and it is not simply our aim, but our passion to do so. If there is anything I detest, it is the superficial knowledge of many books.

As to holiday tasks, we are pulled about by the parents of the boys, some wishing it, some not — and I heartily wish that we could do towards each boy individually, what his father wished. As there had been measles in the school, I thought the boys ought to have a rest — and no holiday task. But I had to go

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to London the day before the school broke up, and, just after I had gone, came letters from parents asking for a holiday task, and then I suspect something was done hastily in my absence.

So in like manner we are pulled about as to the pronunciation of Latin. I should prefer the English mode — but Father Darnell decided for the Italian — and when Arnold came, to my surprise he did the same. We must drop all or none.

Thank you for your frankness and believe me to be,

Sincerely yours, John H. Newman¹

TUESDAY 23 AUGUST 1864 Edward and Austin went. Manning called. the Bishop called²

WEDNESDAY 24 AUGUST Ignatius returned just now about.

TO MISS M. R. GIBERNE

The Oy Bm St B's day. 1864³

My dear Sister M. Pia

Thank you for your letter of July 14. Fr Edward is away — I spoke to him about it before he went — but he will write to you on his return.

¹ This letter and one from R. V. Pope convinced Sir John Simeon who, on 23 Sept., completely withdrew the charge that sufficient individual attention had not been paid to his son, whose character, he admitted, was a difficult one. He could think of no school where his son would be likely to succeed except Newman's.

² Newman later made a Memorandum, 'August 1864,'

March 31, 1867

I cannot lay my hands upon my Memorandum made at the time — but it was thus that the idea of going to Oxford was first suggested to my mind.

When in August 1864, Mr Smith offered me the five acres, and the Bishop called to talk to me about it, and mentioned that he should like a Mission House and Church there, I answered "My Lord, I fear our interests will clash — for we are looking out for ground for an Oratory." He answered, "I will give you the Mission." This took me utterly by surprise — for in buying land for an Oratory, I never meant that I, or that we should go there — for how could I go *there*, being *here*? but, from what I hear he said to Ambrose the other day, I find he considers that he offered me the mission, *upon* and *after* he heard me express an intention of going to Oxford. And therefore he thinks that *Mr Hanley*, who came for Mr Smith, suggested the idea of my going to Oxford both to him and to me. Of course he knows his own interpretation of my words — but I also know my own interpretation — and I know perfectly well that the first idea of my going to Oxford in *propria persona*, or the Birmingham Fathers going there was suggested by his words "I'll give you the Mission;" and that, in buying ground, I never thought of my own using it.

N.B. Nothing much depends on this. J H N.'

In another memorandum of 31 March 1867, which St John was to take with him to Rome, Newman added that on Ullathorne's saying "I'll give you the Mission," I saw at once to my surprise and for the first time that a way was offered to me of going to Oxford, a step which I simply disliked and shrank from, but which I could not, as a matter of conscience, when put before me, peremptorily refuse. J. H. Newman'

³ The reference to Caswall's absence in the first paragraph enables this letter to be dated 24 Aug., St Bartholomew's Feast. Caswall was concerned with Miss Giberne's finances.

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You asked me a question some time ago, which, I dare say, it hardly matters to answer now — viz — whether ‘This is my Body —’ may not be like ‘I am the Vine?’ In other words *how* are we to discriminate between figurative expressions and those which are not such? If I say ‘Caesar was the conqueror of Pompey’ — it is literal — but ‘Caesar was a lion’ is figurative — consider the two propositions carefully and you will see *this* difference, viz that the one which is literal admits of being what is called ‘converted,’ but the figurative proposition does not. I can say, not only ‘Caesar is conqueror,’ but also ‘a certain conqueror is Caesar’ — but though I can say ‘Caesar is a lion’ I cannot say a certain lion, or this or that lion, is Caesar. In like manner ‘Christ is a vine,’ but this or that vine is *not* Christ; whereas He says, not only ‘I am the true Bread,’ but ‘This Bread is I’ i.e. ‘my Body’: — not only ‘My Blood is drink,’ but also ‘This (drink) is my Blood.’

I feel the kindness of your Sister in getting the relic to send me — and you will thank her duly — and also you for giving it me.¹

Nearly every one is away. We have had sadly cold weather — both in July and during this week, I have had a fire. There have been frosts continually and ice — yet a *hot* sun in midday. It is not healthy.

Ever Yours affly in Xt begging the prayers of all of you

J H N

TO MISS HOLMES

The Oy Bm August 24/64

My dear Miss Holmes,

I will take care the Masses are said. As to Fr Barrow, I think you had better not mention the Cardinal’s name, but say that I found it too great an undertaking to have upon me single handed — 1. money matters — 2. the American difficulty — 3 whatever else might turn up: — that the immediate cause of my stopping was the American hitch being thrown upon me. Between ourselves, my own Bishop asked me several times, ‘have you heard from the Cardinal?’ — ‘what, not heard from the Cardinal?’ etc etc

I think it is his way, *simply to forget*. On two other occasions, in far more important matters, he left me without any answer to serious letters I wrote to him.² I doubt not he has forgot it *all*, every bit.

It is the Union Review

Ever Yrs affly John H Newman

P.S. I am quite well, thank you.

¹ This was a relic of St Margaret Mary, who was beatified on 18 Sept. 1864. See letter of 4 Sept. to Marianne Bowden.

² The first occasion was before the Achilli trial. See letter of 26 Nov. 1851 to W. G. Ward. The second occasion was over the London Oratory application to Propaganda. See letter of 19 Oct. 1855 to Wiseman.

24 AUGUST 1864

TO MARK PATTISON

The Oratory, Birmingham August 24/64

Confidential.

My dear Rector,

I write to you, because I do not know any one else who can do me the service I am going to ask of you; and I say this, by way of apologizing for my doing so. And, as it is rather a bold request, I should feel very *sorry if you felt any delicacy about a bold refusal*, should you find it impossible to grant it.

I have had the offer made me of a piece of freehold land in Oxford for the site of a Catholic College. It lies between St Giles's and the Printing Office. Now I am not sanguine about the prospects of a Catholic College in Oxford, even if there was one, and at present our Bishops withhold their sanction to such an establishment. And therefore my first impulse would be to decline the offer, on the ground that it would probably be a waste of money.

But then, circumstances so change, that perhaps I should be very sorry a year or two hence, that I had let such an offer slip through, as may never recur. This leads me to inquire, whether, if I bought it now, I might not be sure in the course of 2 or 4 years to sell it at a price so much higher than that, at which I now bought it, as would make up for the intermediate loss of interest of the purchase money.

Now what I am asking you to get me is a formal professional opinion from (e.g.) Mr Hester (if he still lives) Mr Mallam? or any other experienced College-agent, builder, property-valuer, etc. 1. as to what the land is worth now. 2. whether it is likely to improve in value. 3 what it is likely to be worth (say) in 5 years. 4 any other remarks which suggest themselves to him.

The land belongs to Mr Ambrose Smith of 10 Walton Street; it is the site of the Old Poor House; and it consists of nearly 5 acres.

Mr Smith is very desirous to keep the offer to me quite secret.

I should add, that, if the ground is once mine, I cannot be sure that it will not be put to other purposes besides that of a College, as (e.g.) an Oratory or a Mission. As *it is*, I believe, part of it will *any how* become the homestead of a Mission.

The money will come from my personal friends, not from me of course — and I am anxious not to mislead them

Yours affectly John H Newman

P.S. Perhaps you at least could *name* some fitting man, who (without knowing about *me*) might correspond with some Birmingham man I might appoint to act for me.

24 AUGUST 1864

TO AMBROSE SMITH

1 Aug 24/64

My dear Sir

I will give you an answer by September 8 the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin. I understand from my friend, who called on you the other day, that any how you mean to give a *portion* of the ground to the Bishop for a Church.¹ Perhaps you will make up your mind before the 8th as to *how much*. I am in better hopes about being able to treat with you, than I was. If I get on, I will ask to have your visit here — but I cannot tell yet

Yours very faithfully J H N

Ambrose Smith Esqr¹

TO HENRY WILBERFORCE

The Oy Bm St Bartholomew's day 1864

My dear Henry

Thank you for your considerateness — but I never conjectured for an instant that the publication of the Articles you speak of depended on you.² I have not more than seen them — but it is hard, if my book may not be criticised, as any other book. Of course I stared at a critic's thinking that it is impossible for an institution to be great in a *human* way because it is simply an idol and a nehushtan³ in an *Apostolic* point of view, though I recognised in the sentiment what is one of the evil delusions of *many* who are not converts but old Catholics, (perhaps of some converts too) that Catholics are in an intellectual and social equality with Protestants. This idea I have ever combated, and been impatient at — and till we allow that there are greater natural gifts and human works in the Protestant world of England than in the little Catholic flock, we only make ourselves ridiculous and hurt that just influence by which

¹ Caswall had called on Smith at Oxford.

² Leading articles in the *Weekly Register* of 30 July and 20 Aug. criticised Newman's remarks in *Apo.* p. 340 on the Anglican Church, which he called 'a time-honoured institution of noble historical memories, a monument of ancient wisdom, a momentous arm of political strength, a great national organ, a source of vast popular advantage, and, to a certain point, a witness and teacher of religious truth'. After describing the havoc caused by the Reformation, the first article, p. 73, commented, 'as we are not aware of any one benefit that the Established Institution ever conferred upon the United Kingdom, or upon the world, we feel bound to say we hold convictions as opposite as possible to those expressed by Dr. Newman . . .'

The second article, p. 120, said, 'We dislike the expressions complained of, and think them in their primitive sense, contradictory and untrue. We believe that they have done harm, and we know that some of the High Church School have quoted them with complacency.' It also objected to Newman's statement that the National Church had conferred great benefits upon him, *Apo.* p. 341. 'The National Church, we are inclined to believe, has done nothing but harm to the nation in general, and to him in particular. . . . we regard this hoary pretender as the great dissolvent of Christian dogma.'

³ 2 Kings 18:4.

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alone we can hope to convert men. If there were no such thing as absolute truth in *religious* matters, there is great wisdom in a compromise and comprehension of opinions — and this the Church of England exhibits.

I was glad to hear from William that you were coming to be so near to us.¹ Thank you for your account of Arthur, which is most encouraging — my love to Harry, Wilfrid, and all of you. I suppose Fr Bittleston's letter fell between three stools in his absence from home. He wrote it, I directed it, and some one else sent it to the post

Ever Yrs affly John H Newman

FRIDAY 26 AUGUST 1864 Mrs Plunkett came or yesterday

SATURDAY 27 AUGUST Mrs Ensor and Miss Coleridge called

TO MARK PATTISON

The Oratory Bm August 28/64

My dear Rector

Your letter is very kind, and I thank you much for the offer you make me. I will gladly avail myself of it.²

Will you then be so good as to write to Mr Spearing, and let him make a report to you of the probable value of the land in question in building lots, and its prospects as time goes on, — as you propose.

I am on the point of writing to your relative, Miss Meadows, who has most kindly sent me by Ornsby a photograph from Florence³

Yours affectly John H Newman.

The Revd The Rector of Lincoln

P.S. It would be an additional advantage, if Mr Spearing could give an opinion whether the stone mass of the workhouse *building* is too bad to remain, or what kind of condition it is in.

MONDAY 29 AUGUST 1864 in retreat

¹ William Wilberforce, Henry's eldest brother, told Newman of the latter's movements. The names that follow are those of Henry's sons.

² Pattison offered to act as Newman's agent in obtaining a valuation of the Oxford land, so that his name need not be mentioned. Pattison recommended J. B. Spearing, land agent in St Giles.

³ Philippa Meadows was Pattison's cousin and friend from childhood. Newman met her and her mother at Rome in 1847, by which time they had become Catholics. She sent him a photograph of Florence, which was of interest because of the connection of its subject with St Philip.

29 AUGUST 1864

TO JAMES HOPE-SCOTT

The Oratory Birmingham 1 August 29/64

My dear Hope Scott

Thank you for your munificent contribution. Gaisford is willing to go to £1000 also. And I suppose *we* too — that makes £3000. The Oxford Mission will go to £1000. That makes £4000. We could get, I suppose, nearly half the ground for that money. We should take the Walton Street frontage, above 400 ft — and give up the Little Clarendon Street frontage. Of this 2 acres and a bit, about half an acre with the frontage of 100 feet would belong to the Mission, i.e. the Bishop.

The Bishop has offered *us* the Mission — and is collecting money for a Church and Priests' house. They would become, *pro tempore*, the Church and House of the Oratory. No *college* would be set up — but the Priest, i.e. the Fathers of the Oratory would take lodgers

So far, as far as a *plan goes*, is fair sailing — but now *can* the Oratory, *proprio motu*, (when once established in Oxford, for *this* I can do with nothing more than the Bishop's consent) can the Oratory, that is, I, *when once* set up, without saying a word to any one, make the Oratory a Hall? I cannot tell. I don't see why I should not. The *Oratory* is confessedly out of the Bishop's jurisdiction. Propaganda might at once interfere — perhaps would. Our Bishop left to himself would be for an Oxford Catholic College or Hall; but Propaganda would be against him — and my only defence would be *the support of the Catholic gentry*.

Further the old workhouse stands on the ground, (fronting Walton Street). It was built (of stone) about 90 years ago by <Gwynne> the architect of Magdalen Bridge —¹ it has a *regular* front of perhaps 220 <(237)> feet. I am writing for some information about it. Father Caswall went to see it, but could not get admittance. It holds 150 paupers. They *say* it will sell, i.e. the *materials*, for about £400. Perhaps it would admit of fitting up as a Hall or College. I dare say I could collect money for that specific purpose — perhaps Monteith, Scott Murray, Mr Waldron and others would give me £100 a piece — perhaps I might collect £1000 in that way, which might be enough. This plan would (might) be *independent* of any *Mission* plan — but it is a great point to come in under the Bishop's sanction and to be carrying out an idea of his. Also, it gives us an ostensible position quite independent of the College plan. We have our work in Oxford, though the College plan failed. And we can feel our way much better. It would not be worth while coming to Oxford to keep a mere lodging house — but *being* there already as Missioners, it is natural to take youths into our building, and many parents would like it.

But now *per contra*.

¹ John Gwynne, who died in 1786, was the designer of a number of famous bridges, and built the Oxford Workhouse in 1772.

1. At my age — when I am sick of all plans — have little energy, and declining strength.

2. When we are so few, and have so many irons in the fire.

3. how could I mix again with Oxford men? how could I *siccis oculis*, see the *monstra natantia*,¹ when I walked the streets, who had made snaps at me, or looked *torvè* upon me in times long past — how could I throw myself into what might be such painful reawakening animosities? how can I adjust my position with dear Pusey, and others who at present are my wellwishers?

4. Then all the *work* I might be involved in, do what I would!

5 And the hot water I might get into with Propaganda. Perhaps I should have to kick my heels at its door for a whole year, like poor Dr Baines.² It would kill me. The Catholic gentry alone could save me here.

6. Then again I ought to have a *view* on all those questions about Scripture, the antiquity of man, metaphysics, evidence etc etc which I have *not* — and which as soon as I got, I might get a rap on the knuckles from Propaganda for divulging.

7. Then, I have had *so much* disappointment and anxiety — the Irish University is such a failure — the Achilli matter was such a scrape — the School is such a fidget — that I once again quote against myself the words of Euripides in censure of *οἱ περισσοί*, or Lord Melbourne's 'Why can't you let it alone?'³

If we did it, we should have a resident curate — and a resident dean or the like; and should send one of our Fathers to and fro as 'Rector', which is the Oratorian name for a Vice-Superior and Vice-Provost.

Now I have put out all before you, and give me your opinion on the whole.⁴ I have told Mr Ambrose Smith, I will give him his answer by the 8th September

Ever Yours affly John H Newman.⁵

Jas R Hope Scott Esqr

¹ Horace, *Odes* I, iii, 18.

² Peter Augustine Baines, Vicar Apostolic of the Western District, was summoned to Rome in 1840 to explain a pastoral letter alleged to attack converts and new 'devotions'.

³ *ἴτω, περισσοί πάντες οὐν μέσῳ λόγοι. Medea*, 819. 'Let it be. All further words are superfluous.' For Melbourne, see his remark in E. Jane Whately, *Life and Correspondence of Richard Whately*, new edition, London 1868, p. 456, 'I say Archbishop, all this reforming gives a deuced deal of trouble, eh? eh? I wish they'd let it all alone.'

⁴ Hope-Scott replied on 3 Sept., 'Catch me arguing your 7 points of objection!

If you can get money enough to secure ground enough, go ahead — and let me know when you want my £1000.'

⁵ Newman later made a memorandum: 'September 8. 1873

I think it well to review here, though somewhat out of place, the course of thought which I followed, as time went on, relatively to the land which I bought in Oxford in 1864.

1. I bought it primarily as ground, then to be had, and never again, in case the Bishops wished to have a College at Oxford at some future time.

2. The ground was so large that I felt it would answer other purposes besides a College, e.g. an Oratory House and Church, a Convent, Poor Schools etc etc.

3. I had no eagerness for a College; for I thought Propaganda would mismanage it — also, that those parents who wished their sons to go to Oxford, would not be content with such a half measure as a College, but either would not send them at all, or would prefer the old Protestant Colleges to the new Catholic.

30 AUGUST 1864

TO JOHN EDWARD NASSAU MOLESWORTH

The Oratory Birmingham August 30. 1864

My dear Sir

I have received just now from my brother a copy of a review of my recent work, from the columns of the *Manchester Examiner*, with the information that you are the Author of it.¹ I do not know whether you are the Mr Molesworth, whom I used to hear named with such respect so many years ago — but I believe he was at Rochdale. I must throw myself on your mercy, if my memory is defective, and if I have had the pleasure of a personal introduction to you, and have forgotten it — but the painful changes, which I have gone through, have removed many recollections from my mind which I should be glad to retain.²

I read your Article at the time of its appearance in the *Manchester Examiner* with great pleasure — and considered it very friendly and kind. In consequence I wrote a letter to the Editor to express my satisfaction — and I am glad to be able now to address my acknowledgments for so favorable a review to the author of it himself.³

4. When the Bishop refused to countenance the idea of even a future College, the only motive for going to Oxford was to found an Oratory.

5 But I distinctly stated to him that I should do so *in order* to protect Catholic Undergraduates in the Protestant Colleges and, if they were forbidden to enter them, there was no call on me to go to Oxford at all. I made no secret of this.

(It must be recollected that all this took place before the repeal of Archbp Laud's Statutes, and at a time when no one could be a member of the University without belonging to a College)

6. And I wished the Bishops to leave things as they were; and, since they were not going to found a College, not to forbid by any positive act the entrance of Catholics at Protestant Colleges.

In proof and illustration of this, I quote the following passages from letters of mine in this collected correspondence, according to their dates.'

Newman then quoted from his letters and memoranda between Aug. and Dec. 1864, and from his letter of 12 Aug. 1866 to Ullathorne.

¹ On 29 Aug. Newman's brother Francis sent him a review of *Apo.*, 'which I am requested to send to you by a clergyman whom I once met in public. He does not know your address. I suppose I may tell you his name, (Rev) Nassau Molesworth of Rochdale.'

² Molesworth, a High Churchman before the Tractarian Movement, whose assistance Keble sought in 1833 (*Moz.* I, p. 473), replied on 31 Aug. 1864, 'I remember with satisfaction a time . . . when you did me the honor of sending me, with your autograph, a copy of one of your printed sermons. I believe in so doing you recognized me with sympathy as one, who in common with yourself felt deeply the wrongs, done to the Anglican Church, and stimulating what was termed, the "Tractarian" movement. . . . I am not aware that we ever met.'

Molesworth, who became Vicar of Rochdale at the age of fifty in 1840, and remained there until his death in 1877, also said, 'I am not the author of the article to which you refer, nor have I any knowledge of it. I think it may have been written by my son the Revd Wm Nassau Molesworth, incumbent of Spotland, near Rochdale. The *Mancr Examr* is more likely to be chosen as the channel of his public essays, than of mine . . . I shall communicate to him your appreciation of his review.' Like his father John Edward Nassau, William Nassau was a High Churchman, but, as a radical, differed from him in politics. He was Vicar of Spotland, near Rochdale, from 1844 until 1889.

³ The review of *Apo.* was published in the *Manchester Examiner and Times*, (9 Aug. 1864). Newman's letter to the editor is not to be found. The reviewer acknowledged Newman's

30 AUGUST 1864

It is a grievous thing that religious opinions among us should be so various and so opposite to each other — or rather, it is most mysterious — but it is an alleviation of the great evil to be bound to others from whom we differ by ties of personal good will and esteem,

I am, My dear Sir, Very truly Yours John H Newman
The Revd N. Molesworth

TO AMBROSE ST JOHN

「The Oy Bm Augst 30/64」

My dear A

「I am glad you are back, and have had so prosperous a time.」 However, I doubt whether it has been the best place for you. The sea-side seems to carry away the palm of encountering asthma.

「We now have a beautiful change of weather.」 Hitherto it has been trying. I have various things to say, but no time and many letters to write. 「Do you choose, when your three years are at an end, to continue the school or to become the Vice of an Oxford Hall?」 a *promotion*.¹

Ever Yrs affly J H N

P.S. We don't want you next Sunday. Why should you come home till Saturday week the 10? The boys won't meet till the 12th and Brighton always agrees with you.

WEDNESDAY 31 AUGUST 1864 Palmer came and the two Harrises

THURSDAY 1 SEPTEMBER Mr Maurice called

TO EDMUND S. FFOULKES

The Oratory Bm 「Sept 1. 1864

My dear Mr Ffoulkes,」

A few hours after your letter came several weeks since, a friend of Mr Smith's made his appearance here on the subject of it, having been urged to do so by a friend of Fr Caswall's.² I delayed writing to you till I could tell you

integrity, spoke of the 'complete revolution' effected in the Church of England by the Oxford Movement, and described *Apo.* as 'a most valuable addition to our psychological knowledge, as well as to our insight into one of the most important crises in the religious history of this country'.

¹ Newman wrote in fun. See Memo of 9 June 1872.

² On 6 Aug. Ffoulkes wrote about the Oxford land, and wanted to try his experiment of an Oxford college. On 7 Aug. Hanley called on Newman at the instigation of Sir John Lambert.

how the negotiation went — nor should I in consequence be writing even now, except that I wish you to do me the kindness of directing the letter which I inclose.¹

‘At *this* time it is impossible to begin any College scheme — however this may be as time goes on. The Bishop gives me no encouragement, nor can I think of it. The utmost I have thought of, ¹ (and I must ask your kindness to keep the idea secret) is for the *Oratory* to buy ground with a view to set up an *Oratory* in Oxford. The Oratory might offer lodgings to Catholics who were at this or that College; and though such a plan is very undesirable, it is better than that of their being simple members of Christ Church or Merton. If none came to the Oratory, still the Oratory would have its own work. If in future time there was a College, the Oratory would either conduct it, or retire from it, according to circumstances.’²

In the first instance I should try to get what money I could from friends who desired a *College*, with the understanding that the Oratory took upon itself whatever they expended, if a College never was set up.

At present there seems this additional difficulty in setting up a College or Hall, that parents do not want Oxford for their sons, if they are not to be at Ch Ch, Merton etc. a difficulty which will increase, not diminish, as time goes on, unless there be some bad scandals.

Very sincerely Yours in Xt John H Newman³

TO THOMAS GAISFORD

The Oratory Birmingham Sept. 1. 1864

Private

My dear Mr Gaisford,

You may be anxious to hear from me how matters are progressing. I write to you for this reason, though I have not much more to say.

It seems to me to be hopeless to raise the whole sum. I do not know whom to go to. A friend tells me that the Duchess of Leeds is not indisposed to listen to projects for buying land — and that the object is so great that she might do something for us — but I know nothing about her, or how to get at her.

The case at present looks thus: — Hope Scott will give £1000, there is your munificent proposal also of giving £1000. The Birmingham Oratory (for reasons I will mention presently) would give £1000. That is £3000, the Oxford Catholics would give (say) £800 for the site of Church and Priests’ House.

¹ This was a letter of thanks to Edward Dean, for his of 30 Aug. congratulating on *Apo.*

² [[By ‘conduct it’ I believe I meant, exercise the same functions as we exercise towards the Oratory School, which is not merged in the Oratory itself.]]

³ Ffoulkes replied on 3 Sept. ready to fall in with Newman’s plans, and optimistic as to their success.

Supposing the Bishop were to give us the Mission of Oxford; and supposing we laid out our £1000 in whole or part on *Oratory* buildings. There would be three proprietors of conterminous ground running along a frontage of 450 feet; of which the Oratory would be in *occupancy* of all three properties or rather in use or holding — its own, the Diocesan property, and the College property, which would be vested in Trustees. For the Oratory would, on the one hand have the Mission, on the other the College.

The Mission buys its own ground from Mr Ambrose Smith for £800. Of the three thousand (made up of yourself, Hope Scott, and the Oratory) let £1000 be put aside for the first buildings to start with (which with a Mission House might be enough) £2000 remains for purchase of land. The price is 10/- the square yard. Therefore £2000 will buy 4000 square yards, of the whole frontage, 450 feet, the Mission takes 110; leaving for the College and Oratory 340 feet or 113 yards. Take a depth of 35 yards, and $113 \times 35 = 3955$ square yards, costing the £2000.

For £2000 then we should have a plot of ground along the Street, in which Worcester College and the Printing Office stand, of 350 feet in length and 105 in breadth — with an *addition* for (Mission) Church and House, (which would answer to the Head's House and College Chapel, till the College could afford to build for itself) of 110 feet by 172 feet, (at the *broadest*, for it is far from a parallelogram)

What do you think of this? The College would start with (provisional) Church and Staff accommodation, provided for it, with £1000 to lay out in buildings for students.

Then, when we had got as far as this, I think it would be possible to raise a good sum by £100 a piece, for College buildings, from friends.

The Mission buildings etc fund at present amounts at least to £1000, though of course more is wanted (for ground and Church etc.)

But suppose we never could get so far as a College — suppose the Mission scheme and the Oratory Scheme succeeded, but not the College Scheme — then the Oratory would be bound to buy the land from you and Hope Scott.

Mr Ambrose Smith is still anxious to keep matters quiet — so I have put 'private' on my letter — I have to give him my answer by the 8th.

Of course, if we could get another £1000, we could go nearly 50 feet deeper into his land, measuring from the frontage — which would be a great advantage.

Very truly Yours John H. Newman

Thos Gaisford Esqre

FRIDAY 2 SEPTEMBER 1864 Mgr Talbot called

2 SEPTEMBER 1864

TO AMBROSE ST JOHN

'The Oratory Birmingham Sept 2. 1864'

Sir, that is, 'My dearest A'

I am sorry I have so scared you.¹ I wrote half in fun, meaning to say 'We must look sharp where we are going.' I had used the same words to Henry.²

'We do, however, really need most serious thought as to this project. Our paucity of numbers is the primary difficulty.'³ No *one* Father need be bound to Oxford, but still one *or other* must for 24 weeks be away. Don't think things are going far — we have not moved a step. 'The broad argument on each side is this: —

1. We are so in for it, so destitute of Novices, so largely committed in money matters' (not *embarrassed*) 'that it is best to *tirar*' avanti, to go ahead, than to go half way. We are *called* to education, as our work

but 2. Who is to work a new plan?

I should project, if we did do any thing, to have a resident curate [[an extern]]¹, who might be Bethell. ' (did I tell you the Bishop has offered me the Mission of Oxford?) and a resident college Dean, also an extern, and a priest. A father might go over for the weekdays and come back for the Sunday, if the Bishop would allow it;² or at least the Father need not two weeks be the same. But it is plain that for half the year we should have a priest less in Bm [Birmingham].

The *College* scheme would not come into operation for a year or two. But here is this disadvantage, that *I* have no time to lose.

Can you fancy any way of getting at the Duchess of Leeds? They say that for a really great object like this, she would give money; i.e. she would purchase land. I would gladly apply to her *myself*, except that it is well to keep me as a *referee*, and I cannot be my own referee or witness.

William Palmer and the little Harrises are here

Ever Yrs affly John H Newman

The Revd A. St John

P.S. *Keep* the inclosed for me, if you don't send it back.³

Do stop away till the 10th, please, do.

'Mgr Talbot has just called. I hope I did not insult him. He stayed 5 minutes. He went away in the rain.'

SATURDAY 3 SEPTEMBER 1864 Austin returned. Palmer went.

¹ Newman used a sheet of notepaper, on which he had already written 'Sir'.

² In reply to Newman's suggestion of 30 Aug. that St John might become vice-rector at Oxford, the latter wrote on 1 Sept., 'I never should like any place which took me long away from you, and I don't think I have courage enough to do well without you. . . . Of course you don't mean I should be under any other head than you, for if you did I should strike viewing the matter then as one of 1st Principles.'

³ This was a copy of Newman's letter of 1 Sept. to Gaisford.

4 SEPTEMBER 1864

TO MARIANNE BOWDEN

The Oratory Bm Sept 4. 1864

My dear Child,

I have been thinking of writing to you for some time, when your letter came. I said Mass for you on the day we kept St Jane Frances;¹ also on an earlier day of August. I had watched with great interest the course of proceedings relative to the Beata abroad — and have lately received some other relics from Paray. I inclose a cheque towards the Beatification.² Pray tell your Revd Mother, with my best and kindest respects, that I make it payable to you, not her, for I think I might make a mistake if I attempted to draw it in her favour. Also, excuse its being a cheque — for I have no cash.

I trust you will soon be right again; meanwhile, don't forget me, my dear Child, in your prayers, as you do not, and I will try to repay you

Ever Yrs affectly in Xt John H Newman of the Oratory
Sister M Dominica

P.S. Thank you for the account of the two miracles

TO ELEANOR BRETHERTON

The Oratory, Birmingham. September 4. 64.

My dear Child,

Thank you for your beautiful greengages — but I fear Mamma is robbing and starving you, since so many have come. I shall be here, if all is well, on Saturday. My photograph is soon to make its appearance, I believe.

Congratulate Nina, and with love to all of you,

I am, my dear Child, Affectionately yours in Christ
John H. Newman.

TO THOMAS GAISFORD

The Oratory, Birmingham Sept 4. 1864

My dear Mr Gaisford,

What you say is most fair and equitable — and, though I did not know fully your feeling, I not only am not surprised at it, but the anticipation that it *might* be crossed my mind.³

¹ 21 Aug. was the feast of St Jane Frances de Chantal, foundress of the Visitation Order, but since in 1864 it fell on a Sunday, it was transferred to 26 Aug.

² This, and also the postscript, refers to the beatification of St Margaret Mary. Cf. letter of 24 Aug. to Miss Giberne.

³ Gaisford wrote on 3 Sept., 'I do not much like your last proposal. In my opinion £3000 is not sufficient to begin with.' Gaisford suggested that Ambrose Smith should be paid interest on his outlay for three months, and that in the meantime subscriptions should be openly solicited with a view to collecting £8000, in order to purchase the whole of the Oxford land.

The difficulty of getting Mr Smith to wait is, that he is nervous about his outlay, and wishes to get rid of it — and has already the offer from some one to take an acre from him. I hoped to get till Christmas (*when he pays the money*) before I gave my answer, but he said 'the end of August' — Then I bargained for a week more — which he granted saying he would not tie me down to a day.

Of two things I am sure

1. That to raise the £8000 between this and Christmas is simply impossible — (unless indeed some great person as the Duchess of Leeds came forward)
2. That to any one who could afford to let £8000 lie without interest for 10 years, it would be a capital speculation to buy it. Would that we had bought all the land adjoining us for our school 10 years ago! We should have got it for perhaps $\frac{1}{2}$ the present price — but now did we offer any price we could not get it, besides its being built on. 20 years ago it could have been bought for a trifle. The spot in question is perhaps the best place in Oxford not built on. It is *in* the town, which now is filling up from the railroad to the Parks. We would buy it ourselves, 1st, if we could do without the interest of the money — 2nd, if, as a religious body we had any leave to speculate.

Now for a third fact, which I set down without reference to what I have said, merely because it came yesterday. I have, without its being known that it was I, got an opinion of a trustworthy Oxford professional man, on the *present* worth of the land. However, it in a way dovetails in with the argumentative force of the two remarks I have been making. It is as follows: —

'I consider it' (the Property, 5 acres 0.6)¹ worth £9000, if required as a whole for any special purpose. But, if purchased on speculation with a view to being divided and sold in Lots, *I do not* estimate it at more than £7500, as there would be considerable expenses and waste for streets to give the necessary frontage.'²

What I propose to do, if I can, is this — to buy a piece for the *Oratory* — half an acre would do for us considering we should have the Mission Church. And to make it a condition of the purchase that we had the *refusal* of the rest up to Christmas or at least for a certain time. Then, if in that interval any persons could be found to buy the rest or part of the rest for a College, well and good. If they gave money, they must be content with the alternative, of having a College built, *or* — waiting to get their money back by a future resale of the land.

As to the expenses of building a College, they would have, as long as they liked, the *Oratory* House for the staff and for some sets of rooms — and the *Mission* Church. What they would want would be some more sets of rooms, and offices. These sets of rooms might be built on the College frontage by some builder, on speculation, on a building lease of a portion of the ground and might be rented by the College. In course of time the lease would run out.

¹ i.e. no roods and six perches.

² Newman quotes from Spearing's letter of 1 Sept. to Mark Pattison

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They might be so built as to allow of their being turned into private houses if the College failed.

However, the Oratory plan and the College plan, would be any how quite separate.

I don't hear from Hope Scott to whom I wrote August 29. A letter is an age getting to him. I wish Bellasis were in the country — he could do so much.¹

Very sincerely Yours, J. H. Newman of the Oratory.

Thos. Gaisford Esqr

P.S. I don't see how we *can* openly agitate for money for a purpose, for which the Bishops have not given distinct permission. It is another thing my writing to you, and you to Sir John Simeon. I don't see any difficulty in *that*.

MONDAY 5 SEPTEMBER 1864 went to Rednall with Wm [William]

TO MARK PATTISON

The Oratory Birmingham Sept 5. 1864

My dear Rector

Thank you for your good and prompt service which you have done me. I can quite understand that a professional man cannot do more than Mr Spearing has done. If you at your convenience will tell him to send in his charge, I will send him the amount. I don't suppose my secret will remain above a week or two longer

Yours affectly John H Newman

To Revd M. Pattison

TO AMBROSE ST JOHN

The Oratory Bm Sept 5/64

My dear A

I had made up my mind to come to you today, when, lo, a letter from Copeland saying that perhaps he is coming here tomorrow. So I stop. I meant to have called at Offington.²

You will find I have written to him <G.> [Gaisford] *since* the letter of which you have a copy. He (naturally) did not like the plan. What I propose now is this: — to buy for *us*, the Oratory, an acre — next to the Mission half acre. Then to get Gaisford and others to mention the *College* plan to their

¹ Hope-Scott was in the Western Highlands and Bellasis in Rome.

² This was Gaisford's house, near Worthing. St John was at Brighton.

5 SEPTEMBER 1864

friends — (I must have another more explicit talk with the Bishop first) and to get money *with the advantage of our having begun* — The plan will no longer be in nubibus. Men will have more heart to help a plan in progress than to venture on a commencement. Now who would give £100 or £200? the following? Scott Murray, Bellasis, Badeley, Simeon, Bowden, Monsell, Dunraven, Gaisford, Lord E Howard, Towneley, Waldron, etc. After all, what a little way towards the sum needed! Scott Murray has almost declined. R. Towneley is to go to Balliol.

It struck me if *you* wanted a good investment for nephews or neices, you might take a share in the land — for £2000 will be worth £3000 or £4000 ten years hence.

Ever Yours affly¹

P.S. I am just starting for Rednall, whither Copeland will pursue me.

TO AMBROSE SMITH

Sept 5/64

Dear Sir

I have been considering the price at which you propose to sell the portion of your ground for the Mission Church, viz 10/ per square yard and find at that rate the whole property would sell, not for £8600, but for £11737. Thus: — 4 acres, 3 roods, 16 perches make 23474 square yards which at 10/ per yard make as I have said £11737. That is you charge far more in proportion for a part than for the whole, for frontage than for the interior.

Supposing I cannot take the whole, what will be your price per yard if we took half or a third of the land.

J H N

I fear I must ask for another week after the 8th to offer to take the *whole* land; but as I cannot be sure of this, I should like to know

TO DAVID MORIARTY, BISHOP OF KERRY

Rednall, Sept 8/64

My dear Lord,

I thank you very much for your kind and friendly letter. I will not fail, on the first opportunity which occurs, to set right the misconception which you notice as attaching to the sentence in the Apologia, to which you so

¹ A corner of the letter has been cut off.

Newman later wrote on the autograph, '(N.B. The drift of this letter is how to raise the £9000 to which I had committed myself for the five acres. J H N Novr 6/75)'

considerately call my attention —¹ Also thank you for your general remarks upon my book. and believe me to be

Yours most faithfully & affectly in Xt
John H Newman of the Oratory

The Rt Revd The Bp of Kerry

¹ Moriarty complained on 6 Sept. of a sentence in the Appendix to *Apo.*, p. 28: 'I cannot deny, what must be ever a very sore point with Anglicans, that, if any Anglican comes to me after careful thought and prayer, and with deliberate purpose, and says, "I believe in the Holy Catholic Church, and that your Church and yours alone is it, and I demand admittance into it," it would be the greatest of sins in me to reject such a man, as being a distinct contravention of our Lord's maxim, "Freely ye have received, freely give."'

Moriarty thought this passage suggested a lack of zeal for individual conversions, and had been so interpreted in the *Union Review*. Moriarty said, 'it might be inferred that you would not go out of your way to bring an Anglican into the Catholic Church, or that you did not very much desire he should come into it'. This was because in the previous paragraph Newman had said that he would wish to avoid everything, except under the direct call of duty, which went to weaken the hold of the Church of England upon the public mind, where it upheld so much Christian and Catholic doctrine.

Newman drafted an answer which he did not send:

'My dear Lord

A very few words, I trust, will remove the misconception which you consider attaches to a sentence in the Appendix of my Apologia.

You ask if I have sufficient [sic] expressed the duty under which a Catholic lies of showing members of the Established Church in England its true position relatively to the Catholic Church. Such a question from you demands of course a very careful consideration; yet I can only reply by stating my belief that, if I attempt to say more than I have done, I shall really be saying less.

What I have said is this: — that the Church of England cannot really be said to represent a religion; that it is not a cause to labour for or to suffer [?] for; that it is a wonderful mistake to consider that there is any thing sacred about it, or [that it is] the Church of the Fathers or that it is the Bride of the Lamb — that its Orders seem to me so doubtful that only the Pope's decision would make me acknowledge them. And then I add that if any one comes to me and says that he is convinced of this, as I have been before him, I will receive him, as I have been received

These two statements, instead of being, as you think out of keeping with each other, seem to me to stand in the relation of premiss and conclusion or cause and effect. I understand them to say "I have become convinced that the National establishment is not part of the Catholic Church, on this I went to the Catholic Church and she freely received me into her bosom. And when any other Anglican is convinced of the same, I in my turn, as one of her ministers, will freely do the same office for him." My Apologia is on the subject of my own conversion; and I conclude it by saying that, as I have received, so will I give. Such a conclusion seems to me most appositely to fit on to what has gone before. My whole narrative preached my sense of the necessity of being a Catholic; and my concluding sentence pledges me to give others in this as I have been given.'

In later editions of *Apo.*, at p. 342, Newman omitted the whole paragraph in which the offending sentence occurred.

In a note on the back of Moriarty's letter Newman wrote: 'N.B. 1. I have not said *more* in my passage, because, having said that the Church of E is out of the Church Catholic, *I have no more to say*. <Why should I say "I will unsettle" when I am unsettling It would not be logical.> *I have preached all that there is to preach*. What can I say stronger? I have unsettled to the extent of *possible* unsettlement. All that remains is to act *upon* that unsettlement, *where it succeeds viz* by receiving a person — and *that* I go on to say.

2. I confess that I think there is *so great* a danger of an Anglican *rather* taking the liberal side than the Catholic, *when* unsettled, that I will not make a great *effort* to unsettle him.

<I have said in the passage to *Anglicans* what any how I am obliged to do, what I cannot escape from.>

8 SEPTEMBER 1864

TO WILLIAM NEVILLE

Sepr 8/64

My dear W

If you don't see any difficulty, transcribe and send the inclosed in *your own name* to Mr Smith — with the map which I return by Austin.¹

10/ for the inner of his 2 acres is preposterous. He is asking 10/ for *all*, if he asks 10/- for that. He will never get it from what Mr Walsh says.² If we gave him £3085. 10 ($\pounds 2420 \langle 10 \rangle + \pounds 665. 10 \langle 2/9 \rangle$) for 2 acres, and he got £922 from the Mission $\frac{1}{2}$ acre, he would get 4007. 10 for half his land, and the other $\frac{1}{2}$ *would be all frontage* or 10/ per yard land.

He says he has had an offer for an acre, i.e. another £2420 — so that he will have got off his hand in a few weeks £6427. 10, and still have an acre and a half of frontage to sell — and, if he has to wait before he sells it, he will have only £1572. 10 of the £8000 to fork out at Christmas. But he wont accept of 2'9 for the second acre! Perhaps he will half a year hence.

Yrs affly J H N

P.S. Pattison's Valuer says '£9000' to purchasers who want the *whole*. Five acres for £9000 is at the rate of 8/ the square foot. I am offering him 6/3 for 2 acres, but $\frac{1}{2}$ of it is the worst ground. All the rest is frontage.

FRIDAY 9 SEPTEMBER 1864 Ambrose returned

'Sir Dr Newman is away, and has, I believe, signified to you his wish for a few days more before he gives you his answer about the land

Meanwhile you may like to know how he feels about it just now.

He fears that the want of the Bishops' Sanction to a Catholic College will seriously interfere with the purchase of the whole land for a College. It is very sad that he cannot meet your public spirited conduct more suitably.

However, he tells me he thinks of offering to purchase from you, not for a College, but for himself, (that is, for the purposes of the Oratory) one of the two acres which you mark out at 10/ a square yard, i.e. for £2420, if you consent. This is the acre next the mission half acre, and with a frontage to Walton Street.

As to the inner acre, it has not a single foot of frontage, and the price of 10/ per yard for it, seems to him far too high. He could not consent to give more than 2/9 the square yard; and, as he supposes you would not agree to this, he fears he shall have to propose to you only for the first acre.'

² In reply to an enquiry from Neville, Henry Walsh, Newman's lawyer friend at Oxford, gave his opinion that the land in question would not increase in value.

TO JOHN F. PERRIN

Rednall, Sept 9/1864

Dear Revd Sir,

I have only just now received your letter addressed to me at Dublin.¹

In answer to the question which it contains, I am obliged to say plainly that no Catholic can be countenanced in doubting the doctrines of the Catholic Church, or rather he ceases to be partaker in her privileges on his deliberately and heartily doing so, because those doctrines are the very truths of revelation. This I cannot and must not hide from you — but at the same time it is quite plain from what you say those doctrines are not what you think them to be, and that the study of one of our catechisms would be a surprise to you.

If you will allow me to name one to you, I would earnestly recommend for your perusal the Catechism of the Council of Trent, or, as it is sometimes called the Catechismus Romanus. It is of the highest authority, though not every thing contained in it is strict matter of faith.

1. You are quite right in considering that the infliction of punishment in Purgatory is in place of those 'temporal punishments which had not been inflicted on earth.' 'There is nothing of atonement in it,' in the sense in which you use the word; i.e. of reconciling man to his Maker. The death of our Lord is the only reconciliation, and no one suffers purgatory except those who have been *already* reconciled in this world, before they go there. No unholy, unjustified soul can go to Purgatory.

2. As to good works, no one is saved by good works without the atonement of Christ; and, without denying that great saints may do certain good works without sin in them (that is *through divine grace*) yet of no one, (excepting the Blessed Virgin) are we able to say that he has lived without the commission of sin, nor has any one, (even the Blessed Virgin,) any merit at all in any one of his acts, except by virtue of the covenanted promise of God in Christ, who has condescended to *give* merit to that which has no merit taken apart from that promise, just as the signature on a Bank note makes a poor bit of paper worth £5.

3. As to confession, when it cannot be made, from circumstances, true contrition, with a desire for the opportunity of making confession is sufficient for reconciling the soul to God. And no confession or sacerdotal absolution avails at all without true repentance and contrition.

4. The intercession of the Blessed Virgin and the saints does not differ from ours for each other, except that it is more perfect than ours, and comes from

¹ Perrin, a Church of England clergyman living in Dublin, wrote on 6 Sept., that his reading of the New Testament led him to question the action of reformers 'in setting up churches in opposition to that governed by those who sat in the seats of the Apostles'. He inquired 'whether a man may be a Catholic without agreeing with all the doctrines of the Church', and then set forth his difficulties.

12 SEPTEMBER 1864

those whose holy lives have given them a covenanted claim on God's special notice and indulgence.

You may be sure that I shall not say a word on the subject of your letter. I have left Dublin these many years. When your letter came, it was thought to be connected with the University and opened — but the person who opened it assures me he did not go beyond the first sentence, which showed him that it was private

I am, Dear Sir, Yours very faithfully John H Newman¹

The Revd J. F. Perrin.

SATURDAY 10 SEPTEMBER 1864 came <walked> to Bm [Birmingham]

SUNDAY 11 SEPTEMBER Dr Taylor to dinner

MONDAY 12 SEPTEMBER went <walked> to Rednall

TO W. J. COPELAND

The Oy Bm Sepr 12. 1864

My dear C

I was at Rednall last week, *whither I have taken all my transcribed letters*. I shall be there (if all is well) *next* week (Sept 19-24) — but *not* this week. Also, various persons are coming this week, *here*. So don't come this week. Longman has sent me all the reviews etc — so I suppose we have a larger collection than you can have — So don't trouble yourself to bring them, as you proposed.²

I have given up the republication of my Sermons

Ever Yrs affly J H N

P.S. I am sorry to say, I missed your brother.³

TO WILLIAM MONSELL

The Oratory Bm Sepr 12/64

Private

My dear Monsell

The inclosed has just come to me.⁴ As to the 'Month,' let me know the

¹ Perrin wrote to Newman again on 12 Oct. 1865 to say that having studied the matter he now wished to become a Catholic. When he ceased to be a clergyman, however, he would be without means of support, and his family would do all in their power to prevent his conversion. He asked whether Newman could recommend him as a tutor in a Catholic family.

² i.e. reviews of *Apo*. Copeland wished to discuss his proposed history of the Oxford Movement.

³ George Copeland had been in Birmingham.

⁴ This was the prospectus of the *Workman, or Life and Leisure*, a popular Catholic magazine, and a rival of the *Lamp*. It ran for the first six months of 1865, conducted by Mrs Parsons, the friend of Miss Maling.

article, if you recollect it, which had the bad grammar; and I will speak about it.¹ I think the publication improving, and that it is politic to encourage it. If Catholic literature and thought are to improve, it must be by *steps*. And if the Month is an advance on what has been, it may be the augury of further advance. Perhaps the time is not come for any thing better. As to the inclosed Prospectus, it is the work of Miss Maling's friends, and I suppose includes Miss Maling. I had heard nothing of it before it came, and know nothing more than it tells us.

As to the Oxford scheme, it stands thus: of the 5 acres, the diocese takes half an acre for the Mission; and the Mission is put into *our* (Oratory) hands to serve, by the Bishop (keep all this to yourself, till all is settled.) *We*, the Oratory, buy two acres next to the Mission portion; and we keep this two-acre piece, or sell it some future day to a College.

Another acre we *talk* of — but we shall become bankrupts, if we do not look sharp. Catholic Gentlemen will not give money, unless the Bishops sanction the College scheme. What I should like to do would be to collect subscriptions of £100 each for the purpose of buying the remaining one or two acres, on speculation — this would take for an acre 24 persons, for two 48, say 50 — for two acres would cost £4840. Then, if a College was not eventually wanted, the ground could be resold.

Ever Yours affectly John H Newman of the Oratory

TUESDAY 13 SEPTEMBER 1864 walked back to Bm [Birmingham] Copeland came. two ladies came to see me

WEDNESDAY 14 SEPTEMBER Blennerhasset to dinner

THURSDAY 15 SEPTEMBER Copeland went. Walked (chiefly) with Ambrose to Rednall

TO AMBROSE SMITH

Sept 15/64

My dear Sir

I am sorry we cannot come in to your terms,² but I propose to you as follows

For three acres as I have marked them red, I will give you the average price of the 5 acres. You ask £8600 for the whole that is, £1720 per acre. Therefore I propose to purchase of you the three acres as marked on the plan for £5160 (on condition you get the wall down and the way open at the end of

¹ Monsell wrote on 23 Aug., 'I have read the Month — they sadly require a good sub editor — some of the articles (one at all events) are full of bad English.' On 13 Oct. he named the offending article, 'Madame Swetchine and her Salon', the *Month*, (Aug. 1864), pp. 163-76.

² Smith was unwilling to accept the proposal in Newman's letter of 8 Sept. to Neville.

17 SEPTEMBER 1864

St John's Street). If you are willing to treat upon this general basis, I shall have pleasure in seeing you here tomorrow (Friday) or Saturday. If not, I should have to wait till you have marked out the ground by streets etc and have offered it to the public.

J H N¹

FRIDAY 16 SEPTEMBER 1864 Walked (chiefly) to Bm. [Birmingham] Mr Monro came and went

TO EDMUND S. FFOULKES

The Oratory Bm Sepr 17/64

My dear Mr Ffoulkes

My purchasing the *whole* of the ground is simply out of the question.² I have not the money for it, nor can I get it from others without saying that it is intended for the site of a College. Nor can I put forth a statement of this kind, without saying at the same time that it has the sanction of the Bishops; and it has *not*. Did I advertise for subscriptions for such a purpose. I should come into collision with my own Bishop, and perhaps have a letter from Propaganda to ask what I am at.

And, as I have told you so many times that I cannot count them, I have no clear view that a College or Hall is the best thing for us.

You will do the cause a service, if you are able to make Mr Smith understand that it is no good urging me, as he has done (I think) in every one of his letters, to buy the *whole* ground.

Very sincerely Yours in Xt John H Newman of the Oratory

E. S. Ffoulkes Esqr

¹ On 12 Sept. Newman wrote but did not send the following to Smith:

Dear Sir,

I cannot at once offer for the *whole* land, though I should like to have the refusal of it for some time longer, at least till the end of the month. However, this rests with you.

The offer I can make is this: — on *condition* that the Diocese or Mission buys the portion which you have marked out to the south of the land with frontage on Walton Street, and buys it at 10/ per square yard, I will purchase of you two acres, — either 1. As *you* marked it out on the map which you sent me, and I returned, running from the frontage in Walton Street up to the gardens of the St Giles's houses for the sum of £3085. 10. 0, i.e. at 10/ for the one acre and 2/9 for the other. or 2. lying along Walton Street, as far as Little Clarendon Street, with a continuous frontage for £4840, i.e. 10/ an acre for both acres.

If you will think over these proposals, I should be glad to see you here, as you offered some time ago, towards the end of this week

Very truly Yours, John H Newman

A Smith Esqr

² Ffoulkes wrote on 16 Sept. strongly urging this.

17 SEPTEMBER 1864

TO AMBROSE SMITH

Sept 17/64

My dear Sir

I would have wished you had found it possible to call on me here as you proposed and as I asked you in my last.¹ You would have understood how I am situated far better than you can by letter.

As to the acre of frontage I have no wish for it at all, and proposed it because I thought you would rather that I should purchase three acres than two

As to my purchasing the whole, I tell you frankly that it is out of the question

Very truly Yrs J H N

A Smith Esqr

SUNDAY 18 SEPTEMBER 1864 Miss Froude and Miss Munro in Birmingham

TO AMBROSE PHILLIPPS DE LISLE²

The Oratory Birmingham In festo Sept Dol B.M.V. 1864.³

My dear Mr de Lisle

Ignatius [Ryder] showed me your letter to him, and it pleased me very much to find what you thought of my late volume. It was a great trial to me to write it, and it is a great compensation to have favorable remarks upon it, such as yours. I assure you, I esteem your approbation very highly, as coming from so good a Catholic and so true an English man and lover of England. The mixture of good and bad, which makes up the Protestantism of England, is a great mystery; He alone, whose infinite Intelligence can understand the union of the two, can also dissolve it, and set the truth and the right free; but, if any human agency is to be much His instrument in any part of this work, surely it must begin by acknowledging, not denying, what Protestants have that is good and true, and honoring it in them as coming from the one source of all light and holiness. Certainly, to my own mind one of the most affecting and discouraging elements in the action of Catholicism just now on English Society, is the scorn with which some of us treat proceedings and works among Protestants which it is but Christian charity to ascribe to the influence of divine grace.⁴

I am My dear Mr de Lisle Sincerely Yours in Xt

John H Newman

A L P. de Lisle Esqr.

¹ Smith declined Newman's offer of 15 Sept.

² A. Lisle Phillipps, on the death of his father in 1862, changed his surname to de Lisle.

³ The Feast of the Seven Dolours was kept on Sunday 18 Sept.

⁴ For de Lisle's reply see first note to letter of 13 Feb. 1865.

20 SEPTEMBER 1864

MONDAY 19 SEPTEMBER 1864 walked to Rednall

TUESDAY 20 SEPTEMBER came into Bm to see Mr A Smith from Oxford.

TO SISTER CEPHASIA

Sept 20/64

Dear Sister in Xt

I thank you for your kind letter.¹ What I said to Miss Smith was this, that she ought to cherish that composure of mind and religious calm which is so great a gift.² I am very glad to find that you agree with me in this opinion. What she said to me was in confidence and I do not think I am at liberty to consider it otherwise I am sure you will understand me when I say so

J H N

TO EDMUND S. FFOULKES

The Oratory Bm Sept 20. 1864

My dear Mr Ffoulkes

I am sorry I gave you the trouble of writing your last letter, and had no intention whatever of complaining of the zeal which you so naturally and so disinterestedly show in Mr Smith's negotiation with us.³

I write to tell you that we have agreed to purchase of him 2½ acres, which, with the Church land, make three. How we are to raise the money is a great problem

And this is all that I have to say. Perhaps till it is quite settled, it is best to be silent about it

Very sincerely Yours John H Newman of the Oratory

E S Ffoulkes Esqr

¹ Sister Cephasia, of the Daughters of the Cross whose convent was at Cheltenham, wrote confidentially to Newman asking him to continue his direction of Miss Smith, who appears to have thought of joining that Order.

² Newman erased here in his draft, 'nor did I think she would have that heavenly gift granted to her, unless she put herself out of the way of external occasions of distraction and distress. I thought that on the side of the world, that certainly she would be exposed to those occasions, if she went home.'

³ Ffoulkes wrote on 18 Sept. to apologise for meddling in the question of the land at Oxford.

20 SEPTEMBER 1864

TO THOMAS GAISFORD

The Oratory Birm Sept 20/64

My dear Mr Gaisford,

We have this morning settled to buy *two* and *a half* acres of Mr Smith's ground, i.e. with the Mission portion of it *three* acres. We do not want it for an Oratory — but we buy it with the chance of its being bought again of us, at some future day, for a College.

How we are to raise the money £4,630 I do not know. It will be more, for we shall have to build a long wall to cut the ground off from the rest — and we shall be tempted to buy, if we can, the whole or part of the existing buildings upon it. I have nothing more to say just now; but you have taken such interest in the matter, that I do not like to delay telling you all that had to be told.

Very truly yours John H. Newman of the Oratory

TO JAMES HOPE-SCOTT

The Oratory Birmingham Sept 20. 1864

My dear Hope Scott

We have this day bought a good portion of the ground, and, though it is satisfactory as a transaction, it involves us in a good deal of anxiety for the future.

Altogether, (the Bishop putting the Mission into our hands) we shall have three acres — far, far more than the Oratory wants or can use. But we buy it with the intention of securing ground for a future College, to the founders of which we should sell it — or again for buildings, which without going so far as the College scheme, would be lodgings for Catholic undergraduates attached to the existing Colleges, if that should be desirable.

We give for it £4630, or thereabouts, as the ground is not yet marked out. We must build a wall along the long side, which is about 450 feet, and it must be a high one. And if we build lodgings; this of course will be another expense.

However, we shall begin with trying to build a *Mission* Church and House, which is enough to attempt for the present.

Under these circumstances we shall be glad, as you may suppose of your £1000. Our Bankers are 'Birmingham Banking Company' their London Correspondents 'Messrs Glynn and Company.'

Ever Yours affectly John H Newman of the Oratory

Jas R Hope Scott Esqr

20 SEPTEMBER 1864

TO BISHOP ULLATHORNE

The Oratory Bm Sept 20. 1864

My dear Lord

I write a line to say that this morning I have agreed to buy $2\frac{1}{2}$ acres of Mr Smith's land. He says that Mr Comberbach has selected half an acre, and I have taken the land next to it.¹ I advised him to call on you to day, as he returned to Oxford.

Of course there is no great hurry, and just now I am a good deal at Rednall — but I shall take an early opportunity of calling on your Lordship in order to have a conversation with you on the subject

I am, My dear Lord, Yr affectionate & dutiful Servt in Xt
John H Newman of the Oratory

The Rt Revd The Bp of Birmingham

WEDNESDAY 21 SEPTEMBER 1864 Bishop called about Oxford matter — went out to Rednall with William

MEMORANDUM

Rednall Sept 21/64

(Correspondence on the Negotiations &c)

After my letter (to Mr A. Smith) was posted (viz about 3 PM) the Bishop called, just as I was starting for this place, and he threw such a light on the position which we should hold in Oxford, as to make me feel that we had no business to be there. He came (apparently) with some anxiety, and Mr Comberbach had been with him, in consequence of the letter I sent to him (Mr C. last night; for I ought to have said, that I wrote to the Bishop, Mr Comberbach, Hope Scott, Mr Gaisford, Ffoulkes, (and William to Copeland) saying that we had purchased some land.

1. The Bishop had said a month ago, on first hearing of the prospect of our buying land for an Oratory from Mr Smith, that he wished to offer us the Mission. Now, however, he seemed to make it a condition of an Oratory being set up there. I saw no difficulty in this, and he proposed to put all monies in our hands. There was an endowment of £700 capital — some few hundred actually collected for a Church (Mr Comberbach had been in Belgium with that object) besides the promised hundreds of Mr Smith and his son in law, Mr Hanley, (£100 apiece) And then, there was what the St Clement's property

¹ When the Jesuits gave up the Oxford mission in 1860, Alexander Comberbach was put in charge. The Catholics still had only a small chapel in St Clement's.

would fetch, which Mr Smith calculated at £800. The Bishop said that St Clement's was unhealthy and that the site of the Mission House and Church must be changed. I saw no difficulty in all this.

2 But then he went on to say that it was not impossible that there would be a Catholic University in England — that there were great objections to a Catholic College in Oxford in point of principle and consequences — that providing lodgings for young men was even worse than the College scheme, and that it was not allowable for a Priest even to take private pupils without express leave.

He went on to say that *I* had written from Dublin years ago to gain a prohibition of Catholic Irish youths going to Oxford and Cambridge (which I fully granted I had done on the ground that there was no hope for collecting Irish youth in the Catholic University, if Oxford and Cambridge were open to them)¹ — and he said, as I understood him, that in like manner if a Catholic University was founded in England, Oxford and Cambridge would be prohibited. I said nothing to this, but I felt that, if so, our position at Oxford was simply destroyed, for what is the good of the machinery of an Oratory at Oxford to serve a mission of about 100 Catholics of the middle class? What reason was there for our going to Oxford at all, except that Catholic youth were there, exposed to the temptations of the place? To these it was that we wished to do good, to give relief, to fortify etc etc. Our occupation was simply gone, if Catholic youths were forbidden the place. This, it strikes me, is the real producible difficulty, to be brought out to the Bishop.

3. He gave us, for our conduct, the example of Mr Comberbach, who had received in the course of the last year, 3 or 4 undergraduates. Also, there was a *dissenting* and *liberal* interest in the city, he said, which would to [be] inclined to help us — as taking us up against the constituted authorities! Here again, we should be in a very false position.

Sept 22. It is to me as plain as day that we should get no thanks at all for going to Oxford, should be much criticized and slandered whatever we did there, and should be simply tolerated if we made converts among the young men, which would be considered the only good and valid cause for going there; and all this, without any definite reason to show on our side for going there at all. We should bother ourselves for 100 Catholics — and these in alliance with men like Sadler the pastry cook.² We should be in the false position of being supported by radical dissenters who were envious of the University, and should be expected by Catholics to earn their applause by kidnapping Undergraduates.

¹ See postscript to letter of 11 March 1856 to Ullathorne.

² Saddler was a confectioner in the High Street at Oxford.

23 SEPTEMBER 1864

TO AMBROSE SMITH

The Oratory, Birmingham Sept 21st. 1864.

My dear Sir,

I am very sorry I had not the pleasure of seeing you again, before you went yesterday, as I had expected. My friends told me what they had arranged with you, and I am satisfied with the general plan of it. But I confess, on thinking it over, I am disappointed to find that you have not promised to secure for us the opening into St John's Street, which I mentioned to you both in my letter of last Thursday, and in the very commencement of my conversation with you yesterday.

The more I think of it, the less disposed I am to give up this condition. The securing the opening is worth some hundred pounds to me. *Without it I have no way into my ground from any thoroughfare*; Fr St John's half acre is quite distinct from mine. He might sell it tomorrow. As to the Mission half acre, it belongs, not to me, but to the Bishop. And I write at once to say that I consider it to be an integral part of the terms which I offered to you.

Will you be so good as to let me hear from you on this point.¹

Ever truly yours, John H. Newman.

Ambrose Smith Esqr

THURSDAY 22 SEPTEMBER 1864 Professor Sullivan came to Rednall — went back with him. he dined at Oratory and went

FRIDAY 23 SEPTEMBER Mr A. Smith called. Professor Hayden called, and Mr Comberbach Edward returned

TO RALPH PLATT

Sept 23/64

My dear Very Revd Provost

I lose no time in acknowledging your most kind and acceptable letter, conveying to me an expression of sympathy from the clergy of the Diocese of Hexham and Newcastle on occasion of the controversy in which I have been recently engaged.²

Few persons can have entered upon an unpleasant task with greater anxiety, and been brought through it with a happier issue, than I have in this instance; and I ought to be deeply thankful to that Merciful Providence who

¹ Newman left a memorandum on 21 Sept, about how this difficulty arose. Smith was unwilling to remove it, and the matter was only settled by the purchase of the whole site at the end of Oct.

² This letter is printed in *Apo.* p. 377.

has made one of the most painful trials of my life one of its most prosperous events.

When first I read the wanton insult offered to the Catholic Clergy out of which the controversy arose, I felt forthwith a strong impulse to call the author of it to account; but this impulse was accompanied by as strong a mis-giving that perhaps I should only damage a cause which I wished to serve. It is therefore most gratifying to me to have gained eventually the approbation of those, who, for the very reason that they are the parties who had suffered the wrong, are the best judges how far I have succeeded in my attempt to redress it.

I beg of your kindness to express my warmest acknowledgments to my brethren, the clergy of Hexham and Newcastle, who have done me so great an honor, and to accept them yourself for the words in which you have signified it to me and to believe me to be &c J H N

TO BISHOP ULLATHORNE

「The Oratory Sept 23/64

My dear Lord,

Will you let me tell you the object with which I have been contemplating an Oratory House at Oxford, and again the effect upon my mind of the remarks which you made to me the other day?

1. I think that there is considerable danger to the souls of Catholic youth who go to the Protestant Colleges in Oxford.

2 I consider there is comparatively little danger in their going to a Catholic College there.

3 The former of these is the actual state of the case.

4. When I thought of our going to Oxford, it was with a view of meeting this actually existing danger.

5 If that danger ceased, I should not feel any special reason for our going there.

Now you have told me that it is not unlikely that the danger *will* cease, i.e. that Catholic youths will be *prohibited* from going to Oxford.

For your Lordship said to my surprise that the idea of a Catholic University in England, which I thought not feasible, was still in contemplation. Before this great design, the notion of Catholic youth, being on any footing whatever at Oxford shrinks into nothing.

But moreover, such a second-best notion, not only fades away before so large a scheme, but it becomes absolutely illicit and impossible. When I was in Dublin, I did my best (as you reminded me) in getting a prohibition against Irish Catholics going to the English Universities, for I thought that the new

Catholic University in Dublin would have no fair chance of success, without such a prohibition. And now, in like manner, your Lordship has informed me, that, as is natural, if an English Catholic University is founded, Catholic youths will be forbidden to go to Oxford, Cambridge, London, Trinity College, Dublin, Edinburgh etc etc.

If then the present danger to young English Catholics is only temporary, Oxford has no stronger claims upon me than any other Catholic mission of 100 persons of the middle class; and I do not at once see my way how prudently to incur so vast an outlay of trouble, money, and responsibility, as taking it would bring on me. I must ask therefore a little more time to consider the matter. I have drawn out the case, as I view it, that you may correct me, if you think fit.¹

Yr Lordship's affte Servant John H Newman

TO AN UNKNOWN CORRESPONDENT

The Oratory Birmingham September 23/64

Dear Sir

I gladly answer your questions, though it is not easy in a few words to do so, nor am I confident that I altogether master your difficulty.

I begin by stating what seems to me certain that the being of God can be proved by reason.

1. Now one of your arguments against this proposition seems to be this: The being of God is a mystery, but reason has no mysteries; therefore the being of God is received, not by reason, but on faith.

Here I ask what is meant by a mystery? I consider it to be the seeming incompatibility of two or more facts, all really facts, with each other. A burglary, e.g. is committed, and you say perhaps that it is a mystery how it was effected. That is, you have on the one side the fact that in a certain house on a certain night closets and strong boxes were broken open and plate carried off, and on the other that no noise of any kind was heard by any of the inmates, no traces left of ingress or egress, no police witnesses of it, no information to be collected of the thieves or of their booty.

Now this instance itself, given as an illustration of the meaning of the word, is a specimen also of a mystery belonging to our reason. But such instances are innumerable, especially in the science of mathematics. The facts brought to light from the consideration of the asymptote of the hyperbola, or of the measure of curvature of different orders of curves, are to our reason as apparently incompatible with each other, as the mysteries of faith, such as the dogma of the Holy Trinity.

2. Or you seem to argue thus:— The being of God is the greatest of

mysteries; if it is provable by reason, then all mysteries must be provable by reason.

Now I do not think that the mere fact of the being of a God is any mystery at all; it is one of the most natural and obvious of all conceivable ideas. Now apply the definition of a mystery which I have given above. If it be assumed as correct, then no single fact, taken by itself, constitutes a mystery; but the being of a God is a simple fact. When indeed we take into account the additional fact of the existence of evil, then a difficulty arises of a twofold character:—it is a difficulty in the *proof* of the fact of a God, prior to the reception of that fact, and again, when the fact is proved in spite of the existence of evil, still there remains the difficulty how the existence of evil is compatible with the fact of a God; that is, the juxta position of the two antagonist facts creates a mystery. But the fact of the being of a God taken by itself is not a mystery. And therefore it is not what you designate it 'the great mystery,' which if reason proves, it 'can prove all mysteries.'

3. Or you argue as follows: That which is a conclusion in reason cannot also be an object of faith; since then the being of a God is an object of faith, it is not a conclusion of the reason.

Now here a great deal might be said, did my paper admit of it, on the difference between a conclusion and an object; but I will only say this, that the same truth may at once be proved by reason and held by faith. For instance, the truth of the Newtonian system is a conclusion in reason; yet by the mass of the community it is held, not as a conclusion which they have proved, but as a truth received on faith in scientific men, because 'cuique in arte suâ credendum est.' Or, (what is more simple,) the fact that, contrary to the evidence of sight, the earth turns on its axis, some conclude on grounds of reason, most men only believe 'because every one says so, because men of science say so.' Nay, the very same person may hold the same fact at once upon faith and upon reason. (1) I may have satisfactorily proved to myself by pure reason that the nebular theory is true; and then, on turning to Scripture, may find that light was created before the sun. Here faith confirms reason, or I hold a fact first by reason, and then in addition by faith. 2. I may receive on faith that the whole human race descends from Adam, and at some future time may be able to prove it from philology, ethnology, geology, and archeology. Here reason confirms faith, or I hold a fact, first by faith, and then in addition by reason. 1. I do not cease to conclude because I believe. 2. I do not cease to believe because I conclude.

J.H.N.

SATURDAY 24 SEPTEMBER 1864 Ambrose called on Bishop

SUNDAY 25 SEPTEMBER walked to Rednall with Ambrose after High Mass

MONDAY 26 SEPTEMBER, walked back with him

26 SEPTEMBER 1864

TO SIR ROWLAND BLENNERHASSETT

The Oratory Birmingham Sept 26/64

My dear Sir Rowland

We have bought half the ground, — for the *Oratory*; being ready to sell the greater part of it to Trustees etc. for the purpose of a College, if the Bishops ever took up that project.

Meanwhile, the other half of the ground remains unpurchased. I am told from Fr Flanagan, that you had some notion of buying it yourself. Is it so? If so, by buying it in conjunction with us, we might perhaps each save a little money — not much, but something.¹

Ever Yours most sincerely John H Newman of the Oratory
Sir R Blennerhassett Bart

TO JAMES HOPE-SCOTT

The Oratory Birmingham 1 Sept 26. 1864

My dear Hope Scott

Many thanks for your magnificent contribution of £1000 towards the Oxford scheme, which has just arrived.²

Some of us are going to Oxford to-morrow to complete the transaction³

Ever Yours affectly John H Newman

FROM BISHOP ULLATHORNE

Birmingham Sept 25th 1864

My dear Dr Newman

In reply to your letter of the 23d, I will endeavour to put the substance of what I wished to say at our interview in clear terms.

Let me first recall that in a previous conversation you asked me apropos of the land to be had at Oxford — What if we thought of establishing an Oratory there? To which I replied that in such case I should be happy to make over the mission to the Oratory.³ And after that I directed the Rev Mr Comberbach to do nothing in the way of purchase until I heard again from you.

When you wrote to inform me that you had secured 2½ acres of land, I then, from an impression that you might be contemplating educational objects in connexion with the University, called upon you with two motives in view, 1. that Mr Comberbach

¹ Blennerhassett had visited Newman on 14 Sept. J. S. Flanagan was still acting as the priest at Smethwick, near Birmingham.

² Hope-Scott wrote on 23 Sept., 'Yours of the 20th is just come, and, in reply, I enclose a letter which will produce the £1000 in the most secure way. God speed the Oxford movement.'

See also third note to letter of 28 April 1865 to Hope-Scott.

³ See diary for 23 Aug.

might not commit himself to a purchase clashing with the contemplated Oratory.
2. That I might give an opportunity for mentioning any plan connected with University Education if it should it exist.

I will now say what exactly was in my mind at our interview, though I may then have failed in giving it complete expression.

1. I wished it to be understood that I am not at present in a position to sanction any ecclesiastical cooperation with the education of Catholics in that University, or in connexion with the University. I had received a caution from Propaganda and had in consequence pledged myself to do nothing of this kind without authority from higher powers.¹

2. I had doubt as to any rights on my part, and as an individual Bishop in a case of this kind. Hence I put the question to Propaganda, if an individual Bishop, or if a Province could act by accession to a Protestant University without direction from the Holy See? To this question I received but a vague answer that my principles were approved. So I am left without specific guidance as to this point, and my own conclusion is that I have no right to act so as to commit the policy of the Church in a matter which concerns not only several Dioceses but several provinces.

3. I pointed out that the Holy See had been enquiring into the question, that lay gentlemen had brought it before Propaganda, that I had myself been questioned by Propaganda and also the united English Episcopate, that consequently I had official knowledge that the subject was before the Holy See. This being the case, I have no right to anticipate the action, or the judgment, of the Holy See by any act or judgment of mine.

These are my reasons for adhering to my promise to Propaganda that I would sanction no ecclesiastical connexion with Oxford University Education until authorised to do so.

With respect to a Catholic University, what I said was, in substance, that the question of a substitution for Oxford education was still discussed, that the question was in the air, that I did not know whether anything would come out of it or not, but that should the Holy See disapprove of all connexion with the Anglican University, then an effort must be made to see what could be substituted. In short, I wished it to be understood that the unsettled state of the first question, about the use of the existing University, implied the unsettlement of the second, about a Catholic establishment for the higher studies.

In a word for anything except a negative course, my position is embarrassing because I have no right without direction from above to compromise the question, neither am I in that position which justifies me in taking the lead towards its solution. Nevertheless, as I wish to save you from embarrassment, I am quite willing, should you desire it, and prefer that I should do it rather than yourself, to write to Propaganda and ask on the ground of the present offer of land to you, and of your disposition to avail of it, if the Holy See is prepared to give any direction on the subject. But as the October vacation is at hand, it would probably be late in November before we had a reply.²

Praying Almighty God to bless you, I remain Dear Dr Newman

Your sincere friend & faithful St in Xt W. B. Ullathorne

¹ See Butler's *Ullathorne* II, pp. 3-4 for this and what follows. At Manning's instigation, Barnabò, Cardinal Prefect of Propaganda, wrote to Ullathorne on 18 July 1863, a letter he quoted in *Facts and Documents relating to the Mission and contemplated Oratory at Oxford*, privately printed, April 1867, p. 3. Barnabò wrote again on 9 Jan. 1864, that if Catholic colleges were to be founded it should be in places other than protestant universities, *ibid.* p. 4. Urged by Propaganda the English bishops at their Low Week meeting decided against Catholics going to the Universities, but took no action to prevent it. On 27 May 1864 Manning told Barnabò that he had already twice spoken to Wiseman, who was beginning to see the urgency of the matter. Archives of Propaganda, *S.R.C. Anglia, 1864-6*, 17. ff 202-03. See also third note to letter of 23 Nov. to Hope Scott.

² Newman at once made a memorandum. 'NB As to the Oxford plan Sept 26. 1864.

In his letter just received the Bishop seems to be nervous about our plan and wishes some application to be made to Propaganda before we purchase ground.

26 SEPTEMBER 1864

TO BISHOP ULLATHORNE

The Oratory Birmingham Sept. 26. 1864

My dear Lord

We thank your Lordship very much for your most candid and instructive letter. I hope that in what I shall say in answer to it, I shall show that I understand its full drift, and shall meet your wishes.

As regards then the Oxford matter I will say,

1. that we have no intention at present to do more than accept your Lordship's offer to put into our hands the Oxford mission.

2. that we do so with a view to the *future* foundation of an Oratory there; and for the same reason we buy ground.

3. that we have no intention in any way to co-operate with the University or with the Colleges of Oxford, whether by taking lodgers, or private pupils or in any other way.

4. that we propose to confine ourselves to the spiritual duties of the Mission, taking the cure of the present Catholics there, and doing our best to increase their numbers.

5. that neither now nor in time to come will we take part in any Catholic College there, or sell our ground for that purpose, without your Lordship's knowing our intention, so that you may write to Propaganda on the point, if you so wish.

6. that we feel the kindness of your offer to write for us to Propaganda, but we will not avail ourselves of it — nor write ourselves — for the simple reason, that, if we do, we shall give Propaganda the impression that we are contemplating something more than the performance of spiritual duties in Oxford.

7. that we contemplate, as our first step, to build a Church on such a site as we can best provide for it.

This is all that strikes me to say — I have put it down in a formal shape, that you may more easily see if I have left out any thing which it might be desirable to say¹

¹ On our side we, the Congregatio Deputata, fear the interposition of Propaganda in the affairs of the Birmingham Oratory

² Also we fear that, if Propaganda came in, the ground which we may buy as individuals may get mixed up with Church property

³ Also as to the Bishop's wish that Mr Comberbach, the present Missioner, should not contemplate any longer the purchase of land for the site of a church — because the Oratory will provide it, here again there is the fear that what Fr Ambrose or I may buy as individuals may be mixed up with what is Church property.'

Newman then sketched out his letter of 26 Sept. to Ullathorne.

¹ Ullathorne replied on 27 Sept., 'The exposition of your intentions respecting Oxford in your letter of yesterday is in all respects as satisfactory as it can be, both to my judgment and feelings. And I also think you act judiciously in declining my offer to write to Propaganda.'

27 SEPTEMBER

Begging your Lordship's blessing and prayers especially, on this occasion

I am, My dear Lord, Your affte & obedient Servt in Xt

John H Newman of the Oratory¹

The Rt Revd the Bp of Birmingham

TUESDAY 27 SEPTEMBER 1864 Ambrose and Wm [William] went to Oxford and back

TO ALEXANDER MACMILLAN

[27 September 1864]

My dear Mr Macmillan

I gladly give permission, as far as I am concerned, for the insertion into Mrs Alexander's Selection of poetry of my verses on 'the call of David.' However, the copyright of the *Lyra Apostolica* belongs to Mr Keble.²

It will please me much to receive a letter from you at any time on the subject to which you refer³

J H N

WEDNESDAY 28 SEPTEMBER 1864 Ambrose came to Rednall in evening

TO J. R. BLOXAM

Rednall Sept 28/64

My dear Bloxam

Thank you for your most kind letter. All through the summer I have had schemes of getting to you — but without success, partly because I have been

All that now remains is to consider when the Mission of Oxford shall be transferred to the Oratory. . . .'

Ullathorne read Newman's letter of 26 Sept. at the meeting of the English bishops on 13 Dec., and conveyed the substance of it to Barnabò on 4 Jan. 1865.

¹ Newman made a memorandum on 27 Sept., 'N.B.

The Bishop in fact *sells* us the Oxford Mission for the gift-to-the-Church of *ground* for a new Church — this is his *quid pro quo* — and it must be ever borne in mind as such. We *give* a £1000.

I think we should *make up our mind* to buy it, and should buy it with a portion of our Birmingham Oratory Church property. . . .

. . . from first to last, wherever the £1000 is, it will be Church property.'

² Macmillan wrote on 26 Sept. for this permission, since he was about to publish *The Sunday Book of Poetry*, London 1864, edited by Mrs Alexander, wife of the future Archbishop of Armagh. 'The Call of David', is in *Lyra Apostolica*, LVII. Vv. pp. 118–20.

³ Macmillan wrote, 'I have refrained, for obvious reasons, from writing you again on the subject which led to an intercourse, which though accompanied with many painful circumstances, I yet feel to have been a great privilege to me. With your kind permission I will one day write you at some length.' See letter of 8 Jan. 1864 to Macmillan, who, however, seems not to have reopened correspondence with Newman.

27 SEPTEMBER 1864

so busy, partly because I have been (thank God) so well. I don't like to leave home without a real reason. Such I have not had. It is natural to say 'You should go in the fine season —' but I say No — for our midland climate is harsh — and I prefer to escape it in second best weather than to abandon it when it is fine — and therefore the magnificence of this past summer and present autumn has been a third reason against moving.

Looking forward to the pleasure of getting to your place at one time or another,

I am, My dear Bloxam, Affectionately Yours John H Newman

P.S. I never forget September 22. I am told, as I have hoped, that my planting has told at Littlemore. They say, it now looks *green*. What a change! Did they not call the wretched row of houses, Mount pleasant? Is it still there?¹

TO THOMAS GAISFORD

Rednal, September 28th. 1864

My dear Mr. Gaisford,

I write a line merely to keep you up to the course of matters as regards the Oxford ground.

The Bishop has told me, what in substance I knew before, that till Propaganda decides the matter, no ecclesiastic can take any step which is of the nature of a co-operation with the University and Colleges of Oxford — this, however, does not of course apply to the provisional purchase of ground, or to any act on the part of laymen.

And, what is more to the purpose of my letter, Sir Rowland Blennerhassett has set about getting means for the purchase of the 2½ acres which we do not purchase. I did not mention your name to him, but I thought you would like to know what is going on.

I am, my dear Mr. Gaisford, Sincerely yours, John H. Newman.

T. Gaisford Esq.,

P.S. There is a talk on the part of our Bishop, of a subscription, in a little time, for an Oxford 'Memorial' Church of the movement.

I have written to Sir J. Simeon and told him about the ground, and that I have been in correspondence with you on the subject.

¹ Bloxam, who sent his congratulations concerning *Apo.* on 22 Sept, referred to his special remembrance of Newman on that day. It was the anniversary of the consecration of the church at Littlemore in 1836, which also marked the beginning of Bloxam's friendship with Newman. See *Newman and Bloxam*, London 1947, pp. 34-5. The Mount Pleasant houses not far from the church, lasted on until about 1920.

28 SEPTEMBER 1864

TO CARDINAL WISEMAN

Rednall Sept 28. 1864

My dear Lord Cardinal

I heard by accident yesterday, on what seemed good authority, that your Eminence had expressed surprise at my not having sent you an answer to a condescending letter which you wrote to me some months ago.¹ If I have been misinformed, I have to apologize for giving you the trouble of reading these lines; but if the report be true, then I write to express my great sorrow that I should have been the cause of any such pain to your Eminence, and in a few words to account to you for my silence.

I ventured to send you the first part of my *Apologia* on its publication, and your Eminence's letter to me, which is the subject of the report, was an acknowledgment in very kind and flattering terms of your having received it.

I took it as such — and should have considered it unusual, and almost officious, to have made a rejoinder to what was itself an answer to an act in which I had taken the initiative. I thought my best reply would be to send you the whole Volume, when it was completed, and this I did.²

I hope that this explanation will remove an impression of which I heard with much regret the existence.

Edgbaston, Michaelmas Day. Our Bishop contemplates putting the Oxford mission into our hands: our view in accepting it would be that of ultimately founding an Oratory there. Some friends wish a subscription opened for a Church there commemorative of the Oxford Movement. In that case I should take the liberty of applying for the aid of your Eminence, whose zeal had so much to do with the direction which it eventually took.

Kissing the Cardinalitian purple I am, My dear Lord Cardinal,
Your Eminence's obedient Servt in Xt
John H Newman of the Oratory³

His Eminence The Cardinal Wiseman

THURSDAY 29 SEPTEMBER 1864 I went to Edgbaston. Boys came to Rednall

TO SIR ROWLAND BLENNERHASSETT

The Oratory Birmingham Sept 29. 1864

My dear Sir Rowland

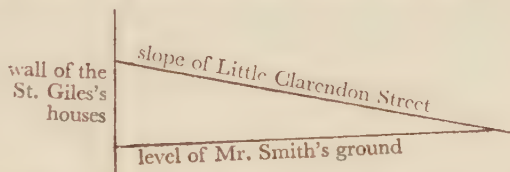
The report of our Fathers on the Oxford ground was not so satisfactory as yours, and makes us doubtful whether we must not fix on a different portion of it than that which I showed you on Tuesday.

¹ Newman heard this report from Richard Ward, now a Canon of Clifton. Newman sent Wiseman the first Part of *Apo*. The latter replied with a short letter of thanks on 27 April.

² Wiseman sent his thanks in a brief note on 2 July, saying he had read *Apo*. 'with great pleasure and admiration'.

³ Wiseman never answered this letter. See letter of 5 May 1865 to Monsell.

The land slopes down from St Giles's to Walton Street — but Mr Smith's ground does *not* slope — rather, it slopes the other way — for, about a 100 years ago, it was used as a gravel pit for the city — and the level of it under the wall of the St Giles's gardens is about 8 feet lower than the level of Clarendon Street — so that the *drains* of the St Giles's gardens are *overhead*, as you stand on Mr Smith's ground. Moreover, some of the earth there seems to be rubbish, thrown in to fill up some of the holes of the pit.



Now, if purchasers could lay out money, this feature of the ground might be turned to advantage. Slopes of earth might be formed along the St Giles's walls and planted with trees. The aspect is capital, and you might have as fine wall fruit as you have in the *moat* of Deal Castle etc etc. You might have grand terraces, flights of steps etc etc. However, for ourselves, we are frightened. I cannot get advice from others just now — as the whole house, including the boys are away at Rednall, but my own impression is that we shall be driven for a site for Church and Oratory to the *frontage* on Walton Street, if we can afford it.

I wished to give you as early information as possible. I only heard it last night, being at Rednall.

As I am writing, will you be so good as to convey my best acknowledgements to Sir William for the game — I don't like to trouble him with a letter¹

Ever Yours most sincerely John H Newman of the Oratory

TO ERNEST BARON MOIJ DE SONS

The Oratory, Birmingham Michaelmas day, 1864

Sir,

I learn with the deepest gratification the special and most unexpected honour which has been done me by the Catholic Congress of Germany, assembled at Wurzburg, as signified to me in the letter, which, as its president, you have addressed to me; and while I beg you to accept my best thanks for the kind language in which you communicate to me its resolution, I beg to ask of you the additional favour of conveying to its members my hearty acknowledgments in return for their most gracious and condescending act.² To have interested, by a step which I took at the call of duty, not only the Catholics of my own country but those of the many states and peoples included under the great name of Germany, is a happiness which I share with few; and as I have

¹ Sir Nicholas William Throckmorton, of Coughton Court, Alcester.

² This letter, of 15 Sept., congratulating Newman on his defence of the Catholic Church is published in *Apo.* pp. 377-8. Charles Ernest Moij de Sons (1799-1867), was a professor first at Würzburg and then at Innsbrück. He wrote chiefly on the canon law of marriage.

seldom, in the course of my life, had a severer trial than that which recently befel me, so on the other hand, I never had one in which the pain which it inflicted was so speedily and summarily extinguished in the generous succour of friends and well-wishers.

Surely I cannot be wrong in looking upon the approbation which has been extended to me by so many good Catholics as an encouragement given to me from the source of all blessing; and under this feeling I shall carefully preserve your letter as an acceptable testimonial to myself, and as an heirloom for those who come after me in the Oratory of Birmingham.

I am, Sir, with profound respect, Your obedient humble servant in Christ,
J. H. Newman, Priest of the Oratory.

TO AMBROSE SMITH

The Oratory, Birmingham Sept. 29. 1864

Dear Sir,

I have heard of the great difficulty which Frs St John and Neville found on Tuesday in the difference of level between your ground and the neighbouring streets, and in the existence of an old gravel pit upon it.

1. Certainly the ground could be made very handsome with terraces, flights of steps, planted mounds of earth etc etc — but all *this would cost a great deal of money.*

2. The houses which you build along Little Clarendon Street, (with their kitchens on the level of your own land) will *overlook* our garden

These two considerations, the expense and the over-looking, joined to the difficulty of the opening into St John's Street, are much in the way of my wish, to which I otherwise adhere, of buying the ground which I proposed. Some of us will call on you at Oxford on Monday, and I put down as follows for your consideration.

The Bishop, observe, objects to buying what you call the Mission piece marked A, now that the Church can be built on our ground. Suppose then 1st for the Oratory to buy piece A

2nd. for me to buy an *acre* next to it about 57 yards along Walton St and up to the further side of the continuation of St John St marked B

3 Fr St John to buy his half acre next to my acre C

Thus we two and the Oratory should be buying nearly 2 acres

4 Instead of the St John Street opening, to take £200 from off the piece A, i.e. let the Oratory buy it for £700

Then it would stand — Oratory $\frac{1}{2}$ acre £700

My acre

Fr St John's $\frac{1}{2}$ acre as before

Some friends of mine are still making an effort to buy the rest.

J H N

FRIDAY 30 SEPTEMBER 1864 went to Rednall

TO WILLIAM FROUDE

The Oratory Bm Sept 30. 1864

My dear William

I had already got and partially read the article in *Frazer*.¹ I recognised at once that it expressed your view, which I have not forgotten from the time that you told me of it.² Whether I shall ever bring out my own view as that article brings out the contrary one, remains just as it was. On the one hand I scarcely ever have written without an urgent or compulsive force applied to me — on the other hand it is of course a matter which requires great and careful investigation. Though I have no doubt in my own view, I feel the same diffidence of my power to bring it out as you do of yours. I don't know whether many persons feel like me, as I seem to myself never to be able to do today what I happened to do yesterday. I know nothing about the future though I know well that I should like to write on the subject in question — most especially like and desire and pray to do so.³

As I *have* the *Frazer*, I have not taken yours from its cover, and would

¹ 'Dr Newman's Apologia', *Frazer's Magazine*, (Sept. 1864), pp. 265–303, by the agnostic Fitzjames Stephen, was a sustained attack on Newman's teaching and on the possibility of certainty in religious matters. See postscript to letter of 8 Oct. to Mrs Froude. William Froude's letter of 29 Sept., announcing that he had forwarded a copy of the *Magazine*, is in *Harper*, pp. 177–8. Froude wrote, 'The part of the article which makes me wish to induce you to read it, is that which relates to the application of the proposition "To us probability is the guide of life." . . . And the reason why I especially wish you to read the article is that in the part to which I refer the substance of the views which the writer expresses is more nearly that which I always feel a wish to express, than anything I have elsewhere fallen in with. . . . I know that all the really high cast minds, which are engaged in the advancement of science and also pursue it in that really philosophical spirit which alone serves to consolidate the advances made, *all* treat their own conclusions with a skepticism as profound, and as corroding as that with which they treat Theology.'

'The scientific propositions which are regarded as most certain, are those the probability of which *is being* most continually tested and found to stand the test.'

² See the correspondence with Froude in Jan. 1860.

³ Froude replied on 8 Oct. about the article in *Frazer's Magazine*, 'Conclusive as the argument on which its view rests, appears to me to be, I feel sure that the counter view which so entirely attracts you must be capable of a very powerful and very clear justification, and you are of all men, the one to undertake the exposition of this.'

Froude added, 'The Apologia has been very much read by men of science, and with a feeling of great interest — a feeling which couples the perception of extreme power of mind in the writer, with an anxious and wondering curiosity to know how he substantiates the bridge by which he steps so freely from the state of doubt which (as they feel) inevitably attaches to the results of probabilities, — to the state of absolute certitude which he seems to substitute for this. I travelled with Sir C Lyell the other day to London . . . and he expressed the feeling which I have mentioned, — not indeed as having a misgiving that you would be able to turn the stream back, but as knowing that what you would have to say would deserve very serious consideration.' See also *Harper*, pp. 180–1.

In the ensuing years Newman resumed work on the question of certitude, and *A Grammar of Assent* was published on 15 March 1870.

On 13 Oct. 1865 Fitzjames Stephen called at the Oratory to discuss his article. See diary for that day.

30 SEPTEMBER 1864

send it at once back, unless it were in appearance ungracious to do so. I dare say it is your only copy.

There is (I say it in confidence) a chance of our having the Mission in Oxford. If so, I should be necessarily brought there from time to time myself — and this might force me to write on these subjects. I hope you and your wife are well.

Ever Yrs most affly John H Newman of the Oratory
Wm Froude Esq

TO ROBERT ORNSBY

The Oratory Bm 'Sept 30/64'

My dear Ornsby

I should have written to you to thank you for Miss Meadowes's kind remembrance of me long before this, had I not been so overrun with correspondence and the like. This is why I have not yet written to her to thank her, which I mean to do.¹

Lately I have seen several Dublin faces, e.g. 'Sullivan and Hayden, whose kindness in coming I felt very much, and they gave me certainly a hopeful view of the University — that is, it seemed by their account to be exerting an influence in favour of Catholicism, whatever be its internal difficulties — and these I trust will work themselves out. I think it a gain that it is not banished to the neighbourhood of Drumcondra, which is excellent for a Seminary, but who ever heard of a University in the country? Then again, if it keeps the neighbourhood of Stephen's Green, the University Church will not be abandoned, and that again I am glad of.² By the bye, I heard, what you did not mention, that Anderdon had returned to Dublin, and all his ladies to the University Church.³

I am sorry you could not come our way; but perhaps you will be brought to Stone again, and so to us.⁴

Ever Yours affectly in Xt John H Newman of the Oratory
R. Ornsby Esqr

SATURDAY 1 OCTOBER 1864 came back to Edgbaston. Frank came in evening
F. W. Newman passed two nights at Oratory

¹ See letter of 28 Aug. to Pattison.

² See letter of 11 July to Ornsby.

³ Anderdon had left Dublin in 1863. In 1865, he was appointed Manning's secretary when he latter became Archbishop of Westminster.

⁴ Ornsby wrote on 31 July that his daughter, who was at school with the Dominican nuns at Stone, wished to enter their Convent.

I OCTOBER 1864

TO THE EDITOR OF THE CHURCHMAN

The Oratory Birmingham Octr 1. 1864

Sir,

I take the liberty of writing to you a few lines in acknowledgment of the Review of my recent Volume which you have inserted in the columns of the Churchman, and which I have just been reading with great interest.¹

I feel much gratitude to the writer of it for the very kind and touching way in which he speaks of me, and I beg of you the favour in addition, of conveying to him this expression of my feelings²

I am, Sir Your obedient Servant John H Newman

The Editor of the Churchman

SUNDAY 2 OCTOBER 1864 went with Frank [Newman] to Rednall and back. Mrs Owen Jones in Edgbaston

MONDAY 3 OCTOBER Frank went. Dr Greenhill called. Mr Morell to dinner Edward and Wm [William] went to Oxford

TO J. F. LLOYD

The Oratory Birmingham Oct 3 1864

Sir

I thank you for the kind feeling which has suggested your letter; and my confidence in that kind feeling is my warrant for believing that you will allow me without offence to tell you in reply, that you know nothing at all of our doctrines, though you think you do, that you have to learn what it is you are assailing before you can legitimately assail it, and that you cannot reasonably expect to convince me that I am wrong, till, putting aside assumption and Misconception, you address me with the weapons of Fact and Argument.

To propose to convince a Catholic by such arguments as "The Church of Rome does not appear to be aware of this certain fact, that God Almighty is

¹ The Review of *Apo.* in the Anglo-Catholic periodical, the *Churchman*, (29 Sept. 1864), pp. 973-5, remarked that "To those who recollect John Henry Newman as the Vicar of St. Mary's, Oxford, the "Apologia" is the finding again something they had lost and missed for years. . . . The book, indeed, is open to all the world to read it, and to find out what they can from it; but its full meaning is reserved for those who years ago loved and honoured John Henry Newman greatly, and who being then perplexed and made very sorrowful by the line he took, find now, when the keen disappointment of the high hopes of the past is softened by time and memory, the key to what they could not understand."

² This letter was shown to the reviewer, William Fraser, (1824-77), Vicar of Alton, Staffordshire, 1858 to death, who went up to Worcester College, Oxford, in 1841. He wrote on 28 Oct. 1864, 'Though I had not the honour of knowing you personally at Oxford your sermons both at S. Mary's and published had considerable effect on my character giving me definite instead of vague religious impressions, and I owe you very much indeed.'

See also letter of 9 Dec. to Fraser.

4 OCTOBER 1864

neither a liar nor a quibbler' is like catching a bird by putting salt upon its tail. You assume what you have to prove.¹

I am, respectfully, Sir, Your obedient servant John H Newman
J. F. Lloyd Esq

TUESDAY 4 OCTOBER 1864 went to Rednall

TO HELEN DOUGLAS FORBES

Rednall. Octr 4/64

(rough copy)

My dear Madam

I have read your very painful letter with great interest. No apology was necessary for your writing to me — at the same time I cannot argue on the subject, nor do you wish it, as I understand you — but you wish to know what I should say, what would be my judgment, on a case such as yours.

From what you tell me, I dare say it is as you consider — you were received prematurely. You ought to have been more fully prepared for the step before you took it. I have known some men, and more women, who have been in your case. We cannot escape much mental uneasiness and trial in the course of so great a change — and, if we do not patiently go through with it before reception, it comes upon us afterwards. That is my experience; if you had waited till your convictions were fully formed, I believe you would have been spared this great suffering since your change of religion.

However, your changes and alterations of feeling cannot alter external and objective facts; they cannot make truth falsehood or falsehood truth. If the Catholic Church, and no other, is the fold of salvation, if the Anglican communion is external to that Church and that fold, and these points I answer in the affirmative, it follows that, though you may have come into that Church and fold in a wiser happier way, yet in it you are, and to go back would be [a] most deplorable step. A man may make a short cut to his destination, and wound and tear himself amid rocks and underwood, which he might have been saved, had he come along the road, and those wounds and lacerations may leave their effects on him for years, for life, but how could I say to such a one, who has arrived thus at his true home, at the castle of strength and protection, go back again, and make your approaches once more secundum artem, according to rule? Impossible! I believe that you are now in that Ark of God, out of which, (as St Jerome says) no one can be saved; and though I know perfectly well, and rejoice in knowing, that invincible ignorance is a possible state, and no one can be condemned for doing that which he did not know was wrong,

¹ The recipient of this letter has not been identified.

and again though I will judge no man, and, even though you (which God forbid) returned to Protestantism, would not dare to judge you absolutely, thus encroaching upon the prerogative of the Most High, yet don't think me severe when I refer to the text in which our Saviour says, that even *He* did not judge in the days of His flesh, yet a fearful judgment did remain, and that the hour would come, when a man's own conscience, enlightened at length even against his will by the one standard of truth, would deliver judgment against himself in many a case in which in this life he had been blinded to think that his conscience acquitted him, 'If any man hear my words and keep them not, I do not judge him; . . . the word that I have spoken, the same shall judge him in the last day.'¹

Pray do not think I do not enter into that solitariness, of which you complain — and of the strange and (so to say) foreign appearance which the Church presents to you. Others have felt this before you, but, O my dear Madam, why do you not speak of the Blessed Sacrament? why have you not found your comfort there? why, in all your troubles, have you not sought His Presence, who is your God before all, and, kneeling before Him, asked Him to be your light and treasure and great reward? I have said 'why have you *not*' and perhaps you will tell me that you have — but if so, how is it that you mention your solitariness, without speaking of him with whom you are not solitary, who is the stay and delight and Pearl of price to the solitary? I don't know how to think that what you consider 'conscience' would continue to seem to you such, if you came before Him, and asked Him *what* you should do to be saved. Is it possible you can fancy that any gain in Anglicanism can make up to you for this loss? is it possible that, after worshipping and partaking your Incarnate Lord in the Catholic Church, you can ever believe an Anglican place of prayer, the Anglican rite, to be any thing else than a tomb of what once was living, the casket of a treasure which has been lost? You must bear with me, if I speak to you according for [to] my own view of things, because it is for that that you have asked — and, as answering this demand of yours, I say, — I certainly do not know you, and it is presumptuous in me to attempt properly to understand your feelings or your trials, but this I know that God is true and does not unsay what He has said; and this I believe, that He has built a great Temple, one and every where, and has taken His seat in it, and unites Himself to all who come before Him there, and that to have left Him, to have left after He has specially brought one near Him, is the most forlorn, miserable, awful of all states in which one can cast one's soul

Excuse me, and with every kind wish and prayer, believe me to be

Most truly Yours John H Newman²

¹ *John* 12:47-8.

² Helen Douglas Forbes, who had become a Catholic in 1846, replied on 16 Oct. from Walpole Lodge, Brighton, that she had neither comfort nor peace. See also letter of 28 April 1865 to her.

5 OCTOBER 1864

TO ISAAC WILLIAMS

Rednall Oct 4/64

My dear Isaac

Thank you for your kind wish, but I don't expect to be able to respond to it. It would be a great pleasure to me to see your boys — but I am kept close to Birmingham just now by various matters of business — and every day has, or may have, its work.

Greenhill called on me yesterday. I had not seen him for 20 years. He has got a grand beard, but, in spite of it, he looks younger than he did when I knew him — has lost his (*pace illius*) solemnity of manner, and was very pleasant.¹

I know how beautiful your place is, tho' I never was there, and I shall keep your letter to avail myself of the directions which it contains

Ever Yours affectly John H Newman

The Revd I. Williams

TO DANIEL JONES, S. J.

Rednall Oct 5/64

My dear Father Jones

I thank you very much for the kindness of your letter, and have taken a few posts before answering it. You doubtless know the constitution of the Oratory, and therefore any recommendation of yours comes with weight. On consideration, however, I think it best to decline the proposal which you have made us, and I shall be obliged by your doing me the additional favours of conveying my thanks to Mr Mathew for the compliment he has paid us, and telling him at the same time that we cannot avail ourselves of it.

We certainly are in want of novices — but we are quite as much in want of money — and our rule is that every member should bring a pension sufficient to keep him. This ought not to be less than £80 a year. We have not indeed in matter of fact, all of us, such a pension — but for that very reason we cannot take more Fathers without one. And besides, as we have no vows, it has been ever the custom of the Oratory, (besides the long novicate) to look out for members among those whom they have long personally known — and in matter of fact we find from experience that there is very little chance of perseverance, in the case of novices who suddenly come from some distant place or distinct school. I have thought you would allow me to write thus frankly to you on the subject, though it may seem officious, as I wish to avoid the oppo-

¹ William Alexander Greenhill, had been one of Newman's churchwardens at St Mary's, Oxford.

7 OCTOBER 1864

site alternative of seeming insensible to your kindness by not giving you my reasons.

If Fr O'Reilly is with you, give him my very affectionate respects, and tell him I always think with pleasure of the time of my intimacy with him, and am often tempted to take up my pen and trouble him with some theological question.¹

Believe me to be, with my best remembrances to him and others of your community whom I may know

Sincerely Yours in Xt John H Newman of the Oratory

The Revd D. Jones S.J.

TO AMBROSE ST JOHN

Rednall Wednesday Oct 5/64

My dear A

1. I *suppose* our condition is accepted and the land bought.
2. If so, think twice before *you* buy any land.
3. You can be of the greatest possible service to me by *buying one of the St Giles's* houses.
4. I might be able to aid, if £2500 won't do it.
- 5 Then we should have a ready made Presbytery connected with our church ground *till* we set up an Oratory formally.
6. If you are gone before this comes, then, *you*, Edward, Austin, William, some one, telegraph to him at Mr A. Smith's at once, 'Decide nothing about your purchase, till you talk with us,' or the like.
7. I said Mass for you this morning, Angeli Custodes.²

Yrs affly J H N

THURSDAY 6 OCTOBER 1864 Ambrose came to Rednall

FRIDAY 7 OCTOBER came back to Bm [Birmingham] with Ambrose

MEMORANDUM ABOUT THE OXFORD LAND

Octr 7. 1864

N B We have to decide today about purchasing the land at Oxford.

1. We were originally addressed on the subject by Mr A. Smith's son-in-law who came to Birmingham in the beginning of August for that purpose.

¹ Edmund O'Reilly had been Newman's Professor of Dogmatic Theology at the Catholic University of Ireland. Jones was Master of Novices for the Irish Jesuit Province, Milltown Park, Dublin.

² The feast of the Guardian Angels, 2 Oct., transferred to 5 Oct. in 1864, was the day on which St John became a Catholic in 1845.

2. The whole piece, nearly 5 acres, was offered to us for £8600 by Mr Smith.
3. Our sole view at that time was the purchase of it with a view to the establishment of a College there eventually by the Catholic body — not with any view of a personal nature.
4. On writing to friends we could not get the money. Then I thought of purchasing ground for an Oratory, with such a margin in point of extent that we might in time to come sell a portion of it to the promoters of a College plan. We thought too we might take University men into our own Oratorian House as lodgers.
5. This last idea the Bishop put an end to. He said that ecclesiastics could not, till Propaganda gave leave, in any way recognise the University. However, he had offered us the Mission, and now seemed to add that he could not sanction a plan of an Oratory unless we took the Mission.
6. Various Fathers were away, it being Vacation time — and I acted chiefly with William. My plan now was ground for a Mission, an Oratory, and, if so be, a College.
7. The only friend who put money into our hands was Hope Scott. He gave us £1000. Fr Ambrose was willing to buy land for himself and his own purposes, not for the Oratory, unless they chose ultimately to buy it of him, to the extent of £1220 or so — thinking thereby to back up the acceptableness of any proposal that we might make to Mr Smith.
8. For myself, I had only one great point, on which I insisted, in the choice of ground viz. to connect our portion with St Giles's and not with Walton Street. On this I insisted the more, because Walton Street, being on the whole a handsome Street, with one or two good buildings in it, Worcester College and the Printing Office, might be a temptation at first sight.
9. First I offered for two acres, in continuation of half an acre upon Walton Street which was next to what was called by Mr Smith the Mission piece, by which arrangement we should have cut the ground in half from West to East, by a line running across it from Walton Street to St Giles's gardens, — for the sum of £3440, this being the average price, supposing the whole ground was five acres — i.e. two fifths of £8600, the price of the whole.

$$\left(\frac{8600}{5}\right) = 1720 \times 2 = 3440$$

10. This was concluded, by Mr Smith's coming to us — and next day (I think) Ambrose and William went over to look over the ground. Meanwhile, I recollected that nothing had been said about securing a way into St John's Street, in order to have an approach without going into Walton Street — and this broke off the arrangement.

11. The two Fathers brought back an unfavorable account of the level of the ground, and this again, made us pause.

12. And then after this came another ground of unsettlement. We saw Mr Smith's plan for apportioning the land into lots; and lots were not above 16 or 18 feet broad. This showed that our neighbours would be a class only one

step advanced above the poor, and therefore that we must buy the whole ground, as Mr S. had all along urged us, or be able to *wall ourselves* off from them. It was an additional reason too for getting an outlet from our ground into St Giles's without going through Walton Street. It added therefore additional reasons against the two acres and a half with a frontage to Walton Street, and no other, which we with Ambrose had almost concluded on.

13. It seemed necessary then to choose the St Giles's end of the ground, which would have an outlet into St Giles's by Little Clarendon Street, or at the burying ground end, or by the purchase (better still) [of] one of the houses and grounds in St Giles's bounding the piece we should buy (e.g. Syms or Mallam's). Or if not this the original 'Mission Bit' (which would admit of an entrance into St John's Street by renting one of the houses and gardens in that Street connecting the street with the Mission Bit) and an acre of frontage to Walton Street adjoining.

14. Mr Smith refused the latter proposal, and consented to the former, cutting off two acres about, with a line from north to south at the St Giles's end, which he offered us for £3570.

Oct 7. 1864

Now as to my own views

(About this time I brought the following before the General Congregation)

1. My real and one reason for thinking of an Oratory at all, is the chance of its bringing novices to the Birmingham Oratory. If it is not likely to do so, there is an end of the matter as far as I am concerned.

2. My ostensible and sufficient ground is that of wishing to take care of the young Catholics who go to the Protestant Colleges.

3. My ground of expectation that we could make the Mission pay, is, not any reliance on University aid, but on the aid of a class of persons chiefly ladies who have grown up in Oxford since I was there — Professors' families etc etc. Again resident M A's etc etc. whether they were actually converted or not.

4. I do not rely on myself — nor do I wish any one else to do so — I cannot answer that I can do any thing myself — and wish nothing resolved on from expectation that I can do any thing. I am too old to be able prudently to reckon on myself.

5. Besides as my published Parochial Sermons are passé, so might be my preaching. It was a novelty 30 years ago; now people have caught me up or surpassed me.

6. I might make a great failure, and it would be a real one, if made at Oxford. I should have damaged my work.

8 OCTOBER 1864

TO THOMAS ARNOLD

Octr 8/64

My dear Arnold

I do not at all wonder that you should rate your services more highly than we seem to do by the salary with which we acknowledge them; nor do we complain of your thinking it right to look at the question simply from your own point of view, and not at all from ours.

For ourselves, we should frankly own that there are those among our Masters who are not adequately remunerated; and we feel as sorry, as you must be, that the insufficiency of your own income has obliged you, instead of giving us your whole services, to weary yourself out of school hours by superintending the studies of pupils from Birmingham, of whom we know nothing. A step such as this, which you feel to be an imperative duty to your family, of course prepares us for the application to us in your letter of the 6th for 'a considerable addition to your salary,' and that on the ground of justice.

However, with all those feelings of pain, which arise out of my personal respect and liking for you, I have but one very plain answer to make. Even as it is, we pay year by year on the school account far more than we receive; and, if we increased your salary, we should simply increase our annual deficit. I have laid your letter before our governing body; and we are unanimous in considering, sorry as we are to say so, that we cannot hold out to you the slightest prospect of any increase of salary. We should not be honest with you unless we said this right out.

Moreover, your letter suggests to us that you have an idea of relinquishing your connection with us, an idea to which you gave expression in a letter which you wrote to me last Christmas.¹ I assure you, my dear Arnold, that we have the utmost delicacy in asking you to remain with us after two such intimations, and, since you seem to have turned your thoughts elsewhere, we are desirous to do every thing in our power to facilitate in a pecuniary point of view any plan which you may on consideration adopt.

J H N

TO MRS WILLIAM FROUDE

The Oratory Bm Oct 8/64

....²

¹ See letter of 4 Jan. 1864 to Arnold. On 6 Oct. Arnold asked for 'a considerable addition' to his salary, arguing from the statistics in the *Report* of the Public Schools Commission.

² The first part of this letter has not been copied, but the following undated fragment about R. E. Froude, if it does not belong to the letter of 28 July to W. Froude, may be part of it:—

'I could not help seeing that his was a very different case of mind from Hurrell's. He is not a boy who is content to go, what you would call half way — and I thought it likely that the

9 OCTOBER 1864

I agree with what you say about Faith and Reason, the doctrine of the Divine Being, Attributes, Providence etc etc — nor do I think it possible to prove what is the truth on these great subjects, except to minds under the influence of certain principles — but this in fact is the very thing I should aim at logically bringing out. 'Wisdom is justified by her children —' not by those who are not children of wisdom. I certainly do think that the world is tending to Atheism, because its principles are working freely. This thesis may be widely illustrated, and, when it is so done, it assumes in philosophy the dignity of being a Principle. Men may agree with it or not, but they are obliged to recognise and respect it. Thus, within the last day or two, the *Times* in a leading article against Dr Ellicott, Bishop of Bristol, says, that his charge against the Reason of the day, is a *railing*, because he has no remedy; — it ends in itself — whereas Dr Newman, with whom he Dr E. agrees, has a word *more* to say, viz that the *remedy* of this abuse of reason is the Infallibility of the Church. It is not that the *Times* agrees with me — but it seems to recognise in Catholic doctrine intelligibility and practical tangibleness and availableness which are not found in Anglicanism¹

Ever Yrs affectly in Xt John H. Newman

Mrs Froude

N.B. I think that you have drawn out the right way of fighting the Philistines — they have nothing to show in answer to you. Mr Stephen's article had many misconceptions of my meaning.²

TO J. P. TAYLOR

The Oratory Bm Oct 9, 1864

My dear Sir,

I feel very much the kindness which has dictated your letter, and also the

force of thought and feeling which brought him into the Church, would not have been content to be nothing more than a layman. Next, I saw he formed an intimacy at once with two boys, who were supposed to have vocations for a priesthood, H. Wilberforce and V. Hornyold, though they have nothing of his talent or attainments. I suspect too, or he told me, that, when he went to see Hurrell, he called on H. Wilberforce at Ushaw.'

R. E. Froude's brother, Richard Hurrell Froude, was studying at Newcastle-on-wyne. The two boys mentioned were at the Oratory School when R. E. Froude went there in 1863.

¹ *The Times*, (4 Oct. 1864), p. 6, in a leading article attacked Bishop Ellicott of Gloucester and Bristol for remarks he had made on the progress of scepticism, which he wished to see rebuked by Convocation. *The Times* commented, 'If we understand Bishop Ellicott aright, his view of our religious condition and prospect resembles that of Dr. Newman,' but later remarked, (with *Apo.* pp. 245-6 on the role of infallibility in mind), 'Dr. Newman agrees with the Bishop in regarding reason unrestrained by authority, as the implacable adversary of Faith, but then he would employ engines of spiritual warfare, capable in his opinion of crushing it. The Bishop of Gloucester sees, or fancies he sees, infidelity coming in like a flood, but contents himself with railing at it. Such tactics are not only useless, they are fatal in the extreme.'

² i.e. Fitzjames Stephen's article in *Fraser's Magazine*. See letter of 30 Sept. to William Froude. Newman made a number of marks and annotations in his copy of the article.

10 OCTOBER 1864

compliment which you have paid me in engaging in the work which has led to your writing it.¹

A great number of the notices which you have set down in your list have been sent me — others have not. A friend of mine here is collecting all such — and I have put those which I have into his hands. I will make enquiry in what state his collection is, and then, if you please, I will write again to you on the subject.

Very faithfully Yours John H Newman of the Oratory

J. P. Taylor Esqr

MONDAY 10 OCTOBER 1864 Mr Speering came from Oxford to give us advice about the ground Chapters recommenced. Oratory recommenced²

TO FRANCIS RICHARD WEGG-PROSSER

The Oratory Birmingham October 10. 1864

My dear Mr Wegg Prosser,

I shall be very glad to see you and Fr Bede Vaughan here, as you propose.³ As I go to and fro between this place and our cottage at Rednall, perhaps you will be so kind as to give me notice of your coming, lest I be away. It is just the same to me whether I am here or there; indeed I am here and there alternate days, so that it could not inconvenience me whenever you came.

I feel very much the kindness of your notice of my recent Volume — It was an extreme distress to me to write it — but I am recompensed by the great sympathy which has been shown me

Very truly Yours in Xt John H Newman of the Oratory

F. R. Wegg Prosser Esqr

TO THOMAS ARNOLD

Oct 11/64

My dear Arnold

It would be a great shame if, with such qualifications as yours, you did not bring them to the best market, nor can we fairly complain of losing you, if we

¹ Taylor wrote on 5 Oct. to say he had made a collection of the notices of *Apo.* in the Protestant press, which he offered to Newman. See letter of 2 Nov. to Taylor. Bittleston was also collecting notices.

² i.e. chapter meetings and the evening prayer in common began again after the summer absences.

³ Wegg-Prosser was thinking of sending his son to the Oratory School. Bede Vaughan, later Archbishop of Sydney, was at this time Prior of Belmont, Hereford.

cannot rise to that scale of remuneration which you can secure elsewhere. It is a duty therefore for us to acquiesce in your decision, with whatever sorrow¹

As to your question, I dare say I have made a mistake; but I thought I heard some time back, not now only, of your having private pupils. You are quite correct in your memory of what I said to you on your coming here; but what I was thinking of when I spoke of leisure time, had reference to literary work, not tuition.²

I will tell you what I meant by facilitating your arrangements. It struck me that perhaps you would have your house on your hands; or might find moving a considerable expense. In that case we should feel a great pleasure in doing what we could to further in those respects any new plan on which you had determined

J H N

TO EDMUND S. FFOULKES

The Oratory Bm Octr 11/64

My dear Mr Ffoulkes

Thank you for your article — but are you sure that you do not come under the animadversion of the recent letter of the Holy Office in writing in the *Union*? I have not seen it, but I am told it is singularly stringent. At all events it hinders priests from having any thing to do with the *Union* — as to laymen I am not sure. I am not sure then that I can religiously co-operate with you by reading it before publication.³

After all, we have not succeeded yet in our negociation with Mr Smith, His sons have not his views. A few days will now decide

Very sincerely yours in Xt John H Newman

E. S. Ffoulkes Esqr

¹ In reply to Newman's letter of 8 Oct. Arnold wrote on 10 Oct. that he must look forward to the close of his connection with the Oratory School.

² Arnold asked the meaning of the last sentence in Newman's letter of 8 Oct., and wrote that he only had one private pupil, and that Newman had originally agreed that he could dispose of his out of school hours as he pleased.

³ The Letter of the Roman Inquisition, dated 16 Sept. 1864, to the English bishops, forbade Catholics to belong to the Association for the Promotion of the Unity of Christendom, and blamed those who had contributed to its organ the *Union Review*. The decision was promulgated by Ullathorne in a public letter to his clergy. He complained that 'Correspondents bearing the Catholic name, who are disappointed, discontented, half instructed, or lax in their sense of what Catholic faith or discipline exacts, find a welcome for their communications, anonymous or otherwise' in the *Union Review*, and referred to an article of which Ffoulkes was the author. *A Letter on the Association for the Promotion of the Unity of Christendom*, London 1864, p. 41. Cf. Butler's *Ullathorne* I, pp. 346-50; *de Lisle* I, pp. 386-9.

Ffoulkes had evidently asked Newman to read and advise on an article, presumably his 'Oxford Tests Abolition Bill', the *Union Review*, (Nov. 1864), pp. 555-72.

11 OCTOBER 1864

TO AMBROSE SMITH

The Oratory, Birmingham Octr 11. 1864

Dear Mr Smith,

I fear I must go back to what I said in my letter written to you in my name by Mr Neville about September 7: in which I estimated the value of the inner acre, in which lies the burying ground at a far lower price than you had named in it.¹

I know perfectly well how much you desire to promote the interests of the Church if you can do so consistently with those imperative claims which lie upon you to make good those liabilities which are involved in your purchase of the land.

And I am happy to say that a movement is still on foot independent of us to buy a portion of your ground for the purposes of a Catholic college. But I must frankly confess that you have yourself injured the success of this movement, both as regards ourselves, and other Catholics, by not giving us at once a fair space of time to act in. We were bound first to the end of August, then to September 8, then to September 15; and so we begged our way up to this time and we told you when we first treated with you that one of our friends was four days post off. Much less could we despatch letters to catch up travellers on the Continent.

Now what I offer you is this; If you draw a line across your land parallel to the wall along the St Giles' gardens at the distance of 206 feet up from the St Giles' corner of Little Clarendon Street to the opposite boundary on the south, I offer you £2500 for the portion included.

I am, dear Mr. Smith, Very truly yours, J. H. Newman²

A. Smith Esqre

TO BISHOP ULLATHORNE

The Oratory Octr 11/64

My dear Lord

Fr St John and I called on your Lordship on Sunday to explain our delay in answering your letter of September 27.

I am sorry to say, that, hardly had I written to you on (I think) September 20, stating that we had concluded a bargain with Mr Smith for the land, when a hitch arose. I wrote to him about it next day. As it did not threaten to be serious for some days, it did not seem worth stopping the course of my correspondence with your Lordship, or my letter to you of the 27th.³

¹ Letter of 8 Sept.

² Ambrose Smith died on 16 Oct. before giving a final answer. On 24 Oct. Newman agreed to buy the whole of the land from his son.

³ Newman's letter, which was that of 26 Sept., accepted the Oxford mission. Ullathorne replied on 27 Sept. that it only remained to decide on the date of transfer.

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However, it has at length become important, and we have made several journeys to Oxford with the hope of removing it — as yet in vain. Mr Smith now (yesterday afternoon) asks for our ultimatum by Thursday morning's post, and we are sending it.

What we offer him, is far below what he asks, though many hundreds more than what we consider to be the actual worth of the land. We are desirous to make him a fair addition to this, as a fancy-price from us, and as the profit of his bargain to him. If he will not agree to our terms, we shall tell him that we must await the allotment of the land, and buy when it comes into the market.

This, as you see, suspends our arrangement with your Lordship about the Mission. I will call on you as soon as I hear from Mr Smith.

Yr Lordship's affte Servt & friend John H Newman of the Oratory
The Rt Revd The Bp of Birmingham

TO JOHN DUKE COLERIDGE

The Oratory, Birmingham, October 12, 1864.

My dear Mr Coleridge,

I do not know in what words to express my feeling of the kindness of the letter which I have just received from you. It has been the great mercy of God towards me, that a season of especial trial has had its especial compensation in the extreme personal sympathy shown towards me, by so many men, of such various characters of mind and shades of opinion. I have, indeed, had most equitable and lenient judges.¹

You seem surprised that I should have been so much moved by Mr Kingsley — I will tell you how it came about.

I took him as representing large classes of men, who habitually thought as he spoke; and I found the effect of his pamphlet as authenticating a floating tradition, the tradition of thirty years. A sort of arraignment of me was made before the public, of a formal notion, and that, after ample opportunity, from a long lapse of time, for the termination of the first misunderstanding which encompassed the movement.

Slanders had not, as might have been hoped, died away — there was so much life in them, that Mr Kingsley, without an effort, was able to rekindle them. He brought them all together, with separate counts and a show of evidence. Such a formal trial of a man sometimes occurs on, or after, his death — sometimes in his life-time — generally only once. I felt that it might be now or never with me, and that I could not afford to be the last.

What I found in Birmingham seemed to me a sample of what probably

¹ Coleridge wrote on 10 Oct., 'I cannot help thanking you with all my heart for the writing and publishing of your Apologia. I may humbly claim to be one of those men — no longer young I fear, who have never been in word or thought disloyal to you; and over whose life though I have sometimes been unable to follow you you have exercised ever since I first knew you by sight and as a preacher in 1840 an influence please God purely for good.'

was going on elsewhere. The Liberal Paper of the place, which had hitherto been fairly good-natured to me, turned round, on the publication of Mr Kingsley's pamphlet, and spoke of me as if I were, in point of reputation, irrecoverably damaged, or lost. The idea which it took of me was of a sharp clever writer, who might be expected to retort on Mr Kingsley with extreme adroitness, and run him through, perhaps. But this was a question of talent; as to high honour and conscience, I was nowhere.¹

I had, for some years, had a sort of tacit understanding with myself, that, if ever I was publicly and formally confronted with those charges which from time to time, and in so many different ways, had drifted to my door, I would accept the challenge. I did not think I should ever have the opportunity; and the idea of it was so distasteful to me that I had not taken any step whatever — not so much as writing a line, or noting down one memorandum, or tying together any letters or papers — with a view to the chance of its occurring; so that I was absolutely unprepared for it, when it came. Therefore, when it did come, my actual method of reply arose out of the circumstances of the case, out of the provocation, and through the channel of those feelings, which the provocation excited.

Indeed, I felt that, unless I wrote with the keen feeling which I really had, though it is ordinarily one's duty not to show it, people would not believe me; they would say that my book was written for me, or corrected by revisers, or that I was not in earnest, but exerting myself in an intellectual fence. So that I might as well not write at all, if I didn't give out, as my thought, so my feelings.

And, besides, if I was making a manifestation, as I professed to do, I should not be doing this fully and consistently, if I did not manifest the deep sense, which possessed me, of that injustice which lay at the root of those charges, of which Mr Kingsley was the accidental spokesman.

Moreover, sensitive as I was of the misery of such a manifestation of myself as I was making, I felt it to be some excuse to myself, and some apology to the world for it, to bring out forcibly the gravity of the provocation which I had received, and the indignation which it was adapted to rouse in me.

If I do not apologize to you for all this egotism, it is from a hope that, in explaining myself to you, I am showing best the interest and grateful feeling with which I read your corroboration from your own recollection, of what I had related of myself in my narrative; and with which, especially, I read your kind testimony to such good effects as had followed my preaching at St

¹ Newman is referring to the *Birmingham Daily Post*, (23 March 1864), in its review of Kingsley's pamphlet *What then does Dr. Newman mean?* Kingsley was there described as leaving 'upon the reader's mind this conclusion, which we record with the greatest sorrow, inasmuch as Dr. Newman has lived among us as a peaceful and unostentatious citizen — that the casuistry of Rome has gradually exercised a baleful effect upon the ingenuousness of his mind, and that truth, when weighed in the balances of the Church of Rome, is a very different thing from the simple, stern, grand, majestic, and uncompromising virtue recognised beyond her pale'. The review ended by saying, 'The controversy can hardly be ended with this pamphlet. The "subtle brain" of "the most perfect orator of this generation" will soon evolve a reply. The rapier of the skilful master of fence will not be long in its sheath.'

16 OCTOBER 1864

Mary's. I am often led to call my life a history of failures. It is a great consolation to me to receive evidence, as I do from time to time, that all was not lost, when so much time and anxiety was expended.¹

I am, my dear Mr Coleridge, Very sincerely yours, John H. Newman.

J. D. Coleridge Esq.

P.S. Thank you, I am very well — so well that I have not left home this year.

THURSDAY 13 OCTOBER 1864 Wegg Prosser and Prior Vaughan came and went. Austin and Wm [William] went to Oxf'd and back

FRIDAY 14 OCTOBER Examination of School

SATURDAY 15 OCTOBER Examinations — Acland called. I did not see him

TO THOMAS DYKE ACLAND

The Oratory Bm Octr 16/64

My dear Acland,

When I got to my room yesterday, I found your card, and was told, on inquiry, that you had called about an hour before, in a carriage with two ladies.² It was most unfortunate. I was engaged in examining our schoolboys in Homer and Virgil, and the Porter had not wit enough to find it out. It is no use lamenting what can't be helped — but I write as a relief of my mortification, and also in order to explain to you how it happened.

Did I go through the lists of our Masters and boys, you would recognise many of the names. Among the Masters, we have a son of Dr Arnold — and a grandson of Leigh Richmond, and among the boys a grandson of old Dean Gaisford who has a good turn for Greek. We have a grandson of Bishop Bagot; we have had three Wilberforces, and before now two Ryders, and a Froude.³

I write with the chance of this finding you, directing according to your last letter, and am, My dear Acland,

Sincerely Yours ever, John H Newman

Thos Acland Esqr

¹ Coleridge confirmed the accuracy of Newman's account of Oxford and of his relations with young men from 1840 to 1844, and of his dislike of being followed by them. He added, 'I know also . . . that of my own personal friends there are many who from that day to this have lived better lives and tried more earnestly to love and serve God because of your influence — and I am sure that what I can say in this respect many others can say also. No lapse of time, no difference of opinion can ever destroy or even weaken the feeling with which men most regard you who know that in a true sense under God they owe you their own souls.'

² Acland called with his wife and daughter.

³ Leigh Richmond (1772-1827), was the evangelical divine, author of *The Dairyman's Daughter*. His daughter, Mary Catherine, was the mother of James Marshall, who taught at the Oratory School from 1859 to 1866. Thomas Gaisford, son of the Dean of Christ Church, had sent his son Horace to the Oratory School. Also there was Charles Thynne, whose mother, Harriett Bagot, was the daughter of the Bishop of Oxford, 1829-45.

16 OCTOBER 1864

TO JOHN DUKE COLERIDGE

The Oratory, Birmingham, October 16, 1864.

My dear Mr Coleridge,

In reply to your questions, I have to tell you, first, that my article on Cicero is re-published in a volume of which the following is the title: *History of Roman Literature, With an Introduction, Dissertation on*, etc. Edited by the Rev. H. Thompson, M.A., etc., etc. London, Griffin and Company, 1852. The contents of the volume are by 'the Rev. H. Thompson, the Rev. J. M. Neal, John Henry Newman, the late Rev. Edward Smedley, the late Thomas Arnold, and the Rev. J. B. Ottley.'¹

As to your second question, it puzzles me to put myself in the position of those who ask it.² I never defended Number 90, though I didn't withdraw it. This seemed mysterious. People could not make out whether I thought it untenable or not. The open frank way is, to say out what you have to say, to show fight or to give in. Again, my *friends* defended it, and they gave opposite interpretations. Pusey almost said that the Catholic interpretation of the Articles was the only true interpretation. Ward said that it was a non-natural interpretation. I kept silence; till now, I have never given the reason why I kept silence; now I have given it. It was part of an understanding between myself, and one who had a right to know what the Bishops meant to do or wished, and to speak for them. 'If I kept silence, they would not condemn it.' This was a compromise; and, in the belief of saving it from condemnation, I did keep silence. All that is necessary for the appositeness of the explanation is the fact that I did so understand what was said to me from authority — and this the contemporary letters of mine which I have published sufficiently show.

I cannot conceive why it is necessary to say who told me. I am willing to be considered credulous and dull — though I don't think I was — I think I had the best reason for believing what I believed; but whether I had sufficient reason or not, believe it I did, and that belief accounts for my silence.

As to the objection you offer about your own Bishop, the words on which I relied expressly said 'That perhaps *one* or two Bishops would charge, but that would be all — it would not be a general charging.' The Bishops contemplated I conceive to be John B. Sumner and H. Phillpotts.³

I am, my dear Mr Coleridge, sincerely yours, John H. Newman.

¹ This volume was a second edition of *Encyclopaedia Metropolitana*. The article on Cicero is now in *H.S.* I, pp. 239-300.

² Referring to Newman's account in *Apo.* pp. 90 and 138-40 of the understanding by which *Tract XC* was not to be condemned by the bishops, Coleridge wrote on 14 Oct. that he felt this matter had not been fully explained. He wondered who was in a position to tell Newman that the *Tract* would not be condemned in the bishops' charges. Coleridge asked who, for example, could have spoken for his own bishop, Phillpotts of Exeter.

³ Coleridge on 17 Oct., 'As to the understanding I did not mean to say a word implying a doubt of your having been misled . . . and as you say that is the real point of the matter. What you have written is entirely conclusive on it.' Sumner was then Bishop of Chester.

16 OCTOBER 1864

TO CHARLES MEYNELL

The Oratory Bm Octr 16/64

My dear Dr Meynell

I feel your kindness in the wish you express, and still more in the interesting account which you give of yourself and the list of compliments you pay to my volumes in introducing them into that account.¹

Volume 4 of my *Parochial Sermons*, as corrected, never pleased me. It is impossible to turn one thing into another thing. There is a subtle tone and spirit which runs through a Protestant Volume which forbids it ever to be made Catholic. I do not say that a sermon here or there in such a volume might not be exempt from it, but a volume could not be. Hence I have long resolved never again to make the attempt of revising and expurgating one of my Protestant volumes. By such a process they lose what they have, without gaining what they have not. They are like some of the acts of Parliament, which begin with one construction and end the sentence with another.

And besides, since I corrected volume 4 the copyright of the Volume has ceased to be mine.²

There is a talk of republishing them with a Protestant Editor from the Protestant editions — and, though I should have no concern in this, I should not object to it — for I think on the whole they subserve the Catholic cause. However, I do not know whether this project is likely to be carried out.

All that I could do, and I should not be averse to it, would be to publish in one Volume a number of those which have nothing uncatholic in them and require no correction at all. My Protestant friends could not quarrel with such a proceeding, and Catholics would allow of it. But then comes the question, are these harmless sermons the most useful? There are nine volumes to choose out of, e.g. some of the 'Plain Sermons' and 'Sermons for the day' might do. However, a great difficulty would be the translation made from the Protestant Version of Scripture³

Very sincerely Yours in Xt John H Newman of the Oratory
The Rev C Meynell D D

P.S. I hear very sad accounts of Dr Northcote's son — It must be a most cruel anxiety to him.⁴

¹ Meynell wrote urging Newman to republish the rest of his Anglican *Parochial Sermons*, in a Catholic edition, as he had done for Volume IV in 1849. At the English College in Rome Meynell had been led to regard these as excellent doctrinal sermons, theology for ordinary people. Then, when teaching at Oscott College he had found the boys very appreciative of Volume IV of *P.S.*, but he could not put the other volumes into their hands, since they were Protestant.

² Newman had transferred the copyright to William Froude.

³ In 1868 William Copeland began the republication of the *Parochial and Plain Sermons*, and in 1878 appeared the single volume which Newman described, *Selection Adapted to the Seasons of the Ecclesiastical Year from Parochial and Plain Sermons*.

⁴ See letter of 5 Jan. 1865 to Northcote.

21 OCTOBER 1864

MONDAY 17 OCTOBER 1864 went to Rednall with Wm [William]

TUESDAY 18 OCTOBER news of Mr Smith's death

WEDNESDAY 19 OCTOBER returned from Rednall. went to Stone

THURSDAY 20 OCTOBER returned from Stone with Ambrose, and 2 ladies

TO FREDERICK GEORGE LEE

The Oratory Bm Oct 21/64

Dear Sir

I have received your Sermons and sincerely thank you for them.¹ They are an evidence, if evidence were wanting, of the growing desire in so many good men of union with the Catholic Church — God's ways are not as our ways — I may believe, and do, that Divine Grace has put this desire into their hearts, though I am unable to think that they have marked out the way correctly, by which that desire is to be accomplished.

You have heard doubtless of the message which has come from Rome lately on the subject to which your Sermons relate — I hope you will not be surprised or offended at it.² It seems to me that nothing else could possibly be expected. If we allowed of joint-prayer, we allow of every thing. What is communion, what is the communion of saints, but joint-prayer? To pray together for intercommunion, is to have intercommunion — the act is its own fulfilment. The problem solvitur ambulando. If we allowed of joint prayer then, we are saying that there are no real differences of faith between you and us — that you may be in communion with us though you do not accept Pope Pius's Creed — that he was wrong in imposing it — that Catholics have been wrong for three centuries in maintaining it — that the Council of Trent has no authority — and thus that after all the Anglican Church has been right all along in resisting the imposition of the Tridentine dogmas as part of the original depositum.

Therefore you must not feel surprise or be hurt at this Letter, which I have not seen, and which, I suppose, will not be published, though our Bishops will act upon it. We should not be true to those principles, which we believe to be divine, if we acted otherwise. We should in that case be unsettling the very grounds of faith, and in order to unite in believing, we should make doubtful all that has to be believed. The life of the Roman communion is bound up with the Roman dogmas, nor can any communicatio in sacris take place, till there is a communicatio in profession. Charity presupposes faith. This, as you know, is the doctrine of St Cyprian and St Augustine — do not

¹ Lee sent Newman *Sermons on the Reunion of Christendom*, by Members of the Roman Catholic, Oriental and Anglican Communions, London 1864.

² This was the Rescript of the Roman Inquisition to the English Bishops; see letter of 11 Oct. to Ffoulkes. It was published at the end of Bishop Ullathorne's pamphlet *A Letter on the 'Association for the Promotion of the Unity of Christendom.'*

be surprised that, holding it, we hold it in our own way. We see no other way of holding, we believe there is no other way; where is the definite faith of Christ, if ours is not it? Excuse the abruptness of this and believe me to be,

Sincerely Yours, John H Newman

TO WILLIAM WORDSWORTH

The Oratory, Birmingham Octr 22. 1864

My dear Sir

Your letter needed no apology. It is painfully interesting. I wish I could be as clear and precise in my answer, as you are in your question.¹

It is by a very observable providence of God, that so little has been defined by the Church about Scripture. There has been, indeed, a distinct and strong tradition, both popular and devotional, in favour of its inspiration in the highest sense, and that tradition is still in vigour; but on the other hand, 1. In the theological schools there have been various opinions on the subject, and 2. By the Church herself little or nothing has been pronounced.

1. By the Schola or School are meant the voices of theologians throughout the world, as represented by the various local schools of the Church through the 1800 years of Church history.

Now the theologians of the School differ among themselves very widely on the subject of the *inspiration* of Scripture. Some hold almost a divine dictation, others, and the later, keeping the word, almost explain it away. And it is noticeable that there has been a gradual change of opinion, in the direction of the lower views of inspiration, especially since the Council of Trent, though the highest views about it are still maintained in some quarters, and the lower are viewed with suspicion.

What the Schola is unanimous in, (as far as I know,) is this: that there is *nothing* in the Scriptures but what is *true*. There are indeed a few divines, as

¹ William Wordsworth, a grandson of the poet, wrote on 20 Aug. from Poona College, near Bombay. He explained that he went up to Balliol College in 1855, and took a delight in Newman's writings. Gradually he came under Jowett's influence, and, by the time he took his degree in 1859, he 'had no belief in Christianity as an objective creed'. Wordsworth was for a short time a schoolmaster, but gave up the idea of becoming a clergyman, on account of his agnostic views. Appointed Principal of the English College at Poona in 1861, he was now in a restless, unsettled state, without religious belief. He wrote, 'The sight of the world, such as you describe it in your Apologia, makes an impression on me which is not effaced by any intuitions of which I am conscious.' He confessed, 'I cannot help looking with a faint vague longing towards the Catholic Church,' and then he asked his question, 'I want to know the amount of liberty which a Catholic layman may enjoy with respect to the Bible.'

Wordsworth had been led to ask this by arguments he had heard in favour of Scripture, which set him reconsidering his former disbelief. 'The doctrine of probability as stated in your last work (which I have just read) came in support of my new thoughts about the Bible . . . I began to think that God has interfered in human affairs.' He could not accept everything in the Gospels as historically true. 'The life and death of Christ constitute the revelation: not the accounts of [His] life. I fear that this view interferes with the Catholic doctrine of Inspiration.' Wordsworth thought that if he believed in the infallibility of the Church, he would feel the difficulties of the Bible much less, and that his reviving belief in Scripture might lead him into the Church.

Holden, who contemplate the existence of error in Scripture;¹ but here 'exceptio probat regulam,' for they are protested against on all sides.

The Scripture writers then, according to the Schola, are always *true*; but then practically, this does not tell for so much, as seems at first sight. For (1) We must consider what is the *sense* of each passage. E.g., 'Terra in æternum stat,' said the Dominican to Galileo; but it had never been determined that those words of the Wise Man should be taken in the rigid letter.² Though the earth moves, Scripture is not untrue.

(2) The sense of Scripture is determined by the *Church*; now very seldom has she authoritatively interpreted any passage; much less issued any comment in extenso upon Scripture. She refers us, as a standard of interpretation, to the consent of the Fathers; but it must be *unanimous*, which limits the application of this rule very materially, E.g. The Fathers are not unanimous in their interpretation of the 1st chapter of Genesis. A commentator then does not impute untruth or error to Scripture, though he denies the fact of the creation or formation of the world in six days, or in six periods. He has a right to say that the chapter is a symbolical representation, for so St Augustine seems to consider.

(3) The doctrine of the Schola is rather that the writer is true, than that the writing is true. That is, error is a personal word, and Scripture contains no error; but it *may* contain statements which are not borne out by fact. E.g. first, the writer may do it on purpose, knowing the inexactness of his language; as when Moses speaks of the sun *rising*, he is only speaking according to popular ideas, as he, or at least the Divine Inspirer, knew well. And secondly he may not be answerable for the mistake which his words contain, as when they occur in a speech of another person which he records. Thus a false chronology in the mouth of St Stephen (supposing it so) does not interfere with the inspired authority of St Luke.³

(4) The headings of the books are not necessarily to be received; e.g. 'A Psalm of David;' nay, nor are similar assertions in the text to be taken to the letter. We are not obliged to consider the inspired writer of Ecclesiastes to be Solomon. We need not consider any portion of Genesis to be written by Moses; it may be made up of separate documents which Moses put together, and stamped with the guarantee of truth by doing so.⁴

(5) The veracity of Scripture is not compromised, though it be allowed that passages have crept into the text which do not belong to it. Thus a Catholic is not bound to receive the text of the Three Heavenly Witnesses.⁵

¹ Henry Holden, *Divinae Fidei Analysis*, Paris 1652, pp. 55-57.

² *Ecclesiastes* 1:4.

³ *Acts* 7:2-43.

⁴ On the draft of this letter Newman wrote 'sent in substance better brought out'. At this point in the draft Newman said:

'I do not think it inconsistent with the teaching of the schola, to hold that Moses did *not* even put them together, provided some other inspired authority did; (but then we must account for Moses's name being used without dishonour to Scripture, and especially for our Lord's speaking of "Moses" with reference to Exodus.)'

⁵ *1 John* 5:7-8.

(6) Great as is the authority of the Schola, in all its unanimous decisions, it is not infallible. Nay, it has before now changed its judgment, as I believe has been the case as regards the Immaculate Conception.

(7) However, from the nature of the case, it never could change its formal and long-held opinion suddenly; and thus, while it is a bulwark of the Church against the approaches, however distant, of false doctrine, it is also a safeguard against the evils resulting indirectly from that sudden in-pouring of more exact truth, which is sometimes called 'light.' It acts in the interest of charity, to avoid the chance of scandal to believers. E.g. as to Anglicans, it would grievously unsettle the faith of many of them to be told suddenly that Dr Colenso was right, even though he was, (which certainly has to be proved.) Scripture indeed is not to us what it is to Protestants; but it is certain that we should never allow it to be publicly said that he was right, till *it was quite proved*. (N.B. I don't profess to know Colenso's book.)¹ In a matter of this kind the Schola must, at least negatively and tacitly, lead the way, and individuals could not say openly what had not yet become so clear and certain as to approve itself to the judgment of others besides themselves, who had a better right to judge. In like manner, though a man has a right to hold that the Epistle to the Hebrews was not written by St Paul or the second Epistle of St Peter by that apostle, I doubt very much if he could say it out in print without the chance of creating such disturbance among good people, as would imply on his part want of charity to the weak, temerariousness, offence to the pious etc etc., to use the received terms.

2. But now, leaving the Schola and the question of Christian duty, if you ask me *what* has, in matter of fact, already been decreed by the Infallible Authority about the inspiration and inerrableness of Scripture, such, that it must be received *de fide* and cannot be questioned, I should answer as follows:

(1.) It has been defined that Almighty God is 'Auctor utriusque Testamenti;' but it cannot be denied that Auctor is a vague word. I do not like to introduce critical questions, but I cannot here go by authority in what I say, because to tell the truth this question of the inspiration of Scripture has not till late years been carefully examined into by divines; so I am forced in what I am about to say to speak from myself, and under correction of the better informed;—speaking then from myself and on my own responsibility, I observe, that the Latin word 'auctor' does not mean 'author.' I have never met with the phrase 'auctor libri' in careful Latin; but e.g., 'auctor rerum Romanorum,' and 'scriptor libri.' Auctor utriusque Testamenti then is the Originator, the

¹ John William Colenso, Bishop of Natal, started a fierce controversy in 1862 by his *The Pentateuch and the Book of Joshua Critically Examined*, which challenged the traditional authorship and historical accuracy of those books.

In the draft Newman had this passage: 'I may seem to you to be writing in a very guarded way, defending our principles and ways of acting as I go on. But I do not do so chiefly as a defence — but I want you to understand how we act, quite apart from the effect which it may at first sight have upon your mind.'

Voucher, the Guarantee etc etc.' No where, I believe, has the Church spoken of Scripture as inspired, but of its *writers* as inspired. The inspiration of Scripture is not an article of faith. No mention is made of it in Pope Pius's Creed, which is read and accepted by a convert on his reconciliation to the Church.

Next, I observe, that 'Testamentum' does not mean as I believe, Old or New Testament, but *Covenant*. I believe it will be found that the Auctor Veteris Testamenti is the Catholic formula, from the times of S. Irenaeus and the Spanish Councils, in protest against Gnostics and Manichees, who considered that the Jewish Dispensation did not come from the God of the Gospel.¹ It is of these two Covenants, and so *indirectly* of the books which belong to them, and not directly of the Bible, that the Council of Trent declares God to be the Author. Thus the Tridentine Fathers say 'Omnes libros, tam Veteris quàm Novi Testamenti, cùm *utriusque* unus Deus sit Auctor . . . suscipit etc S. Synodus.' Not 'cum omnium horum' (librorum) but 'utriusque (Testamenti.)' And, to take another instance, Pope Eugenius the iv, in his Bulla pro Jacobitis, says '*legalia Veteris Testamenti seu Mosaicæ legis, cessasse, et Novi Testamenti sacramenta coepisse etc.*' where Testamentum is plainly Covenant — and so elsewhere.

And further, as to the books themselves, the Council of Trent recognises them as the authoritative exponents of *faith* and *morals*, not of chronology, physics, politics etc etc. It speaks, as of the Apostles, so of their writings and traditions, as 'fontem omnis et *salutaris* veritatis et *morum* disciplinae;' as 'tùm ad *fidem*, tum ad mores pertinentes.' And it warns us 'ut nemo, suae prudentiae innixus, in *rebus fidei et morum*, ad aedificationem doctrinae Christianae pertinentium, sacram Scripturam, ad suos sensus contorquens, contra eum sensum, quem tenuit et tenet Sancta Mater Ecclesia etc etc interpretari audeat etc'²

(2) Next, I observe, that, though so little is as yet defined about Scripture by the church, yet no one can become a Catholic without the intention of submitting and assenting with a real internal assent to any future definition which she may make with reference to it in time to come. For a belief in her as the living present interpreter of the Apostles is fundamental to the Catholic system, as involved in the article 'I believe the Holy Catholic Church.'

(3) Yet I suppose, that, in matter of fact, it is in a high degree improbable that she will ever make any definition in limitation of the freedom of opinion now existing on the subject of Scripture; for while, as being the Oracle of God, what she *did* say must be accepted as coming from *Him*, yet, since God's truth cannot be inconsistent with itself, in *proportion* as we have reason to think, that to ascribe a higher and wider authority to the enunciations of Scripture than it possesses at present, would interfere with the recognition of

¹ On this see John Henry Newman *On the Inspiration of Scripture*, edited by J. Derek Holmes and Robert Murray, London 1967, pp. 129-31; S.E. pp. 33-36.

² *Denzinger-Schönmetzer*, 1348, 1501 and 1507.

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demonstrated facts of science, etc etc., may we pronounce such an ascription on the part of the Church to be of impossible occurrence.

I shall be glad to write again, if you wish it,

I am, My dear Sir, Sincerely Yours, John H Newman¹

MONDAY 24 OCTOBER 1864 Dr Maguire and Oakeley came

TO GEORGE BERNARD SMITH

The Oratory Birmingham Oct 24. 1864

(Copy)

Dear Mr Smith

I am not at all surprised at what you tell me about your intentions as to the purchase of the land; for it must be a great anxiety to you all.² Since I heard of your dear Father's death, I thought it would come to our taking all or none, and have been making up my mind on the point. You may judge of the anxiety that it is to me to take the whole from what has been your own. How I am to raise the interest for the large sum which I shall have to produce at Christmas, I do not know; but I must trust in Providence bringing me through the difficulty.

Accordingly I have sent to you Fathers St John and Caswall, who are empowered by me to purchase the whole ground of you and the other executors of Mr Smith.

I do not like to say more about your Father lest it should increase your grief; else I would tell you how very much I was struck and pleased by the gentleness and sweetness of his demeanour, and his kind wishes about us.

As he has long desired to see a Catholic Church in Oxford, I hope he will

¹ Wordsworth replied at length, [on 1 Dec., that those who indulged in biblical criticism might incline towards the Catholic theory, without feeling the obligation to become Catholics. 'The thought that religion is a practical matter, and one of extreme importance, lies out of sight in the mind, or is combined with and modified by other considerations. Sometimes I feel the truth of that thought, as if it was the *first* of all thoughts: at other times I fear lest it should lead me away from good sense and place me in a false or unnatural position.' Cf. also letter of 28 Jan. 1865 to G. W. Cox.

Wordsworth, who was still very harassed, wrote twice more in Dec., admitting on Christmas Day, after he had read *Loss and Gain*, that difficulties could be multiplied indefinitely, but to dwell on them was 'like saying "I shall not become a Catholic till all my existing judgments inclinations, tastes, and habits of thought are in complete accordance with all the existing phenomena presented by Catholicism."' Of course, I know that that cannot be right. A friend of the younger Pliny might have hit upon reasons quite as good as mine for keeping out of the Church . . .

² Smith wrote on 22 Oct. first to thank for prayers and masses offered at the Oratory for his father Ambrose Smith, and then to say that if Newman wanted land at Oxford he must buy the whole site. Smith had had an offer for the whole of it, and he had no doubt that the buyer was 'acting for the University'.

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not have died without securing that good object. I buy the whole land for myself personally and privately; but in reselling portions of it, I intend of course to sell one portion of it to the Oratory for ecclesiastical purposes, that is, for the site of a Church

Ever truly Yours John H Newman of the Oratory

G. B. Smith Esqr.

TO J. WALKER OF SCARBOROUGH

The Oratory Birmingham Octr 24/64

My dear Canon Walker,

I ought to have answered your letter long ago, but I had nothing very definite to say, except that what you said in yours pleased me very much.¹ As to the question of 'certainty,' I conceive that the certainty, (human) arising from the cumulus of probabilities, is rewarded by the certainty of faith, which is firmer and more satisfying. The aggregate of probabilities does not create the faith, or its certainty, which is a gift direct from God — but they create the same sort of certainty, which an infidel may have that our Lord suffered under Pontius Pilate. If then Manning meant (as I do not suppose) that the probabilities did not create legitimately a human certainty, he differed from me — but if he meant that the human certainty was swallowed up by the faith from God's grace, which is its reward, (and I think he meant this) I agree with him. However, in my book I have nothing to do with supernatural faith — but with the human process. Children may have divine faith without any logical process whatever — but Butler is speaking of the logical value of probabilities, and so was I. Butler *tends* to reduce the certainty to a *practical* certainty, viz that it is *safer to act, as if* the conclusion were true; I maintain that probabilities lead to a speculative certainty legitimately; so that it is quite *rational* to come to that conviction, that human faith, which is rewarded by divine faith. In thus speaking, of course I do not mean to say, that, in matter of fact, that human conclusion is reached, or the reward of divine certainty given, *without* the influence of *actual* grace, both being present and being obeyed. And so, in like manner, human charitableness, honesty, fortitude, patience, in the case of heathen, may be assisted by actual grace, and bring the soul forward towards conversion, and have a congruous merit — but still they

¹ Walker wrote on 8 Sept. that he had been reading Manning's *The Convocation and the Crown in Council, A Second Letter to an Anglican Friend*, London 1864, the subject of which was the progress of rationalism in the Church of England. Walker thought there might be a criticism of *Apo.* towards the conclusion of Manning's pamphlet, 'when he speaks of the cumulus of probabilities being superseded by the higher assent of faith etc'. Cf. *Apo.* pp. 19–21 and 199. Manning wrote, 'Reason leads us to the feet of a Divine Teacher; but thenceforward His voice, and not our balancing of probabilities, will be the formal motive of our faith.' *The Convocation and the Crown in Council*, reprinted in *England and Christendom*, London 1867, p. 75. See also letter of 28 Nov. to Walker.

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do not cease to be acts of human nature. It seems as if *we* should have the Oxford mission, but I shall not leave Bm [Birmingham]

Very sincerely Yours in Xt John H Newman

The Very Revd John Can. Walker

TO THOMAS GAISFORD

The Oratory, Birmingham October 25. 64.

My dear Mr. Gaisford,

It is not worth while telling you the various hitches we have had about the ground. At last the owner, Mr Smith, suddenly broke a blood vessel and died. This led to his family wishing to get rid of the ground at once and altogether, and St John's College offered to take the whole. And thus we have been forced, yesterday, to buy the *whole* for £8,400, as the alternative of losing every part of it.

However, I do not write about this — but about a project, which has been on our Bishop's mind these 4 years, and which we are taking up; viz:— getting contributions for a Church commemorative of the conversions of the last 30 years. Of course we should take care to say and do nothing which would offend the University. When the plan is a little more advanced, I shall take the liberty of asking you whether we may not have your name among the contributors,

I am, my dear Mr. Gaisford, Sincerely yours,
John H Newman of the Oratory.

Thomas Gaisford Esq.

TO MISS M. R. GIBERNE

The Oratory Bm Octr 25/64

My dear Sister M. Pia

My first occupation this morning is what I have long waited for, to tell you that we have bought a piece of ground at Oxford, if God so wills it and St Philip, *for an Oratory*. The Bishop has given us the *Mission*, and what now we need is first good prayers, secondly men, and thirdly money. For three months have we been in correspondence with the owner, a Catholic, the patriarch of the Oxford congregation, of 76 or so, who, for the love of God, bought it at a sale, and at once offered it to me. This was at the end of July. For three months we have been in long correspondence with him, the price for the whole was beyond us, £8600! and the difficulty was so to cut it up that he could sell us only a piece and yet make his money again for the whole

— for, if it was cut up with *streets* etc, it would only be worth £7500, so much ground would go in the thoroughfares. Well, we had made a last offer about 10 days ago, and the answer came to us in a day or two. It was, that poor Mr Ambrose Smith (say a prayer for him) had suddenly broken a blood vessel and died — he was quite collected, made his will and received the last sacraments. Some of his last words were to express a desire that 'Dr Newman might have the ground.' — St John's College had now met, (it being hitherto long vacation time) they saw their advantage, and offered the family to take *all* off their hands, and pay them back whatever they had laid out. The letter containing the news came to me yesterday morning; and at once I sent FF Ambrose and Edward to offer in my name to take the whole. They did, and we have gained it for £8400, besides some law expenses in prospect. It is now ours irrevocably, for signatures have passed; and a copy of them has just come to me by post.

The two Fathers returned last night at 7, and I am writing to you first of all just after Mass, knowing what interest you will take in it, how you love both the Oratory and Oxford, and what benefit your prayers will do us. The sum is awful — I have to meet it by the first of January. Mr Hope Scott gives £1000 — the Oratory £1000 — the rest I must make up out of the *private* money of Ambrose, Edward and William, as I can. And then how are they (and our Oratory) to live without money! Our School does not pay — our offertory does not support the Sacristy. Therefore we have need of prayers.

The land is, as *you* would think, out of Oxford — but the place is *growing* in that direction — and growing in the shape of gentle folk as well of poor — so that, independent of the bearing of the Oratory on the University, we think there is room for a good mission. The ground beyond the Parks and the Observatory is getting crowded with houses. The (Protestant) parochial clergy are becoming married men — the Tutors, nay the Fellows, are marrying — and the Professors have by late changes increased in number and in wealth. Thus there is a *society* growing up in Oxford, which never was before beyond the exclusive pale of Provosts and Presidents. — Well, the land lies between Worcester College, the Printing Office, the Observatory, St Giles's and Beaumont Street. It is a plot of 5 acres, on which stood hitherto the Work house, which has been removed now to another locality. Hence the sale of the ground. Five acres is a square of which each side is nearly 480 feet long — so you may think how large it is. Christ Church Tom quad is a square of about 260 feet a side. Trinity College with its gardens in not 5 acres I suppose. Oriel, I suspect, is little more than 1 acre or an acre and a half. — It is far, far too much for an Oratory — and the price far too much, and yet we shall have extreme difficulty in selling a portion again without loss. There is a *talk* of an Oxford Catholic College — if so, we should sell to it.

We propose at once to start a subscription for a Church, commemorative of the Oxford Movement, and we are sanguine that we shall get a great deal of money.

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I weighed this paper before I began, and find that it is within a quarter of an oz.

Ever Yrs affly in Xt John H Newman

TO JAMES HOPE-SCOTT

The Oratory, Bm 1st Octr 25/64

My dear Hope Scott

There has been no end of hitches about the ground since you sent the money. At length we gave in an ultimatum about 10 days ago. The answer we got was that the owner, Mr Ambrose Smith, a good old man, had just broken a blood vessel and was dead. In consequence the family wished to get rid of the ground at once. And St John's College came in, and offered to take it off their hands at once. The family threw themselves on our mercy — but said that they could not help themselves. The letter came yesterday morning, and I at once sent Fathers St John and Caswall to Oxford. They have bought the whole in my name for £8400! I pay at Christmas. Am I, after all to end my days in prison?

I suppose we shall begin at once to collect subscriptions for a Church, commemorative of the Oxford Movement. It is the Bishop's suggestion. Of course we should avoid any thing to annoy the University. Should you object to our putting £100 of your £1000 to the subscription list?¹

Ever Yours affectly John H Newman of the Oratory

Jas R Hope Scott Esqr

TO BISHOP ULLATHORNE

The Oratory, Bm Octr 25. 1864

My dear Lord,

Mr Smith's sudden death put every thing into confusion, and brought about an issue, at which I cannot be surprised.

His representatives found the land a great difficulty. It has come out more and more clearly during the last 3 months, that, unless he sold the whole, he would have made a bad bargain. It is impossible to sell a part, without injuring the other parts. The fault of the ground is, that at present it has few and bad approaches.

It is not wonderful, this difficulty being so clear, and the Colleges having now met after the Long Vacation, that at this moment St John's College should offer to buy the whole; and then the Executors wrote to us, that, unless *we* did so, they must close with this offer. Thus, sorely against our will,

¹ Hope-Scott agreed to this.

and to our very serious inconvenience in prospect, I have been forced to borrow from the private resources of those around me, and to throw for the moment between £8000 and £9000 into this difficult and dangerous kind of property. Of course we shall get rid of it, except so much as the Oratory buys for ecclesiastical purposes, as soon as we can. Meanwhile, there is a last chance for its being used for the purpose of a College, if the Bishops so think. For myself, I never have seen my way to be a simple *advocate* for a College at Oxford; but I can *conceive* the time coming, when the Bishops shall have made up their minds in its favour, and then being in a strait to get ground — However, this is no concern of mine.

Now I write to your Lordship, first, to ask your formal sanction on the project of our gaining contributions for an Oxford Church, commemorative of the conversions of the last thirty years. We propose to commence this undertaking at once, but we could not do so without a few lines from your Lordship for the guidance and satisfaction of the faithful.¹

Next, we propose to your Lordship that the property in St Clement's, when vacated, whether in its present shape or turned into money, should be rented or the interest devoted, *for the support of the Mission*; not in the building of new Church or presbytery. The effect of this would be, that, if at any time your Lordship or your successors claimed the Mission back, you would receive back, not only the £700 which the Jesuits made over to you, but also the sum realized by the sale of the St Clement's property, (if sold) that is, an endowment of the Mission (if you so thought good) to the amount of (say) £1500, Mr Smith having told me that the St Clement's property ought to sell for £800. On the other hand, did you reclaim the Mission, you would have no claim at all on the ground which I am buying now or on any buildings which shall be erected upon it; — for I am not contemplating, in the present arrangement, the erection of the Mission into an Oratory, but the Oratory receiving from your Lordship the mission.

And lastly, in the pressure of preparatory work which will at once come upon us, I am led to ask whether you could allow us to postpone the commencement of our missionary duties in Oxford till next July. I hope such an idea is not incompatible with the arrangements you have made.²

Begging your Lordship's blessing, especially at this moment, I am, My dear Lord,

Your affte Servt in Xt John H Newman of the Oratory
The Rt Revd The Bp of Birmingham

¹ See at 28 Oct.

² On 27 Oct. Ullathorne wrote that he agreed to provide for the Oxford mission until July 1865. He also said, 'Your proposal that we should sell St Clements and invest the proceeds as a foundation for the support of the mission I quite approve, and consider generous.'

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TO WILLIAM MONSELL

The Oratory Birmingham Octr 26. 1864

My dear Monsell,

We are this day completing our purchase of the 5 acres. We buy all, because it is all or none, though we must resell the greater part of it, as fast as we can.

We sell it, because we have scraped together the £8400 (!) as we could, from the private means of the Fathers, chiefly — and we cannot live without the interest of the money.

We sell it, because there is no chance of a College. Oakeley, who is here, called on our Bishop yesterday — and, from what he reports, I think the Bishop has made up his mind against it.¹

Some men already (Catholics) are going to Ch Ch [Christ Church], Balliol, and Merton — more will follow. What is next best, is to ensure a spiritual superintendence of them — and accordingly the Bishop has put the mission into my hands.

Our first step is to build a Church — and the Bishop wishes it to be a memorial of the Oxford Movement. We shall appeal to the Catholic public, and hope to gain to [sic] good sum

Now if you could secure us some hundreds for *this* object, it will be a great service. Any thing you can do with Lord E. Howard or Mr Moore of Liverpool, yourself or through others, would be *most* valuable. But I want to start with *large* sums.²

Thank you for your proposal to get 'a few hundred for 3 or 4 years —' I need hardly say, it would be a *great* convenience to us — but I dare say it would not be so great as it might accidentally be to the persons to have to go out of their way to find it — and the balance must be struck between the inconveniences on each side.

I am in no hurry about the Apologia, thank you. I should like the translation made from the second edition, in which I shall cut off beginning and ending³

Ever Yours affectionately John H Newman

The Right Honble Wm Monsell M P

¹ Oakeley wrote a pamphlet in Aug. 1864, *The Question of University Education for English Catholics*, addressed to Ullathorne, in which he advocated the foundation of a Catholic college at one of the universities.

² Monsell wrote on 13 Oct. suggesting various people who should be approached for help towards the Oxford project. These included Lord Edward Howard and 'Mr Charles Moore a Liverpool ship owner who has purchased property in Ireland and has between his business and his realized property about thirty thousand a year.' Charles Moore (1804-69) was Member of Parliament for Tipperary, 1865-9.

Monsell wrote on 4 Nov., sending £100 from Moore, and promising £100 each from Lord Dunraven and himself.

³ Monsell reported that he had no further news of the French translation of *Apo*.

P.S. Subscriptions.

The Birmingham Oratory for site —	1000.	0.	0
Fr Newman	100.	0.	0
Fr St John	100.	0.	0
Fr Neville	100.	0.	0

P.S. Oct 28. I have kept this back, till the Bishop had sent me a letter in confirmation of all that I have done, and a public letter sanctioning my gaining contributions in every quarter.

Hope Scott gives £100. Patterson £100 I wish you could get me £100 from Lord Dunraven. I wish you could feel you would do the like yourself — but perhaps you can't. If several persons set the example, others would follow.

TO MARK PATTISON

The Oratory Birmingham Octr 26. 1864

My dear Rector,

I am this day concluding my negociation with Mr Smith's executors, and purchasing his land. The plan of a College seems given up — and I shall re-sell the greater part of the land. Such is the present prospect of things.

I shall keep enough to build an Oratory Church and House upon, and we shall attempt to found an Oxford Oratory. I shall still reside here — but, if the scheme proceeds, I suppose I shall take some part in the duties of the Oxford Mission, if God gives me strength.

You may be sure that I have no intention of bringing with me controversy, or putting myself into opposition to the University. Some Catholics are already going to Ch Ch [Christ Church], Balliol, and Merton. It is a duty to give them, at their dangerous age, the spiritual superintendence, necessary for them. And as I contemplate their religious welfare, so do I recognise the status pupillaris of those who are not Catholics. I am not going to address myself to the Undergraduates of the place, who are sent there, not for controversy, but for study. Of course I must look for some collision, greater or less, with others, do what I will — all I can say is that I do not come with the intention of incurring it.

I have written to you one of my first letters notifying what I have done, by way of gratitude to you for what you did for me in September. Since that, we have had direct dealings with Mr Spearing but he is quite ignorant of what passed between us.¹

Ever Yours affectly John H Newman of the Oratory
The Revd The Rector of Lincoln.

¹ See letter of 28 Aug. to Pattison. To this present letter Pattison replied on 27 Oct., 'My dear Dr. Newman

The report that the Workhouse site has been purchased for Catholic purposes has excited a great sensation. I have not however met with anyone who is aware that you are at all connected with it.

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THURSDAY 27 OCTOBER 1864 Dr M [Maguire] and O. [Oakeley] went

TO JAMES LAIRD PATTERSON

The Oratory, Birmingham, October 28th. 64.

My dear Patterson,

It is cheering to receive such letters as yours.¹ I thank you very much for the promise of so munificent a subscription. Also, for the unusual kindness of your offer to help us.² We know too little of our prospects to say yes or no to your proposition, for we are not altogether free in our acting — having already entered into negotiation elsewhere. However, I hope you will let me write again on the subject.

Yours affectionately, John H. Newman of the Oratory.

The Rev. J. L. Patterson.

FROM BISHOP ULLATHORNE

Birmingham Octob 27th 1864

My dear Dr Newman

The courage with which you have taken up so large a block of land in Oxford, and at so considerable a cost, in the contemplation of establishing an Oratory in that city, calls but for congratulation; and I wish to give your undertaking all the approval and encouragement that I can.

Two reasons especially move me to this. The first is the great and obvious want

I quite understand how you yourself would view your position there, and how scrupulously you would rule your actions by that view. There are others in the University, besides myself, who will quite understand the same. But the majority, will, I fancy, feel no little alarm at your move. Not that they will fear conversions. But Heads and Tutors are very sensitive to the feeling in the country, and dread every thing that frightens timid parents away "to Cambridge," in which happy University there are neither Jowetts nor Newmans.

If there is any thing in which I can be of any service to you, you may be sure I shall be at all times glad to be so employed

Ever your affectionate Mark Pattison

If you have occasion to come to Oxford to look at your purchase, it would give me the greatest pleasure if you would make the [Rector's] Lodgings at Lincoln your home during your stay.

¹ Patterson wrote on 26 Oct. his delight at the purchase of the land at Oxford, 'on which I have had my eye for these 20 years, first for "Puseyite," and then for Catholic objects. I cannot help exploding in a few words of congratulation on so great an event. I have busied myself in my small way, and wearied heaven with small prayers too, for that place, to which under God, I owe the Faith of Christ, ever since I acquired that great gift, and I feel now inclined to sing a "Nunc Dimittis."'

Patterson also offered £100 for the Oxford mission.

² Patterson concluded his letter, 'I am of course unaware of your immediate plans, but I may say that I have a zeal for Oxford, and I should be too happy if I may be admitted to take a share (however humble) in doing good there, "te auspice, te duce."' See letter of 5 Nov. to St John.

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of a Catholic Church in Oxford; for at present the Catholics have no place in which to congregate except a mean room, built in the difficult times at the back of a cottage in the suburb of St Clement's, so that it is even unknown to most persons at Oxford that the Catholics have any place of worship at all.

In the second place, I believe that the very fact that *you* have undertaken to raise a Church and an Oratory in Oxford will secure its accomplishment. What person could so properly undertake to raise that monument of gratitude to God for the conversions of the last thirty years? Or in what place could it be so properly raised? Or who will refuse their contribution to such a monument of piety and gratitude? Especially when they know that in faith of Catholic generosity, you have taken all risks, even in this first step of securing the land.

Praying Almighty God to bless you and all who cooperate with you in this work of benediction

I remain My dear Dr Newman

Your faithful Servant in Christ W. B. Ullathorne

TO BISHOP ULLATHORNE

The Oratory Birmingham Octr 28. 1864

My dear Lord,

I thank you very much for your (public) Letter, which is more than every thing I could wish, and also for the kindness of the letter which accompanies it.¹

I believe your Lordship quite understands what I mean about the Oxford Mission and the Oxford Oratory. Of course the site of the Church and the Church itself will be ecclesiastical property; and, if the Oratory retired from Oxford, would pass into the hands of the parties legitimately representing the Church, as, for instance, the Diocesan.

The point that I wished to make clear was that which lies between the Mission and the Oratory of Oxford. The *Birmingham* Oratory existed *before* it undertook secular missions — it resigned one, it received another. The *London* Oratory too existed before it had a mission. But the Oxford Oratory will grow out of the Oxford Mission, to all appearance. Though then the question could not arise whether or not the Birmingham and London Oratory buildings were Oratory property, yet there might be a question, some 30 or 40 years hence, whether the ground and church in St Giles's belonged to the Oxford Mission or to the Oxford Oratory; for the Mission will use the church before the Oratory begins. And the then Bishop might wish to reclaim the Oxford Mission, and would consider that the Church ought to go *with* the Mission, even though the Congregation of the Oratory did not leave Oxford. I wished then to put on record, that what belongs to the Mission is the £700

¹ When sending his public letter, Ullathorne wrote, 'if there is any thing you would like more, or else changed have the goodness to let me know'. He concluded, 'It is an arduous work, but I never knew any work really called for, and energetically undertaken for the Church in this country fail of success except Prior Park, and that had not in it the common elements of Catholic success.'

Ullathorne's letter was omitted from Newman's Oxford circular in its final version. See letters of 2 and 27 Nov. to him.

of the Jesuits and the value of the St Clement's property, and on the other hand what belongs to the Oratory is the (St Giles's) Church and its site. This is clear now, but might not be clear when the present parties were dead.

I am, My dear Lord, Yr affectte Servt in Xt

John H Newman of the Oratory

The Rt Revd The Bp of Birmingham

SUNDAY 30 OCTOBER 1864 Dean Stanley called¹

TO THOMAS GAISFORD

The Oratory, Birmingham. Oct 30/64

My dear Mr Gaisford,

I am so desirous to hear what people say that I am very glad to have your letter. If you will let me, I will tell you what I feel on the matter.²

In nothing can one have one's own will, pure and simple — and the difficulty is increased, where one is not sure what one's will is. The College or Hall scheme is enveloped in difficulty. I am inclined to think that it is the best plan for Catholics under their circumstances, in a religious point of view; a University of their own neither answering the purpose they have before them, nor possible. But then, is even a College possible in a simply material point of view? Where are your £30,000 for it? Then having got so far as this, I look to see, supposing these preliminary difficulties overcome, whether it will be *acceptable* to Catholics. Now here I find a strong, I may say a growing, feeling on the part of the Bishops against it. Our own Bishop who was favourable to it some time ago, has got stronger and stronger against it — and the person, to whom he confided the drawing up of the Memorandum to be sent to Propaganda on the subject, an Oxford man, gave his judgment against it. I say nothing of the opposition of Dr Manning and the Dublin Review, which is only too well known.³ Nor is this all — Catholic gentlemen are beginning to *prefer* sending their boys to the existing Colleges — some have been for doing

¹ Stanley wrote, the same day, to J. C. Shafrp, a long account of this visit. They discussed the inspiration of Scripture. Newman showed repugnance at going to Oxford and deprecated any idea of proselytism there. Stanley summed up his impression of Newman, 'not of unhappiness or dissatisfaction, but of a totally wasted life, unable to read, glancing at questions which he could not handle . . . Studiously courteous, studiously calm.' R. E. Prothero and E. G. Bradley, *The Life and Correspondence of Arthur Penrhyn Stanley D.D.*, London 1893, II, pp. 340–2.

² Gaisford wrote on 29 Oct. that he had talked with Lord Petre, who strongly objected to sending his son to Oxford, except to a Catholic college. Also in reply to Newman's letter of 25 Oct., Gaisford remarked, 'I cannot but fear that a memorial Church at Oxford would give great offence to the University.'

³ See Ullathorne's letter of 25 Sept., placed before that of 26 Sept. to him. *DR* for July 1863, the first under W. G. Ward's editorship, contained Manning's article, 'The Work and wants of the Catholic Church in England', in favour of a Catholic university. There was a similar article in *DR*, (Oct. 1864), 'University Education for English Catholics'.

so from the first. One of my friends, to whom I wrote when I first wrote to you, wrote back to express his disapproval of the Catholic College Scheme; he was sending his sons to Ch Ch [Christ Church]¹ And young men are already beginning to reside — they are the commencement of a tradition. Moreover, two clever pamphlets have appeared in favour of a Catholic College — one, I know, has not sold — I believe the other has not.² The Catholic public, it is plain, take no interest in the scheme. Whatever may happen years hence, it is impracticable now. And I have accordingly ceased to think of it.

Hence, I am led to contemplate, if possible, a strong ecclesiastical body in Oxford in order to be a centre of the Catholic youth there, and as a defence against Protestant influences.

Now do not think I am contemplating anything controversial. Just the contrary. I would conciliate the University, if I could — but young Catholics *must* be seen to.

I repeat, we must do what we *can*, in all things. Our Bishop takes up this Oratory view — he has long been wishing to make Oxford a strong Mission. A back yard in St Clements and a barn to say Mass in, are not the proper representatives of the Visible Church. But, if you *do* come forward, if you move on to St Giles's, *any how* you will frighten at first and annoy the Academical body. This is unavoidable.

Next, how are you to raise the money for a Church? Catholics will not subscribe to it without a stimulus. Four years ago the notion of a Memorial Church was suggested by the Bishop. I did not enter into it then.³ Now I do. I think it will gain the money — and I don't see any other way. The watchword (so to call it, for I am taking it in its most objectionable point of view) will die away when the money is collected — only the fabric will remain. It will not be *written* upon it — 'the Movement Church' — if it is still an eyesore, it will be so, *because* it is a Catholic Church, not because it was raised with a certain idea.

However, I send you what I propose to print. See what you think of it in concrete — and be so good as to let me have it back. See, if the omission of a sentence would reconcile you to it.⁴

I shall have great difficulties in carrying people with me, whatever I do — but I would not willingly be without your approval and countenance.

Very sincerely Yours, John H. Newman of the Oratory

¹ This was Scott-Murray. See second note to letter of 20 Aug. to Gaisford.

² These were the pamphlets of Renouf and Oakeley. See letters of 24 July to Ffoulkes and 26 Oct. to Monsell.

³ See letter of 10 June 1860 to Estcourt.

⁴ See notes to next letter

TO JAMES HOPE-SCOTT

The Oy Bm 1 Oct 31/64

My dear Hope Scott

What we are doing is of such anxious importance, that I hope you will not mind my troubling you again.¹

I am not sure that I understand your letter, I believe it means this — 'Don't *give up* the idea of a College or Hall — don't cut off the chance of it. To say you are sent to the Catholic youth in the existing Colleges, is a sort of recognition of those Colleges as a fit place for them and an acquiescence in the abandonment of the College or Hall scheme. Therefore, speak of the existing admission to the *University*, not Colleges.'²

I have altered it to meet this idea.

Also, I have cut out the part to which you object³ — Still, I have spoken of the *spirit of the Oratory*, because it ever has been peaceable, unpolitical, conceding, and quiet. You may think it, however, as sounding like a fling at the

¹ Newman had sent Hope-Scott on 29 Oct. a copy of Ullathorne's public letter of 27 Oct., and his own proposed circular about the Church of the Oratory at Oxford. This as sent to Hope-Scott ran:

'Father Newman having been entrusted by his Diocesan with the Mission of Oxford, has it in contemplation, with the blessing of God, to proceed to the establishment of a Church and House of the Oratory.

Some such establishment is at this time especially required, as a provision in behalf of the Catholic youth, whom the Colleges of the University, in accordance with a kinder and more liberal policy than they have hitherto pursued, are beginning to admit within their walls.

It need scarcely be shown that a measure like this, conceived in however good a spirit, is nevertheless fraught with spiritual danger to the parties for whom it is designed, unless the inexperience incident to their time of life and the temptations of the place are met with some corresponding safeguard of special religious aid and superintendence.

The Priests of St Philip Neri may attempt, it is hoped, without presumption, to supply this imperative need, considering that the Oratory has ever made the care of young men its primary object, and that the English Congregation in particular, by virtue of the Apostolic Letters constituting it, is sent to those classes of society above others, to which the members of an Academical body necessarily belong.

Moreover, educated as they have been themselves at Oxford and Cambridge, they bring to the undertaking an intimate acquaintance with the routine and habits of University Life, which furnishes a reasonable hope of their being able to discharge such duties as are involved in commencing it, without giving umbrage to the authorities of the place, — after the pattern of their holy founder, who, in far different indeed but still most delicate circumstances, won at length by his unpretending and straightforward bearing, the good will even of those who began by looking on him with dislike and suspicion.

In pursuance of their object they have procured a site in an eligible part of Oxford and they propose at once to collect funds for the erection of a Church. This they are able to do under the sanction of the following letter, which it gives them great gratification to publish.'

The circular printed as that of Oct. 1864 in *Ward II* pp. 59-60 is that of 1867, which is printed a second time, pp. 131-2.

² Hope-Scott thought the notice too long and asked its meaning — 'A Church and Clergy to look after young Catholics who are in Protestant Colleges and this only — or does the "Oratory," besides the Church mean something more?

If the latter — or to keep the latter open — had you not better omit so pointed a reference to the admission of Catholic Youth into the existing Colleges, and merely speak of admission to the University?

³ Hope-Scott wanted the second half of the penultimate paragraph omitted. Newman now sent him a revised version. For the final version of the Circular, see letter of 27 Nov. to Ullathorne.

On 1 Nov. Hope-Scott approved of the draft, but suggested minor alterations.

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Jesuits etc. *For this, or any other reason, draw your pen across it, if you think best.*

I shall write to Monteith by this post¹

Ever Yrs affly John H Newman²

J. R. Hope Scott Esqr

TO ROBERT MONTEITH

The Oratory Bm Octr 31. 1864

My dear Mr Monteith

Things have greatly changed since I wrote to you about the Oxford ground.

The notion of a College is quite at an end just now. That of a Mission and Oratory alone remains. Hope Scott tells me you have been at Abbotsford. I take it for granted he has shown you our Bishop's letter.

We have been forced to buy the *whole* ground ourselves — as the only way of securing any part of it. We are making ourselves almost beggars — but we must go on.

And first to build a Church. We have got 5 £100 already, and we want a great many more. But we shall be thankful for whatever we can get. Do you think you can do any thing for us? Any sum will be most welcome³

Yours most sincerely in Xt John H Newman of the Oratory

R. J. Monteith Esqr

TO T. F. WETHERELL

The Oratory Birmingham Novr 1. 1864

My dear Wetherell,

I wish I could talk to you instead of writing.⁴ I am passing through

¹ Hope-Scott reported that Monteith was ready to contribute towards the church at Oxford.

² Newman added a note to the copy he made of his letter:—

'(Up to March 1865, I think no one had a notion that the Bishops meant to *speak against* (tho' they could not *recognize*) youths going to the Protestant Colleges (*unless* a Catholic University was set up, which they did not contemplate.) Their meeting in December 1864 was thought only to be adverse to a *Catholic College*. (vid my letter to the Bishop from Switzerland, as printed by the Bishop in his Pamphlet p. 19) [i.e. that of 12 Aug. 1866 to Ullathorne, printed in the latter's *Facts and Documents relating to the Mission and contemplated Oratory at Oxford*, pp. 18–21] J H N. Aug 27/73'

³ See letter of 16 Nov. to Monteith.

⁴ Wetherell wrote on 31 Oct. about the Oxford scheme, 'The prospect it opens is the happiest we have had for these many years past, and covers a multitude of discouragements.' He enclosed a letter from an old Oxford friend, Daniel Conner Lathbury, who had contributed regularly to the *Home and Foreign Review*, and was now writing for the *Saturday Review*, the *Reader* and the *Daily News*. He wished to write about the Oxford scheme. Wetherell said of him, 'He is a Protestant, but most friendly to all genuine Catholic interests; and I know it would be a great gratification to him, in dealing with this matter, to know that he was doing so in the way most agreeable to you personally.' See letter of 6 Nov. to Wetherell.

London, and would make an appointment. Except that, from the hour which I must fix, it would be impossible for you to keep, while it would bind me. At present it looks as if I should come up to the Paddington Terminus on Thursday by the train which arrives at about $\frac{1}{4}$ to 11. If so, I should go to the Coffee Room. I have been quite well till now — but this Oxford matter has for the moment knocked me up — so that I am running away to hide myself.

We are proceeding to build a Church directly — and my great difficulty is this — to raise the money by contributions I must take an ostentatious line, and make a noise — to set myself right with the Oxford residents, who are at the moment alarmed, I ought to be unobtrusive and quiet. I truly wish the latter — I have no intention of making a row — no wish to angle for heedless undergraduates. I go primarily and directly to take care of the Catholic youth who are beginning to go there, and are in Protestant Colleges. And what I *aim* at is not immediate conversions, but to influence, as far as an old man can, the tone of thought in the place, with a view to a distant time when I shall no longer be here. I do not want controversy. So much for the University — As to Town people, of course I shall have no objection, if I can, to convert them — not that *their* souls are more precious, but that they can be got (if so) without greater counterbalancing evils.

Then on the other hand, I *do* come out with a watchword — viz the church is to be a sort of thank offering on the part of the converts of the last 30 years. How can I raise the money, unless this be understood?

<I don't expect to leave Birmingham.>

Very Sincerely yours John H. Newman

P.S. You may use what I have said at your discretion — *but not on my authority.*

P.S. I don't see how it *can* be a secret that I have bought the ground.

WEDNESDAY 2 NOVEMBER 1864 went with William to Leamington and back

TO J. P. TAYLOR

The Oratory Birmingham Nov 2 64.

My dear Sir

Your parcel has come quite safely — and I have to thank you, not only for the Collection itself, but for the beautiful neatness and perfection, with which the separate passages which make it up, are put together¹

I hope you will allow me, as an expression of my gratitude, to ask your acceptance from me of a copy of the Volume itself

Very truly in Xt John H. Newman of the Oratory.

¹ These were the reviews of *Apo*. See letter of 9 Oct. to Taylor.

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TO BISHOP ULLATHORNE

The Oratory Nov 2/64

My dear Lord,

I find in some of my friends a feeling of alarm at the mention of a memorial Church, as if it would make a great row, not only at Oxford, but in the Newspapers.¹

This leads me to ask you, if you will let me avail myself of the permission you gave me as to your letter, so far as to propose omitting the clause which I have put below in brackets — since it contains a sting.

‘What person could so properly undertake to raise that monument of gratitude to God for the conversions of the last thirty years? (or in what place could it be so properly raised?) or who will refuse their contribution to such a monument of piety and gratitude?’

When it comes to the point, I shall be very unwilling to leave it out — both, because it so injures the completeness of the composition, and because it throws me into greater prominence in the argument — nor will I decide hastily — but I am afraid of a newspaper cry²

Your Lordship's affte friend & servt in Xt John H Newman
The Rt Revd The Bp of Birmingham

TO THOMAS ARNOLD

Nov 3/64

My dear Arnold

I have brought your second letter (of October 10) before the Congregation, in which you say that as there is no prospect of a rise in your salary, you must look forward to the close of your connection with the School, and that, though you have formed plans, they are not mature.

The event of your leaving us is so serious that you will not be surprised that, in order to meet it, we wish very much to fix the date of it. Shall we say at Easter next, that is, Palm Sunday April 9?³

Very sincerely Yours John H Newman

Thos Arnold Esqr

FRIDAY 4 NOVEMBER 1864 went with Wm [William] to London — (and Cardinal Wiseman?) to Paddington Hotel, where I saw Wetherell and Clutton — and went to Brighton — put up at Albion Pattison [Patterson] and Miss C. Smith at Dr Maguire's⁴

¹ Gaisford wrote on 2 Nov. that Sir John Simeon, David Lewis, Sir Archibald Macdonald and he himself thought that to speak of a memorial church of the Oxford Movement would annoy the University and be distasteful to old Catholics.

² Ullathorne agreed to the omission, but asked to redraft his letter of 27 Oct.

³ See letter of 14 Nov. to Arnold.

⁴ For Miss Smith cf. letter of 20 Sept. to Sister Cephasie.

SATURDAY 5 NOVEMBER 1864 called on Mr Oldham and Mr Rymer,¹ and then to Hastings put up at Queen's Hotel

TO AMBROSE ST JOHN

Brighton Nov 5/64

My dear A

We came here last night as a first stage towards Hastings, whither we find Pollen has gone. It is cold and raw here. Presently we are going to call on Mr Oldham apropos of Mr H. but I write at once to secure writing at all.²

Our day in London was successful. Patterson has no idea at all of leaving London, and, when he said he put himself at my disposal, he meant to make the offer, consistently with his being at the disposal of the Westminster Diocese.³ However, he is very warm, and recommends French Nuns, ladies, who can keep themselves and pay for their house, and contemplate — with tertiary sisters, who keep poor school, and can teach girls or (orphans) to sing in Church, and can sing themselves. I am not sure whether he entered quite into the last clause, but that does not matter. He thought that Oxford offered a large field for conversions — I dare say he would be more desirous of manifestations than I should be.

Wetherell and Clutton both were in high spirits and hopes about the Oxford scheme, and prophesied all that was good and glorious. Yard I could not see, as it was St Charles's day — I must see him in returning.⁴ There will be an article on the Oxford matter in the Daily News of this day. William gone out to buy one,⁵ Clutton is coming to us on Monday 14th — going first to Oxford.⁶

Patterson said he was going to the Cardinal, who had not been well enough to go to Bayswater.⁷ I went with him, and saw the poor Cardinal for ten minutes. I saw him, I suppose, in his usual state — relaxed, feeble, and dejected. On ringing at the door, I had said to P. 'You must bring me off in five minutes, for the Cardinal is so entertaining a talker, that it is always difficult to get away from him. Alas, what I never could have fancied before hand, I was the only speaker. I literally *talked*. He is anxious about his eyes. Patterson calls it

¹ Henry Rymer and George Alfred Oldham were priests at Brighton.

² Mr H. was perhaps a prospective master for the Oratory School.

³ See letter of 28 Oct. to Patterson.

⁴ George Yard, who had just been ordained priest, was living near the Oblates of St Charles at Bayswater. He hoped to be Newman's curate at Oxford, but eventually declined on the ground of lack of experience.

⁵ See letter of 6 Nov. to Wetherell.

⁶ Henry Clutton, the brother-in-law of Ignatius Ryder, was to be the architect at Oxford for the Oratorians.

⁷ i.e. for the celebration of the feast of St Charles on 4 Nov.

'congestion.' The Cardinal says that the London fog tries them. He was just down — 2 o'clock or 2½. — He listened to the Oxford plan, half querulously — and said that he thought the collection for St Thomas at Rome would interfere with getting money from the Continent.¹

Ever Yrs affly John H Newman

[[[N.B. I afterwards had reason for thinking that a deep opposition to my going to Oxford was the cause of the Cardinal's manner. Of this I was quite unsuspecting. JHN. Nov 4. 1875]]]²

¹ This was an English church to be built in Rome, for which Talbot was collecting money.

² Newman wrote this note on the autograph. In 1893, Neville heard that Wiseman had written to Rome complaining of Newman's 'insolence during this visit'. He asked Patterson, the only person present on the occasion for his account. Patterson's reply of 20 Oct. 1893 has been preserved: "The idea that Cardinal Newman was "insolent" to Cardinal Wiseman on that occasion is so extravagant and impossible that I dismiss it without comment. Cardinal Newman had the soul and the manners of a King. He could rebuke, reprove, "sit upon" (as they say) any one — but to be "insolent" was *not possible* to him. What I remember about that interview is as follows. I met Dr Newman near York Place. I was on my way to the Cardinals. I knew there had been some estrangement between them — but I did not know to what extent nor *altogether* on what account. I had a strong desire to see this ended. I said (in effect) "Do come and call on the Cardinal. I am sure he will take it kindly and you will be well received —" He seemed not unwilling but doubtful whether the visit would be acceptable: but on my pressing it he gave way and came with me to the Cardinals. I found the Cardinal had just gone to lunch — I therefore asked Dr N. to come into the study next to the dining room, and went into that room, where the Cardinal was at lunch — I said, "My Lord Dr Newman has come to see you, and is in the next room." The Cardinal said drily, "I am at lunch." I had fully expected that he would have said, "Pray ask him to come in —" but he said no more. After an embarrassed pause, I said "Do pray come and see him — I begged him to come here." After a grumble the Cardinal got up and I went with him into the next room — all I heard was a very cool, "how do you do, Dr Newman —" I was profoundly mortified and disappointed. I returned at once to the dining room, and I had not been there five minutes — (I think barely 2 minutes) before the Cardinal came back — said something about being interrupted at lunch, and then subsided into a *sulky* silence. I think I hardly realized that the interview was over, but it was; and Dr Newman had left the house before I recovered the shock of the disastrous affair.

Of course *you* will feel that there is nothing to be said in palliation of such a discourtesy on the Cardinal's part: and no doubt it is not easy to excuse or attenuate it, — but I think there is something to be pleaded. 1. I blame myself for not at once yielding when I saw the Cardinal was out of humour or indisposed to see him . . . but I had never heard the Cardinal speak unkindly of Dr Newman . . . 2. This leads me to say that Cardinal Wiseman was *not* a well-bred man — and he was in such a constant state of bodily suffering from diabetes — which is notoriously a disease that affects the temper almost to the pitch of mania — that at times he was quite unbearable. . . . He was already sickening for his last illness at this time, and lived but 3 months longer.

3. I am amazed at what you mentioned as to his writing to Rome about this matter a month after. I do not think the Cardinal ever alluded to this meeting to me. I can only *conjecture* that his mind must have been poisoned against Dr Newman, and that having nothing of his own to allege he took up some one else's version of Dr Newman's visit. Certainly as far as I can testify Dr Newman never did a more virtuous thing than when he exposed himself to such a *snub*. You will note that I was not present at the interview — but literally there was not time for any irritating (or otherwise) dialogue . . .

SUNDAY 6 NOVEMBER 1864 said Mass and Wm [William] at Boy's Orphanage and Benediction in afternoon

6 NOVEMBER 1864

TO THOMAS GAISFORD

The Queen's Hotel, Hastings. November 6. 1864.

My dear Mr Gaisford,

It will seem to you ungrateful, considering your kind invitation, that I write to you from Hastings instead, on at last leaving home, [of] coming to Worthing to talk over the Oxford scheme with you *vivâ voce*. And I assure you I was not so foolish as not to think of it. But I have left home, because at last I am somewhat knocked up, with one of our Birmingham [Fathers] to take care of me — and my cure in such cases is to keep as quiet as ever I can, and I could not bear the excitement of being with friends. So I am passing a week in solitude, and at the end of it return to Birmingham.

Your own offer of assistance is very munificent — and also your intention of bringing the matter before others.¹ Of course in a little while I shall address them myself, but it is *most important* that they should, in the first place, be favourably disposed towards the scheme by persons like yourself. As to the difficulty you find in the Bishop's letter, your judgment backed by Sir John Simeon and Lewis and Sir A. M. [Macdonald] is of course a weighty objection — and accordingly I took measures at once to gain the permission of Doctor Ullathorne, who has been all kindness and consideration throughout, to soften the passage. But I am not at all disposed to concur in your opinion myself to its full extent — and that, not simply on any judgment of my own, but because I do not find you supported in quarters where I should have expected you would have been. I have brought it before 4 laymen, all living in the world, representing distinct classes of society, and 3 of them hardly knowing each other, and they have either had no opinion upon the matter, much less against it, or have actually been for it. I cannot help hoping then, that if the passage is subdued, it will meet all opinions, your own, and that of others. However, I shall not determine hastily, but before anything is printed, will collect as many votes upon it as I can.

I beg my kindest remembrances to Sir John Simeon and Lewis, if they are still with you, and am

My dear Mr. Gaisford, Sincerely yours ever, John H. Newman
of the Oratory.

TO T. F. WETHERELL

Queen's Hotel Hastings Nov 6. 1864

My dear Wetherell,

I read the article in yesterday's Daily News with much pleasure. It was kind to me and skilful — and is sure to do us good. And, though I have

¹ Gaisford on 2 Nov. offered £200. For what follows see letter of 2 Nov. to Ullathorne.

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nothing else to say, I do not like to let it pass by without any acknowledgment from me.¹

On Friday we found ourselves at Brighton. Last evening we found ourselves here. As we are in good quarters, perhaps we shall remain here all our time. We are due in Birmingham next Saturday — but, as it is an effort to leave home, so it is something of an effort too, though not so great a one, to move back again. However, we shall certainly return at the end of this week

Very sincerely Yours in Xt John H Newman of the Oratory
T. F. Wetherell Esqr

MONDAY 7 NOVEMBER 1864 walked to Windmill

TUESDAY 8 NOVEMBER called on Mrs Duke at Uppington <?>

TO BARONESS VON KÖLLER

[8 November 1864]²

My dear Madam

I grieve to say, that, perhaps from my own fault, I am utterly unable to understand the exact drift of your letters viewed as a whole, which have conveyed such various impressions of your wishes and intentions to my mind that I am more puzzled than before after every fresh one. I do not know whether you wish to be received or not.

¹ The article by Lathbury in the *Daily News*, (5 Nov. 1864), pointed out that the English Catholics included 'an unusually large percentage of those classes who both from birth and fortune would naturally avail themselves of a university education'. It was an evil from the national point of view that they had been deprived of this in England, and been led to seek it abroad. 'When we complain that Roman Catholics are unlike other Englishmen, we forget what pains we have taken to make them so.' Their entry into the English Universities was to be welcomed, but provision must be made for their religious needs. 'Parents of this faith will very properly demand to be thoroughly satisfied, before they send their sons to Christ Church or Balliol, that they will have proper opportunities for obeying the precepts of their Church, and being trained in the doctrines which it teaches.' After referring to the dangers of Catholic proselytism, the article went on, 'It is therefore with very sincere pleasure that we learn that the Roman Catholic Church in Oxford is, for the future, to be under the charge of Dr. Newman. . . . The whole tenour of his life and character would be sufficient to convince us that he would take no unfair advantage of his position in Oxford. . . . But the temper of the 'Apologia pro Vita sua' affords an assurance of another kind. We gather from that work that his present purpose is not to concern himself with controversy at all. . . . His object in going to Oxford is to look after the religious training of the Roman Catholic young men whom he will find there, and that object will be carried out without any attempt at interference with undergraduates of other communions. . . .' The concluding sentence stated that 'the best features, moral and intellectual, of Roman Catholicism have their fitting representative in Dr Newman; and it is a matter for hearty congratulation that it should have fallen to him to form the minds of the Roman Catholic youth of England, rather than to any member of that school which finds a leader in Dr. Manning and an organ in the *Dublin Review*'.

² The latest of the Baroness's letters arrived on 7 Nov. James Waterworth, the priest at Newark, had interrupted the instruction in Catholic teaching which he had been giving her. Cf. letter of 1 July.

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And my belief is that Dr Waterworth is as puzzled as I am.

Under these circumstances what can I do but pray that God will guide you to have a clearer intention of what you propose to yourself, and a strong determination to do it.

I am with my best prayers J H N

TO AMBROSE ST JOHN

「Hastings Nov 8/64」

My dear A

We have just received your packet, and have telegraphed for the packet which you say you have sent (why or wherefore) to London — I suppose it contains the Bishop's and Arnold's letters. Don't send any letters again, till we name time and place.

Mr Moore's £100 is magnificent — Pollen was here last night — he did not seem surprised at the 'Memorial Church' — he thought it would take many people. I wrote to Gaisford to say that so many men were for it, that I did not see my way to withdraw the *τόπος*; but that I hoped the Bishop would let me leave out something.

Miss Laprimaudaye, that beautiful young nun, is dying.¹ I have not seen her since she was in Dublin. She was only 17 when put into the Noviciate — The people about her made nothing of it till lately, when the Pollens forced them to have advice — and the Doctor, when called in, said there was no hope. That brings Mrs Pollen here, but she is not allowed to see her sister, according to the Rule — no one is ever allowed to enter the Infirmary — but on Sunday last they managed to get the poor girl into a chair and wheeled her into Mrs P's presence. They say she cannot last long.

I have been making a calculation — Supposing the separate acres of our [[Oxford]] land be put *all* of them at the *average* price, (which I think an equitable acknowledgement of your and Edward's liberality, though you are to take the best acres) then — (putting the purchase money at £8500, which includes £100 law expences,) it has cost £1751. 10s an acre. Moreover, whereas you and Edward give £2500 apiece, I £1500, Hope Scott £1000 and the House £1000, it follows that our shares are represented respectively by 5, 5, 3, 2, 2, that is you have $\frac{5}{5+5+3+2+2}$ or $\frac{5}{17}$ of the land and so has Edward, I have $\frac{3}{17}$ — Hope Scott and the Oratory $\frac{2}{17}$ apiece. That is, you and Edward have each of you, 1 acre 1 rood, 28 poles. I have 3 roods, 16 poles — Hope Scott and the Oratory 2 roods, 11 poles apiece.

¹ Catherine Laprimaudaye, born in 1839, Pollen's sister-in-law, became a Holy Child nun under Mother Connelly at the age of seventeen. She was now dying in the Convent at St Leonards. Cf. letter of 1 Dec. to Pollen.

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On trying, you will find these accounts check with each other. Thus, if an acre be £1751.10, then your portion will stand

an acre — 1751.10

a rood — 437.17

28 poles — 306. 9

£2495.16 which comes close up to your £2500.

We have beautiful weather here.⁷

Ever yrs affly J H N

P.S. 'No news I suppose about the mortgage.'

WEDNESDAY 9 NOVEMBER 1864 went into afternoon to Brighton, where slept

TO THOMAS GAISFORD

Queen's Hotel, Hastings. Nov. 9th. 1864.

My dear Mr Gaisford,

I cannot refuse an invitation, which is as pleasant as it is kind. We propose to be with you tomorrow (Thursday) in the forenoon. We have a great (Oxford) friend close to Shoreham, and we shall pay him a visit in the way.¹ Whether he can receive us or not, we are certain of being at Offington on Thursday early. My companion is Fr. Neville, of our Oratory.

I hope you will excuse our appearance as travellers. We shall have to leave you Friday night, as we have business in London on Saturday morning, and are due at Birmingham in the afternoon.

I shall be very glad to have a talk with you about our Oxford matters — which are a source of great anxiety to me, and not the less because they appear to be marvellously prospering. It is a much harder thing to bear good fortune than bad — harder for me certainly, because I have had little practice in it — and I am likely to have very novel difficulties at Oxford in a new state of things there — and to find it a great perplexity how to do what has to be done there without infringing on my duties to Birmingham.

I am, My dear Mr Gaisford, Sincerely yours,
John H. Newman of the Oratory.

Thos: Gaisford Esq.

THURSDAY 10 NOVEMBER 1864 we went on to Worthing — to Mr Gaisford's — went with him to Lancing College

FRIDAY 11 NOVEMBER said Mass in private Chapel — Lewis came to luncheon — went off to London (the Grosvenor) in evening

SATURDAY 12 NOVEMBER called on the H Bowdens, and then down to Birmingham from Paddington

¹ This visit to J. R. Bloxam, at Upper Beeding, did not come off. See letter of 23 Nov. to him.

14 NOVEMBER 1864

TO THOMAS ARNOLD

Nov 14/64

My dear Arnold

I am very sorry you should view things otherwise than we do. We have wished to follow your own initiative, and to act according to your own suggestion; and I really think we have done so.¹

You asked for an increase of salary in terms which implied that you contemplated leaving us, in case you did not gain it, and implied it the more clearly because you had hinted at such an intention last Christmas. Nor was that the only occasion during the past year on which we have become aware of it — On my asking you whether this was the case you frankly acknowledged that you had such an intention. Was it not very natural in consequence then we should be unwilling that so great a change should be hanging over our heads? and that, when you did not name the time of your going, we should propose a time to you?

We have on no occasion opposed your views of your connexion with us; we have yielded to them at once, at the sacrifice of our own. When to our surprise you viewed it as lying solely under the head of justice, we followed you in doing so. When you considered it just that you should have your whole salary for last Lent Term, during which you were away through illness, we yielded gladly, knowing the value of your services. When you said last month that you had an intention of leaving us, we said not a word, but accepted your decision. And now, in like manner, since you fix July 20 next, as the limit of your connexion with us, we give up our own day; let it be July 20.

Our only fault, if fault there be, is, that we cannot afford to increase your salary; and that we do not urge your staying, when, to our mortification, you tell us that your present salary is unjust to you.

Leaving us then on July 20, you will have given us the warning of a whole year; and we shall be giving you the whole £400 per annum for it.

It seems to me, and I think you will agree with me, that the Congregation is now released from the offer which it suggested to you of some extra pecuniary aid, considering that your going from us is so far from being sudden and abrupt. I first thought of it, when I fancied you might be contemplating leaving us at Christmas, in which case you would have been giving us a notice of two months.²

I am, My dear Arnold, Sincerely Yours John H Newman

Thos Arnold Esqr

¹ Arnold wrote on 12 Nov. expressing surprise at Newman's letter of 3 Nov., in which he was asked to terminate his connection with the Oratory School in April 1865. Arnold said that he could not consent to leave voluntarily until 20 July. In fact he asked to be released after Easter 1865.

² See letter of 11 Oct. to Arnold, final paragraph.

15 NOVEMBER 1864

TO ALBERT BUCKLER

The Oratory Bm Novr 15. 1864

My dear Fr Buckler

Your letter of this morning needed no apology; I would gladly serve you or your brother, were it open it [to] me to do so.¹

In this case it is not. I know well your brother's reputation — and was very glad, when I was in Sussex last week, to be told that he was engaged in a Church in those parts. It showed that his repute and his sphere of operations were in no sense local, and that by his talent he had driven local competition out of the field.

As to ourselves, I am taking advice of Mr Clutton with regards to our Oxford plans. He has already done some building for us here, which has quite satisfied us; and he is brother in law to one of our Fathers.² I am sure you will think these just reasons for our asking his services — and I am only sorry that we cannot avail ourselves of your brother's also. Pray explain this to him with my best respects and believe me to be,

My dear Fr Buckler with the kindest feelings Very sincerely yours in Xt
John H Newman of the Oratory

The Revd Fr Buckler O.P.

P.S. My love to Sister Catherine³

TO JAMES LAIRD PATTERSON

The Oratory, Birmingham. Nov. 15. 64.

My dear Patterson,

Thank you very much for your promptitude, and to Father Hermann for his ready zeal. I have much attachment to the name of the 'Visitation' — and what you say of Flavia Dayman is an additional inducement.⁴

I doubt whether we are prepared for Father Herman's visit yet. There are several points to be considered. At this moment Mr Clutton is in the house, and our first and imperative duty is to sell such portion of the ground as we do not want, with a view to reimburse the lenders of the money. Now are the

¹ Albert Buckler wrote on 14 Nov. to ask whether Newman would employ his brother Charles, who was an architect in Oxford.

² Clutton was married to Ryder's sister.

³ Catherine Anne Bathurst was now working with the Dominicans in London.

⁴ On 14 Nov. Patterson reported the assurance of Augustine Hermann, Prior of the Carmelites at Kensington, that the Visitation nuns of Paris would jump at the idea of opening a house in Oxford. Flavia Dayman, a convert and sister of James Jeken Dayman, had died there three months before, after twelve years as a nun. During those years she had prayed continually for Oxford, and the last prayers on her lips were for the same intention.

good Nuns prepared to buy ground to the amount of £1,000? or £500? If the latter sum is entertainable. I mean, we have a good prospect of making our money again, and, tho' we could substitute (gladly) the Nuns for other purchasers, sell we must, if we can.

Then again, we have so much to do ourselves, I fear we could not promise them a penny for their buildings or any other expenditure.

Then again we cannot be the ordinary Confessors of Nuns, though we could be the extraordinary.

I do not put these considerations as objections, which would be very ungrateful to Father Hermann, but in order that certain preliminaries should be carefully considered by him. I take it for granted that the Nuns in question have Tertiaries, who, as you suggested, could keep poor schools or an Orphanage, and sing in our Church.

Again thanking you for what you have done, I am, My dear Patterson,

Affectionately yours, John H Newman of the Oratory

The Rev. J. L. Patterson.

TO RICHARD SIMPSON

The Oratory, Brm Nov 15/64

My dear Simpson,

It was a great negligence in my friends here after opening my letters (which I wished) in my absence, not to acknowledge your cheque at once.¹ As I was wandering in Sussex, they could not send to me; but on my return on Saturday night, I took for granted they had given notice of the safe arrival of your letter with its contents, and, as I have the accumulated letters of a week to answer, I took and am taking them as they come. Any how I should have answered yours today. I did not feel the kindness of yours the less, for this delay, and I beg you to accept my best thanks for your munificent and very welcome offering. I suppose we shall have many obstacles, as time goes on, but hitherto things have run so smoothly, as quite to frighten me. The land to my surprise came to me — our Bishop, when I had not dreamed of such a thing, offered me the Mission — and friends, like yourself, have come forward spontaneously to aid me in building the Church. And I am told that at Oxford they are well disposed towards me.²

I am rather afraid of going too fast, or before now I should have brought out a circular. At *first*, I shall not give *names* in the list of sums contributed, from the wish of some of the contributors not to appear before others have

¹ On 7 Nov. Simpson sent £10 and offered £10 annually, in token of 'gratitude for your kindness, especially in the matter of the Rambler, admiration for the author of the *Apologia*, and revived hopes for the future of Catholic education in England'.

² See letter of 17 Nov. to Walker.

contributed too; but I shall say, 'so many £1, so many £5, so many £10 etc,' and in that way I shall take the liberty of putting down your contribution with the note 'annual,' without binding you to it when the time comes. When I get all the names that I can by private application, I shall publish them with the sums.

What the future is to be, who can tell? I am of an age, when health and strength and faculties may go suddenly — but, as this strange event has begun without me, so doubtless without me it would be carried out into its fulness.

My dear Simpson, Yours affectly in Xt
John H Newman of the Oratory

R. Simpson Esqr

TO ROBERT MONTEITH

The Oratory Bm Novr 16/64

My dear Mr Monteith

I should have written long before this, to thank you for your liberal contribution, and your most kind letter, had I not been away from home. Thank you for all you say about the Apologia, which is a true comfort to me.¹ Of course my health and strength may fail any moment, and we are so few here that that alone, as time goes on, may be a serious difficulty, but the opening is so wonderful, that it seemed wrong not to avail ourselves of it. And I have certainly remarkable news from Oxford — There seems at the moment a singular kindness felt towards me by all parties there — will it last? Who can tell? still it is altogether wonderful. If it is God's work, he will carry it on, through however many crosses — and 'When the shore is gained at last, who will count the billows past?'²

The difficulty of our *keeping* the whole ground which we have purchased (it is 5 acres, not 8) is our need of the interest of the purchase money. How are we to resist, if, after keeping enough for ourselves, we have good offers for portions of the rest? Of course we shall not part with it without letting the Bishops know — but I think the general sentiment of Catholics is getting stronger and stronger against a College.

Your contribution is *most* liberal — yet I don't like to give up your excellent idea of making an addition to it, — for this reason. Another friend is giving £200. I don't think he would like to give it, unless he was not solitary — Two such sums would elicit others like them, when thus a beginning was made. Would it be possible to make a condition, that, if we collected above a certain sum, you were at liberty to give the second £100 to some other work of charity

¹ Monteith, on 2 Nov., promised £100, and more if needed, 'But I don't think it will be so. The grandeur of the event in the present state of things — and just after the Apologia and the tears which your words about Oxford . . . brought into so many eyes — will secure you.'

² *The Christian Year*, St John the Evangelist's Day.

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any where else? Of course I should not ask for the second £100 to be *paid, till* this point was ascertained, so that it would be no practical difficulty to you. But you know best.

We have had a few little hitches to overcome, before we went on with our canvass for contributions — and I went away to get a few days rest — but we hope to begin in earnest very shortly

I feel the true honour and kindness you do me, in wishing me to determine what is to be put on Fr Spencer's Cross. You must give me time to think¹

Ever Yours most sincerely John H Newman

R J J Monteith Esqr

TO SISTER MARY IMELDA POOLE

The Oratory, Bm Nov. 16/64

My dear Sister Imilda

Thank you for your prayers and your interest in our doings.

We have purchased the land and have to pay £8400 by the 1st of January! The Bishop has given us a most effective begging letter for a *Church*, and we hope to collect a large sum at once. We begin with twelve £100's, and hope to multiply them. There are one or two hitches just now, which stop the way but I suppose we shall soon go ahead.

We shall have plenty of trials in time, but at present the sky is very clear and bright, and the landscape is rose-colour. Alas! that bright mornings are the soonest over cast! So great a work cannot be done without great crosses — Yet I don't like to say so, for it is like prophesying against myself and I do not like trial at all. What is to happen if we are not preserved in health and strength? We have few enough to work if we have our all — we have not a quarter of a Father to spare — but we must leave all this to Him who we trust is employing us.

Continue to pray for us and believe me to be

Yours affectly in Xt John H Newman

TO BISHOP ULLATHORNE

The Oratory Nov 16/64

My dear Lord,

I have been away from home, or I should have called on you; since my return I have been confined to my room by a cold.

I inclose your Lordship's letter, and the passage in it with the sentence in

¹ Monteith was putting up a memorial to Ignatius Spencer, who died suddenly on 1 Oct. 1864, when giving a mission at Carstairs, in the church Monteith had built.

and out.¹ While I was away, I heard the objection made by a convert, that it might seem to dissuade any from contributing to the Oxford Church who were *not* converts. (He was speaking, *not* of the text of your letter, but from *my own account* of the projected Church, as a *Memorial*.) I answered that this was just a point on which you had a right to know best.

There are two questions which I have to ask your Lordship, and I send Fr Bittleston with this, that he may explain my meaning more fully, if necessary.

1. There is a report of the Bishops intending to meet upon the University matter almost at once. I suppose nothing, which they shall determine on it, can interfere with the basis on which we undertake the Oxford mission, as drawn out in my letters to you; viz. as having for our object the care of the faith and morals of the Catholic youth actually at the University?

2. Supposing your Lordship vacated the see of Birmingham *before* the Oratory was formally established by me at Oxford under your sanction, and your successor declined to allow of an Oxford Oratory, (which would ipso facto involve our giving up the Mission,) the Church which we had built would at once become the property of the Diocese, and might be given away to some religious order. How is this contingency to be guarded against?

I am, My dear Lord, begging your Lordship's blessing,

Your affte Servt in Xt John H Newman of the Oratory

The Rt Revd The Bishop of Birmingham

FROM BISHOP ULLATHORNE

Birmingham Novr 16th 1864

My dear Dr Newman,

I return you the Letter on the Oxford Oratory, altered in form upon your suggestion.

Although I gave Fr Bittlestone a verbal reply to your two questions, yet I think you will prefer a line or two in writing.

1st then, I heard a hint from a Bishop that we might soon be called upon as a body to discuss the University question. But I know no more than that remark about the subject. What results might come out of such a discussion, supposing it entered upon, I could not say, as I would not even know what shape the questions even might take. Of course there could be no result that could interfere with the Oratory, even supposing, which seems unlikely, that sharp measures were taken against such as entered the University, amounting I mean to prohibition of spiritual aid.²

2nd I have no hesitation in saying that after you have bought the land with Episcopal approval, after the correspondence which has passed between us, and after

¹ 'Sentence in:

What person could so properly undertake to raise that monument of gratitude to God for the conversions of the last thirty years? Or in what place could it be so properly raised? Or who will refuse their contribution to such a movement of piety and gratitude?

Sentence out:

What person could so properly undertake to raise that monument of gratitude to God for the conversions of the last thirty years? Or who will refuse their contribution to it?

See Ullathorne's public letter of 27 Oct.

² See letter of 23 Nov. to Hope-Scott.

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contributions have been made expressly with the view of aiding the work, encouraged by my letter of recommendation; were anything to happen to me, my successor would be bound by my act, which thus takes the form of an Engagement between the Birmingham Oratory and the Diocese; and that if on unfair grounds the work were arrested, you might justly appeal to higher authority.

I stated to Fr Bittlestone that I should inform Propaganda of the whole transaction with a view of preventing any erroneous report from causing misconceptions at Rome, and this step will have the additional advantage of authenticating the transaction at Propaganda.

Praying Almighty God to keep you and your brethren

I remain Dear Dr Newman Your faithful & sincere friend W. B. Ullathorne.

P.S. I think I have always forgot to mention that I have myself in hand £190 — a legacy, towards building a Church in Oxford.

TO HENRY WILBERFORCE

The Oratory, Bm Novr 16/64

My dear H W

I grieve indeed that your anxieties continue.¹ It is very cruel that it should be so — but things are never very dark, but by God's mercy they become light again; and you will certainly see gladness spring out of sorrow.

As to Oxford, we are astonished at our own doings — and our only hope is that we are doing God's will in thus portentously involving ourselves both in money matters and in work. I should like a long talk with you, though just now I am confined to my room with a bad cold. My friends here sent me away suddenly to the South coast, because I was not quite well — and, coming back from that delightful climate to this keen one, I have been knocked up by it. I think I should live ten years longer, if I was at Hastings or Brighton — but here, when I am older, a cold caught may catch [sic] me off. Since I came back, I have been hard at the letters, which came in my absence — so you must excuse my delay in answering you.

Before we knew where we were, Mr Ambrose Smith of Oxford offered us the ground, and the Bishop offered us the Mission — then our Fathers were excited about it, and wished to reconnect me with Oxford — and, Mr Smith, suddenly dying, we found we must buy the whole land or none — so we have got five acres, and have to pay by January 1, £8400. We are going to build a Church at once, and, though the mission is very small at present, we are sanguine that we shall increase it enough to make it pay the interest of our great expenses. The Bishop has given us a strong letter, and I trust we shall collect a large sum for the Church. Every thing looks favorable at the moment, but of course we shall have plenty of crosses as time goes on.

I am sorry Wilfrid is still so weakly. Say all things kind from me to your wife and girls.

Ever Yrs affly John H Newman of the Oratory

H. W. Wilberforce Esqr

¹ Wilberforce's anxieties were financial.

17 NOVEMBER 1864

TO T. W. ALLIES

The Oratory, Nov 17. 64.

My dear Allies,

I know nothing to interfere with my having a talk with you on Wednesday, and shall be glad to see you, and will have a room ready for you.

Yours affectly John H Newman of the Oratory

TO J. B. MORRIS

The Oratory Birmingham Novr 17. 1864

My dear Morris

I was away when your letter came, and, as I was moving about, my letters could not follow me. It grieves me to hear of your trials — and we will not forget you. You do not speak of your health — so I trust that is not added to the sources of perplexity, of which you complain.

It is true that we contemplate an Oratory at Oxford — but it will be a work of time. It is not far from the Observatory, where our site will be. It is a large piece of ground — almost five acres — but we shall sell the greater part of it, as soon as we can. We are beginning to get contributions for a Church.

The growing feeling of Catholics is against a College. It will cost so much; and, when provided, perhaps will not fill. It will attract attention; and shortcomings, whether on the part of tutors or young men, will be jealously noted. It will be impeded in its free action by a number of petty semi-monastic regulations, and will not be in a condition to compete fairly with the Protestant bodies. It will either be looked down upon, or it will kindle fierce controversy and opposition. It will be regarded with great suspicion by an influential portion of the Catholic body; and will bring odium and disrepute on those who take part in it.

These are strong reasons against the notion — and in matter of fact, I think neither Propaganda nor the Bishops will allow of it.

Ever Yours affly in Xt John H Newman of the Oratory
The Very Rev J. B. Can. Morris

TO J. WALKER OF SCARBOROUGH

The Oratory Birmingham Nov 17/64

My dear Canon Walker

I thank you for the kind zeal for me which has led you to write to me on the subject of our Oxford plan, and think I quite enter into what you say. But I am not doing what you are afraid of, as I think.¹

¹ Walker wrote (in an undated letter, probably 31 Oct.) his fear that if Newman went to Oxford, the cry would be raised that he was going there as an arch-proselytizer.

I am not going to leave Birmingham, but I am going to nurse up an Oxford Oratory. Of course this implies my being occasionally at Oxford, but nothing more. The distance by train from us is not more than an hour and a half — not longer than the time it takes to go to Rednall, our country house.

On the other hand there is just now a very remarkable feeling in my favour at Oxford — A friend of mine, who has lately been there, writes word 'Unless I had seen it with my own eyes, I could not have believed how strong is the attachment, for that is the word, with which you are now regarded by all parties up there.'¹ A Head of a House says 'every one would welcome you in Oxford'. An undergraduate writes to me; 'There is a report that you were at Oriel last Friday incognito; it caused great excitement. I am sure, if it were known you were coming here on any particular day, the greater part of the University would escort you in procession into the Town'.²

Do not mention all this — Of course I cannot reckon on this feeling lasting, but it is hopeful, as a beginning. The whole course of things has been wonderful, and there seems to me a call on me to follow it, without looking forward to the future. If we come to a cul-de-sac, we must back out.

I have not seen Manning's pamphlet yet. As to the Church of England, I cannot conceive the possibility of its being *removed*, while Monarch and Aristocracy remain — but I can conceive its body radically liberalized — so radically as to become a simple enemy of the Truth.³

Yours very sincerely John H Newman

TO BISHOP ULLATHORNE

The Oratory Novr 19/64

My dear Lord,

I thank you for the fresh trouble you have taken about the Letter of recommendation; — which I shall proceed to make use of.

What you say on the two points, which I brought before you, is quite satisfactory. As to membership with the University of Oxford being made a

¹ This was the verdict of Blennerhassett in a letter of 3 Nov., who also reported the next remark, that of the Dean of Christ Church, H. G. Liddell.

² This was written by Newman's anglican godson, Henry Pope, who had just gone up to St Mary's Hall. He wrote again on 4 Dec., 'Oxford is still full of your coming back. The other night, at the Union, the debate was on the abolition of tests: but *you* were the hinge on which the debate seemed to turn.'

³ Walker wrote, in the letter mentioned in first note, that Manning had sent him the proofs of his *The Workings of the Holy Spirit in the Church of England. A Letter to the Rev. E. B. Pusey, D.D.*, London 1864, which was published in the middle of Nov.

Walker thought that perhaps Manning wished him 'to see and perhaps say whether there was any clash between him and' Newman, in regard to the Church of England. Walker thought that there was, 'You would spare the church for the time, he is for *down* with it.' Also, Manning disputed Pusey's statement that the Church of England was a bulwark against infidelity. Walker took Pusey's side in this, and thought that Manning was aiming at Newman, who had recently described the National Church as 'a serviceable breakwater against doctrinal errors more fundamental than its own'. *Apo.* p. 342. See also letter of 28 Nov. to Walker.

reserved case, I cannot conceive such a measure being resolved on or carried out; for it would fulfil the proverb of the fathers eating the sour grapes and the children's teeth being set on edge. If Protestant fathers were troubled with Romanizing or convert sons, their short way would be to send them to Oxford. The Bishops of England would have played into their hands, by making it impossible for the poor boys to practise their religion there. I have a Protestant friend who is sending his son to Merton College.¹ What would he care about his son's being unable to get absolution? rather, he would think it the first step towards his son's relapsing to his first religion. Again, how should I be able to receive any Protestant Undergraduate or Bachelor, if I had to insist on his making a promise to me, as a condition of his reception, which it would or might, lie with his father, and his father only, to fulfil?

But it is needless to dwell on the supposition, as an existing danger, for, if any message of importance had come from Propaganda, your Lordship, as Diocesan, would have been the first to know about it.

I am, My dear Lord, Yr faithful affte friend & Servt in Xt
John H Newman of the Oratory

The Right Revd The Bp of Birmingham

TO JAMES LAIRD PATTERSON

The Oratory, Birmingham November 20.1864

My dear Patterson,

In one point of view nothing is more necessary certainly, and therefore nothing can be more considerate, than your hastening the question of the establishment of a religious house on our ground. We cannot well *keep* the land — we cannot resist a good offer — and if Catholics like yourself did not come forward at once, we must sell to Protestants.

And now I am in a position to meet that initial step, the mercantile part of the negotiation, by telling you what there is for sale which I was not able to do when last I wrote. I am sorry to say it fulfils the anticipations I had of the serious nature of a purchase.

We *take* what is, (commercially speaking,) the worst part of the land, that towards St Giles — we *sell* the portion bounded by Walton Street and opposite to Worcester College and the Printing House. This portion we divide into three lots, which cannot be divided again. Number 1 is to be Let on a term of 99 years, at an annual rent of not less than £100, (with the condition on starting of certain expenses of drainage etc.) Number 2 is to be let for 99 years (with the same conditions) at an annual rent of not less than £140. Number 3 is to be sold out of hand for not less than £1100 (with the same conditions.)

These are formidable purchases. It has struck me whether some munificent

¹ Arrangements were being made for R. E. Froude to go to Merton.

person, as the Duchess of Leeds, would help (that is, go shares with) Nuns, in purchasing one of them.

Number 1 is nearly an acre — the price *out and out* for *purchase* would be £2,222; I suppose we might come down to £2,000. Three sides of it are frontage. It is divisible into 2 portions. The Duchess of Leeds, we hear, is looking out for a place for a boy's orphanage. She might take $\frac{1}{2}$ an acre, and the nuns the other $\frac{1}{2}$ acre. I inclose a plan of the acre; and, in sending it, I am not binding myself to the exact measurements, but giving you a general idea of it.

Excuse me if I say that the very first necessity would be, if things seemed favourable, that the purchase money should be paid down. It would be much better if the Duchess of Leeds paid for the *whole*.

Yours affly John H. Newman

P.S. Since writing the above I have considerable doubt on this point:— Surely, an enclosed order should have a good garden. Even a garden of an acre (minus the site of the House) is small, when surrounded by high walls. How then is it to be conceived that they can come to Oxford? Even an acre would cost £2,222. Any enclosed order would naturally choose the country, unless they lived on alms.

TO MARIANNE BOWDEN

The Oratory Bm Novr 21/64 In fest. Present. BMV.

My dear Child

Pray give my respectful thanks to Revd Mother for the medal.

As to the sermon, it is most kind that you should think of it — but tell her that I have no notes of it and never had — and that there is no remembrance of it on earth, except such as you and other hearers may in your devout and charitable minds have retained.¹

We are engaged in a great work — our Bishop has put the Oxford Mission into our hands — and we are going to get contribution for a new Oratorian Church there. Give us your prayers. Pray that I may be strengthened for what is a great toil at my age. I trust through God's mercy you will keep well

Every Yrs affly in Xt John H Newman of the Oratory
Sister M. Dominica

¹ It is not clear what sermon is meant.

TO ALEXANDER FULLERTON

The Oratory Birmingham Novr 22/64

My dear Mr Fullerton,

Our Bishop has put the Mission of Oxford into my hands; we have bought a piece of ground; and we are going at once to build a Church there, with a view eventually of introducing the Oratory there.

I am soon to bring out a printed circular asking for subscriptions, but I should be sorry that you saw it for the first time in print, and I wish to get as good a beginning to my subscription list as I can, to encourage and set a standard for those whom I do not know.

I know well how many and great your charitable engagements are, and it seems a shame to come to you. And yet it is a great cause. We want to erect a great centre of Catholicism in Oxford, which may last, and grow more important as time goes on. The Birmingham Congregation gives £1000 for site etc. I have got two £200 — ten or twelve £100. I hope to get £50, £20, £10, as people will give. I propose to begin to build when (over and above the cost of site etc) I reach £4000.

And now, having said as much as this, I say no more — for I have said enough, I am sure, to interest you, and whether you can aid us with a greater or less contribution, it will be equally a sign of your zeal, and your kindness towards myself.¹

I suppose Lewis told you I was lately in your neighbourhood. It would have been a great pleasure to me, if I could have reached you — but I was from home only a week, and the greater part of it at Hastings.

With my kindest remembrances to Lady Georgiana, and thanks for her letter, I am, My dear Mr Fullerton

Sincerely Yours in Xt John H Newman of the Oratory

A. Fullerton Esqr

TO JOHN HARDMAN

The Oratory Birmingham Novr 22.1864

My dear Mr Hardman

My knowledge of your munificence in giving should rather restrain me from writing to you to solicit help, rather than encourage me — yet the occasion is a great one, and one which, whether you can answer me favorably or not, you will, I think, like to have had brought before you.

Our Bishop has given me the Mission of Oxford, and I hope eventually to establish an Oratory there. As a first step I wish to build a church. We have

¹ Fullerton, who lived at Slindon, wished to defer the decision of what he should give, and never contributed.

got a good piece of ground, and the Bishop has given me a most effective letter to raise contributions with.

I am soon bringing out a circular, but I wish first to address you with my own hand. We wish to append to it an incipient list of subscriptions to set the matter going. The Birmingham Oratory gives £1000 for site etc. I have got two £200 — about ten £100 — and I shall aim at getting £50, £20 etc. etc. I wish your name in this list, for the *sake* of your name — I wish it also for the example which it will set — I wish it also for your money. Though I have no claim to make on you for *any* sum, and shall be satisfied with any, I wish of course as large as I can get. All this smacks of impudence, but beggars are ever bold, because they are beggars.¹

And now, My dear Mr Hardman, with every kind of feeling, and much pleasure in having an opportunity any how of writing to you, and hoping you will say that this remarkable weather suits your health, for such strange weather may be good or bad for it, I am

Very sincerely Yours in Xt John H Newman of the Oratory
John Hardman Esqr

TO E. B. PUSEY

The Oratory, Bm Nov 22/64

My dear Pusey

Several weeks ago I was going to write and tell you I had bought some ground in Oxford for my own purposes, and some one said 'Don't write — it will annoy him.' I did not feel this — for I thought it was the fact which would annoy you, if so, not my writing to say so. However, I suspended my purpose, but now that time has passed and I think as I did, I put my original thought into execution.

Two or three things have combined — first, our youths are beginning to go to Oxford, and the Colleges are admitting them — secondly the late Mr A Smith suddenly offers me land — thirdly my diocesan puts, to my surprise, the Oxford Mission into my hands. These three acts are independent of me — but, combined as they are, they have had force enough to make me think that it is God's will that I should accept the conclusion in which they issue — not indeed that I should leave Birmingham for Oxford, for that I have no intention of doing, but that I should do my best to found an Oxford Oratory. And I am beginning by building a Church.

My late declaration of principles is a sufficient pledge, to all who are anxious on the point, that I have no hostile feeling towards the Anglican Communion — and nothing but love for Oxford.² Nor would I be a party to any

¹ Hardman replied on 23 Nov. offering £50.

² i.e. Note E on 'The Anglican Church', at the end of *Apo.*, pp. 339–42; Appendix 3 in the first edition.

measures different from those which follow from those principles. I have no plans, nor, I may say, expectations. I am too old to be able to speculate on the future — and, if I found an Oratory at Oxford, it may be as much as Providence means me to do. Even so much action upon Oxford as this implies, even to see Oxford, would be to me inexpressibly painful, as the coming to life again of men who have been apparently drowned.

I have been told that my purchase of the land has cut you out in some such plan of your own — is it so?

God bless you ever, My dear Pusey, is the constant prayer of

Your affectionate friend

John H Newman

The Revd E. B. Pusey DD

FROM E. B. PUSEY

Christ Church Oxford Nov. 24. 1864

My dearest N.

Thank you for your kind note. You naturally know me better than they; and that the only feeling which I could have, would be one of anxiety or distress about the *thing* itself (not at your telling me) When I heard of it just after the purchase, I wrote to Copeland, because he has been in the habit of talking over things familiarly with you, and talking is always better than writing. What I wrote was much of this sort. That I had looked on this long abstinence in leaving us to ourselves, as an act of great forbearance; and that I feared that this movement would have effects which you would regret.¹

The pressure of rationalism has banished all other controversy. Not only anti-Roman but anti-Tractarian controversy has disappeared from those too who come up to preach in the University pulpit. Those who used to assail us, see, what you saw long ago, that Germanism is the real enemy, which would come in if we were weakened; or at least they see, that we are in earnest fighting the same battles, out of love for our One Lord, and so they wish us God speed; and so controversy is hushed, except against the enemies of the faith. The truth is making its way against rationalism; disciples of Jowett own that the tide is turned among the clever young men, (among the others they made no impression nor cared to make it) Jowett himself says that 'in six years time there will not be a liberal in Oxford', (I suppose he means a half believer) Some four or 5 years, and I think truth would be consolidated here, as in our happy days.

The establishment of a mission of yours, which must in its own nature be aggressive, even against your will (for there are so few of your own young men here) would necessarily alter this. Preachers etc would be on the defensive necessarily, and, since the defensive is always the losing side, on the aggressive too. So we should have all the anti-Roman controversy, which, as you said, strikes at you through sides, and the ultra Protestant spirits awakened. At least, this seems to me the necessary consequence, its further consequences none can tell; but, as you too feel, any weakening of the so-called High Church would be very fatal to the English Church, and, if corrupted, the English Church would be a terrible instrument for evil. You, I know, are alive to all the struggles which have been going on, especially as to our Prayer-book. While that remains the High Church party must exist. If it should be changed, I do not see what would resist rationalism. I suppose many have thought so before, but I have long thought this the final struggle in the Church of England. Truth is more diffused now, I trust than heretofore. The seed which you sowed is bearing fruit still. But I dread the effect of the revival of the ultra-Protestant controversy in this, which is the seminarium

¹ See Liddon's *Pusey*, IV, pp. 103-04.

of the truth which we teach. The half-believers or unbelievers here exult at your coming. They feel themselves pressed by us; those who are won from them are won to sacramental belief (not, I mean, belief in Christianity vaguely or even to the Person of our Lord) They mean, it seems, to play you off against us, hoping to win by our division.

For myself, I had hoped to have done altogether with controversy, except against the enemies of the faith. In any thing which I have republished I have struck out both the self-exaltation and the fault-finding which were the atmosphere of our early years. I had hoped to give myself wholly to the development of some of God's truth out of Holy Scripture.

I began a letter to you when I had read the early part of the Apologia. I could not read on, for it seemed like parting over again. But one thing I wished to ask you, what was the exact meaning of your prayer, that I might be 'nearer the Catholic Church before I die.'¹ Does it mean that I should not only be nearer but *in* the Roman Communion. My confession of faith in 1848 when you so lovingly came to me at Tenby,² had it pleased God that I should die, would have been, 'I believe explicitly all which I know God to have revealed to his Church, and implicitly any thing which He has revealed, though I do not know it' I remember consulting dear Marriott, whether he thought 'implicitly' would be understood as implicitè.³ This has been my faith or condition of mind ever since; faith in what I see, submission of mind to any thing which I do not see

They tell me that I should in some way write an answer to Manning's letter, because he has addressed it to me.⁴ I wish that I could have been left quiet to what is my work

I pray God for all blessing on you Yours most affectionately E B P.

TO SIR JOHN SIMEON

The Oratory Birmingham Novr 22 1864

My dear Sir John

You may have seen in the papers that we have bought some land in Oxford for Catholic purposes. I did not write to you on the subject at once, because I had nothing definite to say. I found most people against a Catholic College there — for various reasons, but still many of them so considerable as to show that the plan was impracticable. Meanwhile, our Bishop put the Mission there into my hands, and I accept it with the purpose of ultimately founding an Oratory there. Our first step is to build a Church, and a still previous step is to collect money for the purpose.

I know perfectly well that you have so many existing duties to be fulfilled, that I cannot expect you to aid, what is in itself a great scheme, with that generosity which is the characteristic of yourself personally — but whatever you give me, I shall gratefully accept — and all sums are welcome, large and

¹ 'People are apt to say that he [Pusey] was once nearer to the Catholic Church than he is now; I pray God that he may be one day nearer to the Catholic Church than he is now; I pray God that he may be one day far nearer to the Catholic Church than he was then; for I believe that, in his reason and judgment, all the time that I knew him, he never was near to it at all.' *Apo.* p. 62.

² In Aug. 1846. See letter of 15 Aug. 1846 to Mrs J. W. Bowden.

³ 'Intricately,' 'by implication'.

⁴ *The Workings of the Holy Spirit in the Church of England, a Letter to the Rev. E. B. Pusey, D.D.*

Newman replied to Pusey on 25 Nov.

not large, for they become instances and protections to others. I am bringing out a circular, and I shall affix to it the beginnings of a subscription list. I shall have in it hundreds, fifties, twenties, and tens, that every one to whom it comes may have already a contribution correspondent to his own. At present I have from the Birmingham Oratory £1000 for site etc; I have two £200 nine or ten £100 and so on.

I have called our scheme 'a great' one for it is intended to create a centre and School of Catholicism in the heart of the University. It is intended to be something which will last and, as time goes on, grow.¹

I am, My dear Sir John, Very sincerely Yours John H Newman
Sir John Simeon Bart

TO J. R. BLOXAM

The Oratory Bm Novr 23. 1864

My dear Bloxam

I dare say you have heard before now, that I have passed thro' your neighbourhood. I did so, not without an attempt to call at Beeding. The case was this: I had not been quite well, and my friends here sent me off to Hastings for a few days, not a week. Mr Gaisford heard I was there, and declared that, unless I went over to him, he would come over to me. So, instead of going from Hastings to London, as I had intended, I came round by Worthing and slept one night at Offington. I made an attempt to call on you at Beeding — but I had no time to give you notice, and the days are so short, that I thought the chances were that I should make a mess of it, if I attempted it; so I gave the idea up very reluctantly.

I could not afford to be away longer, because we are at present so much engaged with our Oxford building plan. Thank you for speaking about Mr Buckler — but we have already got an Architect. Our greater difficulty is to get money, nor is it easy to see whence it is to come. We have no rich Colleges, no Societies, to meet our own subscriptions — and, though we have wealthy persons belonging to us, there are already so many calls upon them. People say 'Oh you'll be sure to get money' — but it is not so easy, if one looks at it calmly. £100 is a very handsome contribution; now, how many £100 contributions will it take to build a good Church withal? Let the Church cost only £6000, it needs 60 — where are you to get them?

I shall not leave this place, but of course, as soon as we have a Church built, I shall be from time to time in Oxford. But how can I reckon on life, health, strength, at my age? so that it seems to me like to dream — but I must do what I can according to my day.

Ever Yours affectly John H Newman

The Revd J. R. Bloxam

¹ Simeon promised £50.

23 NOVEMBER 1864

TO VISCOUNT FEILDING

The Oratory Bm Novr 23/64

My dear Lord Feilding

I don't like you to hear of my doings and beggings by the printed Circular I am about to issue, without first knowing about them in my own hand.

We have bought land at Oxford for an Oratory; and, though I shall not leave Birmingham, still, if God gives me strength, I shall do my part on the spot to set it up. This involves a Church, a Church involves money to build it withal, and that involves zealous friends to take up the cause.

Our Bishop has given us a most effective letter — the Birmingham Congregation gives £1000 for site etc. I have got from intimate friends two £200 and ten £100. But I want of course a large sum, and therefore am looking forward on all sides

I know how good a friend you are to such objects, and especially when they are connected with myself — though I do not know, and doubt, your ability to do all that you would like to do. However, it is my duty, and a pleasure to me, to bring the matter before you — and I am quite sure you will give me your aid as far as you can, and your good prayers also. It is surely most desirable to set up a central home of Catholicism in Oxford. This may not be done in my time, but, by God's blessing, I may begin a work which will last after me, and grow in importance. The ground I have got was the only freehold ground in Oxford to be obtained ever; we have given between £8000 and £9000 for it! Of course we must sell portions of it as fast as we can. We keep a good piece for ourselves, and we wish to use it to good purpose. This we cannot do without the zealous cooperation of our friends.¹

And now I have said all that is necessary, I think, to make our case intelligible, and I am, with my best respects to Lady Feilding,

Very sincerely Yours in Xt John H Newman of the Oratory

The Viscount Feilding

TO JAMES HOPE-SCOTT

The Oratory Bm Novr 23/64

My dear Hope-Scott

Almost the cardo of our connexion with Oxford is the price of season tickets on the great Western, or yearly tickets rather.

The *time* is not more than from here to Rednall, our cemetery — but the expense is considerable.

A return ticket to and from Oxford is £1. Once a week £52. But we want if possible, three Fathers — i.e. myself and two curates, to be able to pass to and fro.

¹ Lord Feilding gave £25.

The Great Western has never gone beyond giving season or yearly tickets from Bm [Birmingham] to Leamington, which by express is in time $\frac{1}{2}$ of from Bm to Oxford.

1. What we should *like* would be a transferable ticket, *on the plea* that we were clergymen serving a Church.

2. [[next]] Two or three yearly tickets. But, of course, *the* point is, what is the cheapest way of doing it.

Now you are the best person I can think of, to give us advice, or to tell us whom to go to, and how to come round the Directors.

It stands to reason that £100 or £150 for passing to and fro, will be a frightful item in our expenses.¹

Confidential

The Bishops are to meet *quam primum*, not to *settle* the University question, but to submit their opinions to Propaganda, that *Propaganda* may decide.²

Propaganda seems to be at the mercy of Manning, Ward and Dr Grant. For this meeting does not proceed from the Bishops.³

¹ Hope-Scott replied on 27 Nov. that to arrange what Newman wanted would mean a quiet talk with the General Manager of the Great Western Railway, I. Grierson. Hope-Scott was going abroad on 1 Dec. and so would prefer to leave the matter until the following Easter. He sent the answer on 21 Sept. 1866, that transferable tickets could not be allowed.

² Ullathorne wrote to Newman on 22 Nov. a letter marked '*Private*', 'I received this morning a Letter from Propaganda requesting me, as well as the other Bishops, in the name of the Sovereign Pontiff, to meet in London *quam primum*, and after discussing the whole question of the Protestant Universities in view of Catholic education, each Bishop's opinion is to be reported to Rome, that the Catholics of this country may not be left without some rule in this question.'

³ This was common knowledge. Cf. Butler's *Ullathorne* II, pp. 3-9, and note to Ullathorne's letter of 25 Sept. 1864.

On 17 Sept. 1864 Manning wrote to the Secretary of Propaganda, Mgr Capalti, that Bishop Grant had kindly told him how he had that day sent a letter to Cardinal Barnabò, the Prefect of Propaganda, on the University question. Manning ventured to add his own remarks. The English bishops had published no instruction on the subject, and many Catholics were now thinking of sending their sons to the Protestant universities. Four or five youths of the best families were going up to Oxford at the beginning of the academic year. If nothing was done, the matter would be settled by the example of those who wanted '*la coltura intellettuale ed i vantaggi materiali della Società inglese*'. A Catholic college at one of the universities was suggested, but Manning thought that even more dangerous than Catholics going individually to the existing colleges. Archives of Propaganda, *S.R.C. Anglia*, 17, 1864-6, ff. 374-5.

In consequence of these letters Wiseman was written to on 1 Oct. from Propaganda, and asked whether it would not be possible to have an urgent meeting of the bishops, to settle the University question. Archives of Propaganda, *Lettere e Decrete*, 355, 1864, ff. 502-504, 518.

On 8 Oct. Manning wrote again to Mgr Capalti:

I was very glad to learn from Cardinal Wiseman the contents of the paper [of 1 Oct.] from Propaganda about the Protestant Universities.

As the Cardinal is going to make known to the Sacred Congregation his views on the subject, I will not presume to repeat his words. He declared himself entirely opposed to any contact between the faithful in England and the heretical intellectual culture of the country.

Bishops Grant, Cornthwaite and Amherst have already made it known that they are of the same opinion.

As regards the rest of the bishops, I do not doubt at all that they will agree with this view of the question, at least once they have been assembled to submit to a solution from the Holy See.

On account of the delicacy of his position, Cardinal Wiseman wishes to receive from the

It is not off the cards, though of course very improbable, that going to Oxford will be made a reserved case.

Now I repeat what I have said before, [[vid letter of August 29]] that unless the Catholic gentry make themselves heard at Rome, a small active clique will carry the day¹

Ever Yours affly J H Newman

TO J. SPENCER NORTHCOTE

The Oratory Birmingham Nov 23/64

My dear President

My rule is not to go to Priests to beg, for works of religion and charity — but I come to you, not as a Priest, but as the President of Oscott.

You have boys from your school at Oxford — and you are interested in their going on well — The Bishop has put the Oxford Mission into our hands,

Cardinal Prefect a request to call the bishops to a meeting, in order to remove every appearance of acting merely on his own.

I cannot conceal that the affair becomes every day more serious and more difficult.

The leaders of this movement are precisely those who supported the Rambler, and the Home and Foreign Review. Further, the person who began all the agitation is a certain Mr Ffoolkes, an Anglican clergyman, a convert, the writer of the articles, denounced by Mgr Ullathorne to the Sacred Congregation of Propaganda, in the Union [Review], which have just been deservedly condemned by the Holy Office.

All of them without exception, as far as I know, have either kept silent when they should speak out on critical questions such as that of the Temporal Power, or about the Munich Congress, or else they have openly opposed the Catholic point of view.

Although those who think in that way are few in number, they are nevertheless educated and active. I fear very much the influence, or the entry of that intellectual element in the education of our young laymen.

Furthermore, the harmful effects of this intellectual tendency can already be seen among some of the young clergy.

I can hardly believe that your Reverence has not already heard that the Revd Dr Newman has bought a large site in Oxford, with the intention of founding an Oratory. It is true that Mgr Ullathorne has simply given his approval for an Oratory. But it is being said on all sides that the purpose of this step is to set up a college later on. Whether that be true or not, it is quite certain that the discussion of the idea has been vastly promoted by this fact: and by the silence maintained up to now on the question of the Protestant Universities by the Revd Dr Newman. All that I tried to say in my last letter [of 17 Sept.] about the spread of this tendency as long as the bishops remained passive, seems to me every day more evident.

I beg pardon for the pertinacity with which I presume to submit to the Sacred Congregation my poor opinions, but this seems to me the most critical moment for the Church in England, since the establishment of the Hierarchy.²

For the Italian original of this letter, *S.R.C. Anglia*, 17, 1864-6, ff. 382-3, see Appendix 1. Pius IX having approved on 30 Oct., a letter was sent on 7 Nov. from Barnabò at Propaganda to Wiseman, ordering an extraordinary meeting of the English bishops as soon as possible, to consider the question of Catholic colleges at the Universities.

On the same day Capalti wrote the news to Manning, and thanked him for working on Wiseman, who as a result had written to Barnabò on 8 Oct. in the same sense as Manning on that day to Capalti. 'La ringrazio delle pratiche che a mia insinuazione si compiacque di fare presso codesto Emò Cardinale Arcivescovo.' *Lettere e Decreti*, 355, 1864, ff. 523 and 561.

¹ As to this, Hope-Scott replied on 27 Nov., 'As to Rome I cannot move — for I differ from those who want to send their sons to the present Colleges — who I suppose are the majority of the Oxford party and at the same time cannot pledge the Norfolk family to any separate scheme.'

and I have undertaken it, in no slight measure, for the sake of the Catholics who are there, or may be there, in the Colleges.

No ecclesiastical power can hinder Catholic youths being there. They may be sent by Protestant Fathers, and be in such a position that they are obliged or are sure, to obey them, even against the voice of the Church, did it speak — or they may be converted, while there. Such cases indeed do not concern the Authorities of Oscott, but they do concern the missionaries at Oxford — and they have their weight in making *me* look towards the Oxford mission, even though no *other* Catholic youths were there — but there are — and some come from Oscott, and therefore I write to *you*.

I want your name on our subscription list for a Church, which we are beginning to collect for at once. Your name will be one of the few which are not laymen — I mention this, merely that you may know it, and if you think on the whole that you had better not appear among the first names, very well, I quite acquiesce. But I have thought it right to put the matter before you, that you may give your name, if you consider it right.¹

I am, My dear President, Sincerely Yours in Xt
John H Newman of the Oratory

The Very Revd Dr Northcote

TO JAMES LAIRD PATTERSON

The Oratory Birmingham. November 23. 64.

My dear Patterson,

I must have expressed myself very stupidly to make you think that I expected the Nuns to pay down so large a sum now as the condition of negotiating with them.

I was enumerating difficulties which occurred to me in the plan; and the first was that it required a great outlay on their part quite at once, as a first step — but in like manner our going to Oxford at all involves a large sum down on our part as a first step — but that does not mean that we have not two or three months to pay it in *after* the bargain is *struck*.

As I wrote on, the difficulties increased to my mind. In a postscript I spoke of the necessity of a garden — and I confess the difficulties still grow. Yesterday we asked the Bishop's advice as a *friend*, and he at once struck the blot of the want of a garden — and said that such an inclosed order should go where land was cheap.

So much has this weighed on my mind, and other considerations, that I had determined, before your letter came, to write by this post to you — to ask you to give Father Hermann no further trouble in the matter. Will you then give him my respectful thanks, and say how sorry I am that I let you, before I turned over the matter more in my mind, speak to him on the subject.

¹ See letter of 28 Nov. to Northcote.

The other plan of a boy's Orphanage seems to me more hopeful. I was led to think of it in the first instance, from seeing the boy's orphanage at Hastings.

The Superior said that the Duchess of Leeds, to whom it owes its existence, is going to move it, and buy land for the purpose — I really do think this an opening, supposing his information is correct, which, or my understanding of which, I am not quite sure of.

What do you think of this? and can you do anything towards it?¹

Yours affectionately in Christ, John H. Newman, of the Oratory
The Rev. J. L. Patterson.

TO JOHN B. SPEARING

The Oratory Birmingham Novr 23. 1864

Dr Newman will be obliged to Mr Spearing to advertise in such papers as Mr Spearing shall recommend, and in the usual form of words, proposals for sale or letting three lots of his lately purchased ground. He incloses a plan of them. He will be glad to see the advertisement before it is published, and to be told in what papers it is inserted.

The three lots are each for *sale*, if they obtain purchasers; but Number 2 had better be only for *lease* of 99 years, in order to have a hold on the sort of buildings put upon them. Number 3 is to be sold outright — for not less than £1200.

Number 1. On building lease for 99 years, according to the inclosed plan, to contain from 18 to 20 houses. Conditions — the Lessor to undertake to make the moiety of the thoroughfare marked A, as well as to incur the moiety of all drainage, paving, lighting etc. Terms — 120 per annum.

Number 2. as Number 1. it will contain from 27 to 30 Houses. The lessor to complete the remaining half of thoroughfare A. with the drainage, paving etc. Also to undertake the moiety of thoroughfare marked B with corresponding proportion of expense of draining, paving, lighting etc. Price £150 per annum.

Number 3, which is to be *sold* at not less than £1200. The purchaser to complete thoroughfare B with the proportion of drainage etc as before.

Dr Newman also wishes Mr Spearing to be so good as to inquire who the Misses Bridges, who own the adjacent land, are — whether Oxford ladies or not, and who owns the property of Wellington Place and the garden and houses to which it leads. But this subject is more clearly explained in the paper which he incloses.

Mr Spearing.

¹ This refers to the orphanage of the Xaverian Brothers at Hastings. The Superior wrote to Neville on 29 Nov. that it could not be moved to Oxford because Bishop Grant did not wish it, and the Duchess of Leeds wanted it and her girls' orphanage served by one and the same chaplain.

23 NOVEMBER 1864

TO HENRY WALSH

The Oratory, Birmingham. Nov. 23. 1864.

My dear Sir,

I have to thank you for some very good and useful advice that you gave us several months ago relative to the land for which we were in treaty with Mr. Smith, and which we have now bought.¹

However, I write, not simply with the view of thanking you, though I do so most heartily, but in order, as is usual in those who have received one favor, to ask a second.

We are beginning to collect money for our New Church, and we must, I think, have a *Banker* in Oxford, I should like to be guided by your choice. Perhaps there is some delicacy in the matter, for this reason:- that time may elapse, before we have an actual Oratory in Oxford with an income, and therefore the need of a Banker — so that [at] present I am but asking for a place which I can name for receiving contributions. Therefore, I may be simply putting a house of business to trouble, without any corresponding benefit to them.

Will you kindly give me your advice on this point, and direct me what is best to do?²

I am very glad to renew an acquaintance with you, at least by letter, from which I benefited so much, when I was at Littlemore.

I am, My dear Sir, Very truly Yours John H Newman
H. Walsh Esq.

¹ See second note to letter of 8 Sept. to Neville. Newman first met Walsh, who was an Oxford lawyer, in 1824.

² Following Walsh's recommendation Newman drafted, but owing to the turn of events, did not send the following:

Oy Bm Nov 26/64

Sir

I fear I may be asking what is unusual, and, if so, I must beg you to be so good as to set me right.

It is my wish to be allowed to open an account with the London and County Bank for the receipt of contributions which may be made in behalf of a Catholic church which I propose to build on land which I have lately purchased in St Giles's.

I consider what I am asking is perhaps unusual; because I cannot tell whether sufficient sums will lie in the Bank in my name to make it worth while for the Bank to take the trouble which my request involves. It may happen that there are no contributions paid in at all; nor is it at all certain that there will be an ecclesiastical establishment and permanent income attached to the church, of a nature to warrant me in looking out for a Banker

The Captain Strong

I am, Sir, &c J H N

25 NOVEMBER 1864

TO HENRY CLUTTON

The Oratory Bm Novr 25/64

Dear Mr Clutton,

I find there is a probability of our selling at once three acres of our ground, the three acres which you were so good as to mark out and subdivide, for £6,000 at once. Would you say, if you saw any reason against it? It would leave us nearly 2 acres, viz a parallelogram, with a side of about 206 feet, running along Little Clarendon Street

I am, Dear Mr Clutton Very truly Yours John H Newman

TO JOHN COWLEY FISHER

The Oratory Novr 25/64

My dear Sir

It is a pleasure to me to know that you still keep up your friendly thoughts of me.¹ A very few words are sufficient as an answer to your question. Certainly I think, as I have ever thought, that the Anglican Baptismal offices bear but one meaning legitimately, and that they are simply inconsistent with the teaching of the Evangelical school.² I consider your own argument as unanswerable, and that the good sense, and the actual feelings and convictions, of the community at large bear you out. Is it not quite certain that Evangelical Clergymen would be sensible of an enormous relief to their minds, if the dogmatic statements in the Anglican offices, on which you insist, were removed? Is it not certain that they reconcile their consciences to them, not by any satisfactory interpretation of those passages, satisfactory, I mean to themselves, but by such general, independent antecedent considerations, as 'There is nothing perfect —' 'this is the composition of fallible men,' — 'we must take things as they are —' 'the High Church party has its own difficulties,' — 'we must interpret these passages by the Articles,' — 'devotional forms are not articles of faith,' — 'better men than ourselves have before now accepted and used them, though they agreed with us in opinion —' and the like.

When you ask whether they can be signed with Christian 'integrity,' you ask a difficult question, which goes further than I like to answer. In common with a vast number of persons, I think the formularies of the Anglican Church inconsistent with each other — so that you would be accusing every Anglican Clergyman of want of integrity, if you carried out your view. This I cannot bring myself to do — not only because I have been an Anglican clergyman

¹ For Newman's meeting with Fisher see letter of 29 July 1861 to Bittleston.

² Fisher was the author of *Liturgical Purity our Rightful Inheritance*, London 1857, second edition 1860, third 1872. The Evangelicals did not acknowledge regeneration as the effect of Baptism.

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myself, but because our Lord says 'Judge not.' But I think you mean by 'Christian integrity' to speak of the matter viewed abstractedly

Very truly Yours John H Newman

J. C. Fisher Esqr

TO E. B. PUSEY

The Oratory, Bm Nov 25/64

My dear Pusey

I assure you that controversy will not come from me, nor any one with whom I am associated. You can hardly understand the sensation produced among my fellow-religionists by the admission of Catholic youth into Oxford. They are in a worse fright than any of you can be. They simply do not know what to do — and I never should be surprised if it came out, that the late condemnation of the 'Union' Association was connected with this new state of things at Oxford. To say that there are only a few Catholics at Oxford is not to the purpose, begging your pardon; the number may rapidly increase; and after all the soul of any one for whom Christ died is precious, and is worth keeping from liberalism.

Our Bishops are to meet at once and at an unusual time to form a judgment on the matter, and to send it to Rome, which reserves to itself the decision. Some persons go so far as to wish a prohibition issued against Catholics going to Oxford at all — others are against their going to the existing Colleges, and wish one erected for them. The Oratory going to Oxford is considered as a compromise, but whether it will be accepted as such, I know not. However, I hold it to be impossible that our youths will not find their way there in a year or two, if not now. So that no immediate decision would delay my movements.

The ground came to us in a most singular way — and the Mission was put into my hands most unexpectedly. We are selling again part of the land; that made me say, have I cut you out?¹

I perfectly understand that there are persons who would think that my coming (ever so little) to Oxford would tend (so far forth) to weaken the dogmatic teaching of the Church of England — but I should not agree with them.

As to my meaning in the passage to which you allude,² I think that the only *body*, which has promises attached to it, is the Catholic Church — and if I think the Anglican Communion, as such, is not included in the Catholic Church, I think it has not any divine promise or power. Then I believe too *Extra Ecclesiam nulla salus*, and, as I think the head and heart of that Ecclesia

¹ See the end of Newman's letter of 22 Nov. Pusey and his friends were already contemplating the foundation which eventually took shape as Keble College.

² See second note to Pusey's letter of 24 Nov.

is Rome, I think that to be in communion with Rome is to be united to the Church of the promises, of grace and of salvation. But then, as Manning has brought out in his Letter to you, till baptism is forfeited by deliberate conscious rebellion of thought, it remains, what it really is in itself, an introduction into the Catholic Church, that Church of which Rome is the head. God alone can tell who has thus rebelled, and who has not, — who is invincibly ignorant and who is not. In this respect I differ from Manning, because he attempts to define the classes, who are, and who are not.¹ But any how, when a man is united to the Communion which centres in the see of St Peter, I think the onus probandi that he is in the true Church and the Communion of Saints is, not with him, but with others — but if he is not, then the onus probandi is, not with others, but with him. Therefore, my dearest Pusey, in what I said in print, I meant to pray that you would be at some time in that normal condition and state, which is a pledge and token to all beholders, and to a man's self, that a man is Christ's. I hope I have not said anything which you would wish not said, or said in different words — excuse me, if I am rude. How can I undertake to judge any one, who have to be judged myself? but I cannot but say with St Jerome to Damasus, 'Ego nullum primum, nisi Christum sequens, Beatitudini tue, id est cathedrae Petri communione consocior. Super illam Petram aedificatam Ecclesiam scio. Quicumque extra hanc domum agnum comederit prophanus est.'²

It seems an odd way of showing that I am not controversial, to make this quotation, but I should not have dreamed of doing so, had not you asked my meaning.³

Ever Yours most affectionately, John H Newman

P.S. I cannot be sorry that Manning has brought out one or two points so clearly as he has — else, I should be sorry that he has written to you. Of course I do not see things on your side sufficiently to be able to say that you should not answer him — but I am tempted to ask, Why should you?⁴

TO SIR GEORGE BOWYER

The Oratory, Bm Novr 27. 1864

My dear Bowyer

I am deeply grieved at what you tell me.⁵ It was only a few days ago, that,

¹ *The Workings of the Holy Spirit in the Church of England*, pp. 10–21; reprinted in *England and Christendom*, London 1867, pp. 91–104.

² *Epistola XV ad Damasum papam*.

³ Pusey replied on 26 Nov., 'Kindest thanks. It never occurred to me that your young men would come into any peril of losing faith, and I thought that they were already provided for.

Thank you too for the explanation "Nearer to", as I rather imagined, meant I see, "in". But I thought that it might also mean, that there was some habit of mind, which you thought kept me at a distance from, as well as out of; and it was this thought which made me ask you.'

⁴ Pusey soon began work on his *Eirenicon*, in reply to Manning.

⁵ Bowyer had built a church to serve as the chapel of the Hospital of St John and St Elizabeth, in London. He wrote on 25 Nov. 'My Church of St John of Jerusalem which I

in passing thro' London, I went to see your beautiful church, little dreaming what you tell me about it. But be sure, it will come all right — whatever be your trouble just now — such a work must command its legitimate place, as time goes on, and you must look steadily to the future.

I had intended in the course of a post or two to have written to you with a view of interesting you in our Oxford scheme. It is a work full, of course, of anxiety — at present things look well, and I trust St Philip will carry us on. It is very kind in you to anticipate my mention of it.

It would be a true pleasure to me to see you and converse with you — You must not be discouraged — who is there who has not had disappointment when he had a right to look forward hopefully? — a little time and the clouds will disperse

I will gladly say Mass for your intention, and am, My dear Bowyer,
Affectionately Yours in Xt John H Newman of the Oratory

Sir G. Bowyer Bart

P.S. You imply that you can *eventually* give us something for the Oxford Church. If so, it would be a great thing to have your *name* now.¹

TO WILLIAM MONSELL

The Oratory, Bm Novr 27/64

My dear Monsell,

I have so much going on here, that I was away for as short a time as possible — and, I am thankful to say, was set up. The Sussex coast is such a medicine to me. Thank you for your pleasant wish of seeing me at Tervoe, but I was only away for a week. That is why I gave you no direction to write to me at, at Hastings — for I was moving all the time that I was out. Your letter did not find me for a while.²

There are verbal corrections, and some few insertions to be made in the middle part of my Apologia; which I will send when I can get time to make them.³ Thank you for the additional names for *contributors*.⁴ We are going on well, and soon shall issue an Advertisement.

The title of my Abridgment will be 'History of my religious opinions.' It

hoped to see a heaven upon earth has proved an *utter failure*. It is shut up and useless!' He complained that certain persons had aroused Wiseman's jealousy, 'The consequence is that there is a systematic opposition to my wishes and my intentions as founder.' Bowyer appears to have wished to control the Hospital. The dispute was prolonged, and proved vexatious to Manning when he was Archbishop of Westminster. See *Purcell*, II, pp. 403-04.

¹ Bowyer gave £5.

² Monsell wrote on 10 Nov. hoping that Newman might visit his house near Limerick.

³ Madame de St Maur, who was to translate the revised edition of *Apo.*, had begun work on the first edition. Cf. letter of 12 Aug. to Monsell.

⁴ Monsell named Lady Castlerosse, the O'Connor Don, and Richard More O'Ferrall as possible contributors of £100 towards the Oxford church.

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will comprise parts 3, 4, 5, 6, 7. It will be preceded by an Introduction, explaining the circumstances under which it was written. Pray convey my most respectful thanks to the Translator, and assure her that there is no hurry. The abridged Edition *here* will not be wanted till March; and I do not know why hers need be earlier. I will send M. Cochin a copy of the Apologia, as he wishes.

Your letter has not long arrived, which will account for my silence.

Ever Yours affly John H Newman of the Oratory

The Rt Honble Wm Monsell M P

TO JOHN O'HAGAN

The Oratory Birmingham Novr 27. 1864

Private

My dear Mr O'Hagan,

Mr Allies, who is one of our University's Professors Extraordinary, has written a portion of a work on the Philosophical View to be taken of Christian History, which has been suggested to him by the province in which the Professorship lies. It is accordingly in the shape of Lectures. I urge him to deliver them at Dublin, before publication — I tell him that it is not only natural and appropriate to do so, but that Dublin, as I think, is one of the best places for getting an audience of intellect and refinement enough to take an interest in his subject. However, he fears that he should be out of place, *considering the present state of things in the University.*

Now of course I do not know how things stand at present. Would you be so good as to give me a hint, whether I should write to Dr Woodlock on the subject or not?¹

Ever Yours most sincerely in Xt John H Newman of the Oratory
John O'Hagan Esqr Q.C.

TO JAMES LAIRD PATTERSON

The Oratory, Birmingham. November 27. 64

My dear Patterson,

I hope I have not seemed unmindful of your zealous kindness. It was impossible I could see how things lay at once. The idea of a convent has continually grown less feasible in my eyes since I first wrote to you, nay, since you mentioned it in Bulstrode Street. I don't think it a place for an inclosed community. As to a working body, (besides your own experience in Oxford) after I saw you, I was at Worthing, and there found a *French* community which had spent £5000 made a failure, and wished to get away. And everyone I

¹ See letter of 30 Nov. to Allies.

spoke to, and every consideration that turned up, looked in the same direction.

But now other things have happened — I cannot raise the interest of the purchase money, and I am throwing the greater part of the land into the market, I hope and expect I shall sell it, before the time comes when I have to pay for it myself. And I am keeping more than is sufficient for ourselves — so as not to preclude the chance of some other institution being profited by my purchase.

I trust the Cardinal is better than when I saw him, from the engagement which per advertisement he will fulfil this week.¹

Ever yours affectionately in Christ, John H Newman of the Oratory.
Rev. J. L. Patterson.

P.S. I return Mgr. Howard's letter. I am sorry to say that we are already engaged.

MEMORANDUM, BISHOP ULLATHORNE'S VISIT

N.B. Nov 27/64

The Bishop called this afternoon. He wanted to know if I spoke of the *University* in my Circular; if so, I should divide Catholics. Already in London, not to say at Rome (not among authorities) it was said that I intended to countenance youths going to Oxford.

He said that in my later letters something of such a purpose had showed itself. I said that I had from the first declared, that, if Catholics were not there, I should have no call to go there; that I went to remedy an evil. He did not recollect this.

I offered to get my Circular, and did so; he read it and said that it would greatly commit him.

I asked him, if I could put in any half sentence, which would save him. He said, no — whether I could leave out any paragraph — he said, no.

I said that I would not for the world commit him — but on the other hand I must have, and state, my reason for going to Oxford — that, if Catholics were not allowed to go there, I should have no reason for going. I still referred him to my letter, at the end of September or the beginning of October —² but he did not recollect it. I said that it ran under heads, 1. 2. 3. 4. 5 thus 1. The residence of Catholic youth in Protestant colleges is dangerous; 2 in a Catholic college not dangerous. 3 the former is the existing state of things. 4 I wish to meet an existing evil. 5 I should have no call to go there, did it not exist etc. He still did not recollect.

I promised to suspend the issue of my circular till after the Episcopal Meeting of December 13 coming.

¹ Wiseman was to lecture on Shakespeare, for the Tercentenary, at the invitation of the Royal Society, on 27 Jan. 1865. He was prevented from doing so by his last illness.

² That of 23 Sept.

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NB. I see clearly that the real root of the difficulty is *myself*. There are those who cannot endure the thought that I should have the *forming* of the young Catholic mind at Oxford. This is the one point of battle. It is I, or not I.

Nov 30. All along, our Bishop has only spoken to me in the way of jealous restriction of what I was doing. He has never said 'I am glad you have bought so much land — the College scheme is not actually off the cards etc' etc but it has been 'Don't implicate *me*. In no way recognise the University. Promise you will not sell any of the ground to promoters of a College Scheme — You must not say that you go to protect Catholics at Protestant Colleges. Propaganda may *reserve* the case.'

TO BISHOP ULLATHORNE

The Oratory Nov 27/64

My dear Lord,

I inclose a copy of my projected Circular. My letter to your Lordship, to which I referred just now, is dated September 23. It was written apropos of the idea of an English Catholic University. You will see in that letter I make my going to Oxford dependent upon a great existing need, the fact of Catholics being in the University. If they are not there, an Oratory is unnecessary. I will not part with the land, without offering it to your Lordship

I am, My dear Lord, Your affte Servant in Xt
John H Newman of the Oratory

The Rt Revd The Bp of Birmingham

CHURCH OF THE ORATORY, OXFORD.¹

DR. NEWMAN, having been entrusted by his Diocesan with the Mission of Oxford, has it in contemplation, with the blessing of God, to proceed to the establishment there of a Church and House of the Oratory.

Some such establishment has been for some time required in behalf of Catholic youth, whom the University, according to the provision of a recent act of Parliament, admits to Matriculation.

It need scarcely be insisted on, that a measure like this on the part of the University, however equitable in itself, and however kind and liberal in its character, is nevertheless fraught with spiritual danger to the parties who are the subjects of it, unless the inexperience incident to their age and the temptations of the place are met by some corresponding safeguard of special religious aid and superintendence.

¹ This is the third and final draft of Newman's Circular of 1864. On copies of it he wrote 'October 1864 not issued'. It is printed in *Purcell*, II, pp. 295-6. The first draft is quoted in note to letter of 31 Oct. to Hope-Scott.

Priests of the Oratory may attempt, it is conceived, without presumption, to supply this imperative need; considering that, after the example of its Founder, St. Philip Neri, it has ever made the care of young men its primary object, and that its English Congregation in particular, by virtue of the Apostolic letters constituting it, is sent to those classes of society, above others, to which the members of an Academical body must necessarily belong.

Moreover, educated as many of the English Fathers have been themselves at Oxford and Cambridge, they bring to the work an intimate acquaintance with the routine and habits of University life, which furnishes a reasonable hope of their being able to set about it without giving cause of offence to the authorities of the place, — a hope which they indulge the more readily, because the peaceable discharge of its own special duties has been in every country the historical characteristic of the Oratory.

In pursuance of their object, they have procured a site in an eligible part of Oxford, and they propose at once to collect funds for the erection of a Church; and they venture to solicit all who take an interest in it, for contributions upon a scale adequate to the occasion, contributions large enough and numerous enough for carrying out an important work in a manner worthy of the Catholic name, worthy of the most beautiful city, and one of the great and ancient Universities of England.¹

TO HENRY CLUTTON

The Oratory Bm November 28/64

Confidential

My dear Mr Clutton

I tell you in confidence of a serious hitch in our proceedings which has just occurred.

It is connected with the projected sudden meeting of the Bishops on the 13th of next month on the subject of Oxford²

Very truly Yours John H Newman

¹ Ullathorne in his *Facts and Documents relating to the Mission and contemplated Oratory at Oxford*, pp. 10–11, after printing this Circular, wrote: 'Although nothing in this Circular contemplated other than spiritual duties at Oxford, and although the spiritual danger to which Catholic youth is there exposed was plainly expressed, yet when the Bishop read it in the Manuscript he was under the impression that it would be construed as favourable to the education of Catholics at Oxford. He therefore asked Dr. Newman to withhold its publication, which he not only with the utmost readiness consented to do, but he spontaneously offered a copy to be read, if deemed expedient, at the approaching meeting of the Bishops. And in consequence of exaggerated rumours having reached Cardinal Wiseman as to its contents, it was read there, and the Bishops were unanimous in thinking that its publication would be inexpedient.'

Newman printed, although he did not publish, copies of both the second and third drafts of his circular. Ullathorne's letter of 27 Oct. was included in the second draft.

² Clutton was preparing plans for building at Oxford, and advising about the sale of part of the site.

28 NOVEMBER 1864

TO JAMES HOPE-SCOTT

The Oratory Bm 17 Nov. 28/64

My dear Hope Scott¹

Thank you for your letter. 'Easter will quite do for the Great Western'¹ I hope you will come back very vigorous, and that you will not be caught in crossing the Channel, in the wonderful storm which M. Matthieu predicts. *Sic te Diva potens etc.*²

'At present I am simply off the rails. I do not know how to doubt that the sudden meeting of the Bishops has been ordered apropos of my going to Oxford. If I can understand our Bishop, the notion is to forbid young Catholics to go to Oxford, and to set up a University elsewhere³. If so, what have I to do with Oxford? what call have I, at the end of 20 years, apropos of nothing, to open theological trenches against the Doctors and Professors of the University?

I shall keep two acres, — enough both for an Oratory and College.⁴ The rest I must sell — as I can't afford to keep it. What I retain will cost about £2500. £1000 of it is yours — the other £1500 is my gains from my *Apologia*. So it stands at present. If it so remains a certain number of years, I never should be surprised to find the ground had much increased in value, by some opening into St Giles's, which at present is so much wanted⁵

Ever Yours affectly John H Newman of the Oratory⁵

Jas R Hope Scott Esqr

TO J. SPENCER NORTHCOTE

The Oratory Bm Novr 28/64

My dear President

Thank you for your letter, which I quite understand.⁶

¹ See first note to letter of 23 Nov. to Hope-Scott.

² Horace, *Odes*, I, iii, 1. M. Mathieu, the French weather prophet, whose predictions had lately been verified, foretold 'one of the greatest tempests of the present century', between 28 Nov. and 3 Dec. *The Times*, (22 Nov. 1864), p. 7.

³ [[This the Bishop negatived in his Pamphlet pp. 5, 6, and in his letter of Sept 29 [25] and in conversation]] Ullathorne spoke of a possible Catholic university.

⁴ [[i.e. if the Bishops chose to build a College]]. When, after Hope-Scott's death, the autograph was lent to Newman, he wrote a note at this point in pencil [[i.e. if a College was to be set up by the Bishops, not as if I or the *Oratory* were to found a College. Thus I speak above of 'College Trustees']]

⁵ Hope-Scott sent Newman a note on 30 Nov., marked *Private*, 'Bishop Grant in answer to my questions yesterday said that the Bishops were going to consider the question of a Catholic College in the University — not of Catholics going to the Protestant Colleges. The latter they seem to think has gone too far to be meddled with, so they will leave it alone.'

⁶ In reply to Newman's letter of 23 Nov., Northcote wrote on 27 Nov., unwilling for his name to appear among those of the first subscribers to the Oxford church. 'I would rather give as a priest of the Diocese of Birmingham, or as an old disciple of yourself, than as President of Oscott.' Northcote added that he had shrunk from recommending his own students

I should not have written to you, except that my friends here said, 'You must write at once to Dr Northcote, since he is near us, or it will be a disrespect.'

Since I wrote, the Bishop has told me that young Catholics may probably be formally forbidden to go to Oxford. I have thought of founding an Oratory there, *simply* in order to meet an existing evil. If it is otherwise removed, more directly and thoroughly, my reason for going there is gone; and your handsome contribution to the Church will be claimed by the existing Oxford Missioner, whoever he shall be.

Very sincerely Yours in Xt John H Newman of the Oratory
The Very Revd The President.

TO E. B. PUSEY

The Oratory Bm Novr 28/64

My dear Pusey

I am surprised to hear that the University thought of my ground. I heard the report, but did not believe it.¹ It would be a great gratification to me, if, consistent with my own wants, I could subserve any purposes, whether of the University, or any of the Colleges. (I inclose a sketch)

For myself, I do not want more than two acres; and I have selected the two which, in the market, are counted the less saleable. There remain almost three acres, with a frontage of about 530 feet along Walton Street, and about 150 along Little Clarendon Street, with an outlet on the other side into St John's Street. This portion I had thought of selling to Nuns, to the founders of an Orphanage, and for other Catholic objects. But for reasons, which are not to the purpose, I have given up the idea. I mean to sell them; I may say, I have got offers actually; but I should prefer to sell to the University. My price is £6500. If you encourage me, I will write to the Vice Chancellor. I want an early answer on the point. My only condition would be that it should be used for some *public* institution (not directly hostile to my religion, as a missionary Institution). If the University does not take it, I shall go to the market; if I don't get my price, (what I think is fair) I shall keep the ground on hand.

I did not mean to say that I, or any one else, feared that our youths would become Protestants; but they fear that they would imbibe in Oxford a low worldly spirit, that they would lose their views of the heinousness of sin, adopt a critical, discontented temper, form connexions, whether of marriage or of

to go to Oxford. 'However I should certainly wish my name to be found among the *οἱ πολλοὶ* as a Subscriber of £5 to the Church, and may I one day have the same pleasure in listening to you in it, as I so often had *quondam* in St Mary's.'

¹ In the postscript to his letter of 26 Nov. Pusey wrote about the Oxford site, 'The University would have bought it, and I hope would have built a hall for poor scholars upon it.'

friendship, which would make them lukewarm or careless. I go to Oxford in order to meet this existing danger; if the danger did not exist, either because we had a College or Hall there (which is far from impossible even now,) my motive for introducing the Oratory into Oxford would cease.

Thank you for your Sermon.¹ When I said you had not, in my idea, been near the Church, I meant that I had not seen in you any approach.²

Ever Yours affly John H Newman

TO J. WALKER OF SCARBOROUGH

The Oratory Bm Novr 28 1864

My dear Canon Walker

Your letter was a very amusing one, when once decyphered.³ I I have read Manning's Pamphlet, and think it clear, forcible, and temperate.⁴ I can't make out in what point you think I differ from him, about the Church of England. Every thing which he has said I have said also. He says *other* things about Dissenters — and he does *not* speak of the Church of England in its *political* aspect — but, considering it as a religious body, he and I seem identical in opinion, as far as I understand him.⁵ On another point he so far differs from me certainly, as to think the alternative is between Deism and

¹ Evidently *Everlasting Punishment, a Sermon preached before the University of Oxford, Oxford 1864*, a copy of which is in Newman's collection of pamphlets.

² Pusey replied in an undated letter that he had told the Vice-Chancellor of Newman's 'kind and considerate offer' to sell land, and then continued:

'I understood you rightly as to the one half of what you kindly said of me. The half about which I did not feel sure, was as to the meaning of your love, that you "prayed daily that I might be *nearer* to the Catholic Church before I should die". I imagined that you did mean (as you did) "that I might be received into it;" and that you only did not say this, because you thought that it might embarrass my relations with those whom I wish to gain to truth. But it also seemed to me possible that you might really mean "*nearer*", i.e. that some temper or frame of mind, or spiritual defect might be removed, which you might think kept me at a distance or further off.

And if so, I wanted to ask you what it was, for my soul's good

What you said of me seemed exactly to describe me, that while I loved things holy and good and devotional (as e.g. translating pious books) I never was, "in conviction," near it. I had that crux which you speak of, against it; and I was perfectly happy where I was. I was neither disturbed where I was, nor drawn where I was not. I had not enough drawing'

Pusey wrote again on 12 Dec., "The plans of the Council were scarcely definite enough to pledge themselves to any public plan. As far as a poor College goes, probably they would not like to found it side by side by the Oratory.

The members of the Council present, then, have begged me to convey to you their kind thanks, while they are not prepared to recommend the purchase to the University'

³ This was a long letter of 19 Nov. describing a visit from Manning. He and Walker discussed Catholics at Oxford and *Inspiration of Scripture*, Walker maintaining a liberal view on both questions.

⁴ *The Workings of the Holy Spirit in the Church of England*. See letter of 17 Nov. to Walker, who reported that Manning had again, this time in conversation, made criticisms of *Apo*.

⁵ Manning spoke of the Holy Spirit working in Dissenters as much as in Anglicans, and of his being more assured of the invincible ignorance of the former. *Op. cit.* p. 18.

Catholicism, not Atheism and Catholicism. Here again, I allow every portion of his premisses, but consider, if he is correcting me, he has misconceived my meaning.¹ I suppose Pusey will answer it — but he ought not to do so — that is, I don't well see what there is to answer.

It is not certain, after all, that I shall found an Oratory at Oxford. I have all along said that my object in going was to meet an existing evil, viz the fact that young Catholics were at Protestant Colleges. Now, the Bishops are suddenly meeting on the subject, and Propaganda is to promulgate a *rule* to guide Catholic parents. From what I hear, it seems likely that they will be forbidden or dehorted to send their children there — and of course they will obey. If so, the case, which I put to our Bishop so long ago as September, comes in. I said that unless there were Catholics at Oxford, I should have no reason for going. I have no reason to doubt that I shall keep to this. *Why* should I go there, except for a definite benefit to Catholics? I have no call to go there at the end of 20 years apropos of nothing to take up a controversial position against the University.²

Very sincerely Yours John H Newman

¹ On p. 25 of his pamphlet, Manning maintained that 'Catholicism or Deism, is indeed the only ultimately logical and consistent alternative . . . It would be both intellectually and morally impossible to propose to anyone the alternative of Catholicism or Atheism. . . . I should regard with sorrow and impatience any attempt to promote the belief of the whole revelation of Christianity by a mode of logic which undermines truths of the natural order. The Holy See has authoritatively declared that the existence of God may be proved by reason and the light of nature.' Cf. *Apo.*, p. 198.

² Novr 18. 1864 As to Manning's recent pamphlet, in which he writes against me in my *Apologia*, as if saying that there is no logical proof of a God, I answer

1 that what I *really* say is that the *same bad logic* which leads to the rejection of Catholicism necessarily leads also to the rejection of Theism

2 that as good a proof can be constructed for Catholicism as for Deism.' *The Philosophical Notebook of John Henry Newman*, edited by Edward Sillem, II, Louvain 1970, p. 46. Newman later added in the same place:

'June 25 1877 this pamphlet he wrote against me shortly before Cardinal Wiseman's death. He told Canon Walker it was against me — but there is no need referring to any testimony, for on the face of it, he wrote to answer the *Apologia* on those points, or rather to answer his own untrue representations of what I had said in the *Apologia*. His three charges were

1 that I had called the Church of England a bulwark of the Catholic Religion or Church — no, I had called it a *breakwater*

2 that I had represented that Theism could not be proved by natural reason. I had not, as I have explained above.

3 that (I think) I had said the Catholic proofs were only probabilities. This is the only notice, I believe, he took of my *Apologia*'

See letters of 24 Oct. and 17 Nov. to Walker, and last note to first Memorandum of 26 March 1866. Cf. also Purcell II, p. 332, and Edward E. Kelly, 'The *Apologia* and the Ultramontanes,' in *Newman's Apologia: A Classic Reconsidered* edited by V. F. Blehl and F. X. Connolly, New York 1964, pp. 33-46.

² Walker replied on 6 Dec. that he thought a Catholic university in England 'a mere chimera', and that 'it might be maintained that a residence at Oxford is the best way to meet the very dangers apprehended' for Catholic youth.

TO LAVINIA WILSON

The Oratory Novr 29/64

My dear Child,

For so you will be, so you are. What God has begun in you, He will bring to perfection.¹

There is but one Church, that which, not only is, but also is even called Catholic, and ever has been so called, for the guidance of all who seek her. No other body has the promises; in no other is there salvation; and in proportion as souls begin to understand this, do they become answerable for the light vouchsafed to them.

You will never repent of becoming a Catholic. As a Catholic you will have many trials; but the Presence of our Lord, the Word Incarnate, in the Blessed Sacrament, which you cannot possess out of the Church, will make up for them all.

Now I will give you all the direction that I can, that one letter may do for many.

Head 1. Are you not *already* certain, when you look narrowly into your heart, that you are external to the True Church, 'alien from the commonwealth of Israel and a stranger from the covenants of promise,' though by an extraordinary grace, you are not 'without God in the world'?² If so, it is your plain duty *at once* to put yourself under the protection of the Mother of Saints by taking refuge in one of our convents. I will pledge myself that you shall be let alone there, and shall be allowed to act from and at your own will.

Head 2. If, on conscientious examination, you cannot say just now as much as this, but only that you *doubt*, then it is your duty continually to pray to God to enlighten you, whether or not the doubt comes from Him. You should say daily the *Veni Creator* with this intention, and make the mission and work of the Holy Ghost the matter of a particular devotion.

(1.) You have no duties in this question about the True Church to your *Superiors* — because you are examining the previous question. You distinctly doubt whether *they* are ministers of the True Church, how can they 'bear witness of themselves'?³ Again, you are not bound in conscience by any religious promise or vow to them which you may have made, if they have (illegally) exacted it. Any promise to hold a creed which is not the True Creed, or to remain in a Church which is not God's Church, or to continue in a religious house which is out of the Catholic communion, is as illegal as if you promised and swore that you would commit a murder, or to become a Mahomedan.

¹ Lavinia Wilson, born at Huddersfield in 1834, was a member of the Sisterhood of St Thomas the Martyr, founded in 1851 by the incumbent of that Oxford church, Thomas Chamberlain. The Community, which had a definite rule by 1859, was occupied in teaching and also in visiting the poor. Miss Wilson was already on the verge of becoming a Catholic when she wrote to Newman, who received her into the Church on Good Friday 1865.

² *Eph.* 2:12.

³ *John* 5:31.

(2.) But any promise which is simply of this world *is* binding: if you have promised e.g. that you will not leave your house without notice, or that you will not leave the Anglican Church without notice, you must keep it. But you must not make any more such promises.

(3.) You must not mention your doubts in confession because they are no sin: not out of confession, because you would receive only one-sided advice and direction. You must be simply silent on the subject.

(4.) On the other hand, you must not correspond with any Catholic, while you are in a Protestant religious House.

Head 3. Let the course of prayer and waiting continue not longer than up to the Purification. Perhaps even before that time you will find your mind clear and need wait no longer. If so, you must read what I have said below. But at all events, if up to the Purification your inward presentiment in favor of the Roman Communion remains uninterrupted, then I think it will be your duty to mention your case to your Superiors, and now your great trial will begin.

(1.) Ask leave to remain as usual in the duties of the House up to Easter Day.

(2) Insist that no controversial arguments whatever should be addressed to you, or penance or discipline of any kind put upon you.

(3) Leave the convent, if this is attempted, and act up to your right to liberty of action. And take refuge under the circumstances in a Catholic Convent. You shall be let alone there, free to go when you will.

(4) On the other hand engage, if necessary that you will not mention your doubts to any sister of your (Protestant) community.

(5) Have no communication with any Catholic; and let this be well understood by your Protestant friends.

(6) God will speak to your heart. In such an extraordinary case you will be thrown on Him, and He will help you.

Head 4. When Easter comes, if your presentiment is what it was leave your House, and betake yourself to some Catholic Convent. I repeat, [I] will pledge myself that, even then, you shall be let alone there. You shall be quite free to go back to your Protestant House, if you so determine.

Head 5. The convent I recommend is 'Convent of Mercy,' Hunter's Lane, Handsworth, Birmingham. I will try to say Mass for you once a week

J H N

TO T. W. ALLIES

Nov. 30 1864

My dear Allies,

I kept back the inclosed a post, thinking that the letter anticipated in it might perhaps come.¹ It has not come as yet. The inclosed, you will see, is

¹ This was John O'Hagan's reply to Newman's enquiry of 27 Nov., in which O'Hagan promised to obtain Dunne's opinion as to whether lectures by Allies would be welcome at the Catholic University. See letter of 4 Dec. to Allies.

private. It is sad, considering the writer was (and is) one of the most religious, zealous, and cleverest Catholics that you could wish to see.¹ The same dreadful jealousy of the laity, which has ruined things in Dublin, is now at the bottom of this unwillingness to let our youths go to Oxford. I am far from denying that there are strong reasons against that step, but these are not at the root of the dread of it. Propaganda and our leading Bishops fear the natural influence of the laity: which would be their greatest, or (humanly speaking) is rather their only, defence against the world.

A new turn of things for me! From the first I told your Bishop that I went to Oxford *for the young Catholics there* — but [that] this was a *sine qua non* — that I had no call to begin a crusade against Oxford Protestantism at the distance of 20 years from my leaving it and a propos of nothing. This I wrote at length to him on September 23, a month before I actually purchased the land. When I heard of this meeting of Bishops, I at once wrote to ask him if this would alter my 'basis', which was to protect 'the faith and morals' of the Catholics at Oxford.

(Private)

(At the end of ten days I find he now not only thinks that it is *likely* that Propaganda will forbid Catholics going to Oxford, or having a College there, but is of opinion himself that this is the proper course.) The consequence is that I have distinctly told him that, if there are no Catholics there, *I* have no place there. I am not quarrelling with this decision *in itself* (though I am deeply hurt and indignant at the motive which I conceive, as I have said, to be at the bottom of it, fear of the laity.) But, as regards myself, I wish I had been told the state of the case in September, and I should be saved a good deal of trouble, and the responsibility of buying what it is not easy simply to get off my hands again. I don't mind it's being said that, if Catholics are forbidden to go to Oxford, my reason for going there goes away with them.²

After you went I recollected that that question whether all men have a *supernatural* end, i.e. have grace for heaven, was its [the] very thesis handled in the Rambler.³ I think it is commonly decided in the affirmative — the objection on the other hand being that unbaptized infants have never had grace and are in a natural state.

Yours affly J H Newman.

¹ O'Hagan evidently wrote despondently and negatively about Allies's lecturing in Dublin. When returning his letter to Newman on 3 Dec. Allies said 'If they don't *want* me to do so, I should feel it a simple waste of time and annoyance.' See also letter of 21 Jan. 1865 to Allies.

² Allies wrote on 3 Dec., that not one of the thirteen bishops who would have to advise the Holy See on the Oxford question was in a position to judge by experience of the effects of a university education on the mind. 'How many of them care sufficiently for mental culture to give an adequate consideration to the motives determining parents to send their sons to Oxford? Or how many understand that society on which the Catholic Church has to act?'

³ The *Rambler* (May and June 1856). See letter of 1 June 1856 to Flanagan.

30 NOVEMBER 1864

TO A. J. HANMER

The Oratory Bm. Nov 30/64

My dear Hanmer,

I am very glad to hear from you. You have been always in my mind. I hardly liked to write to ask about you, and even thought you might have left Manchester. You promised to come and see us, and your silence made me fear to break it first.

On the whole it has been a great relief to get your letter. God grant you may not again have again to go through such sufferings as you have had already. We will gladly bear in mind your wishes about Mr Nind[?] and about yourself.¹

I ought to be very thankful for the issue of my controversy. Nothing could be happier from first to last. I have lately been buying 5 acres of freehold land in St Giles's Oxford, thinking that it might be useful for a College, Oratory, Mission etc etc there; but it seems that Propaganda is going to forbid Catholics going there. It is certainly not in itself desirable that young Catholics should go to Protestant Colleges — but then *what* is to be done? in Oxford the question is ready made. Have you the means of setting up a University yourselves? Have you even money, are you agreed among yourselves enough, to set up a *College in Oxford*? — However, if Catholics are forbidden to go there, my occupation then would be gone and I should not attempt any plan. But it is impossible as yet to guess how things will go. We send you all kind remembrances

Ever Yours affly in Xt John H Newman of the Oratory

A. J. Hanmer Esqr

TO JAMES LAIRD PATTERSON

The Oratory, Birmingham November 30/64

My dear Patterson,

You must not wonder at my fidgetting about my money, when the sum for which I am responsible is so great. I had a deal of anxiety and worry at Dublin about my Church there. I had to borrow money, when, as now, money was up at 8 per cent — and it was only after years of voluminous correspondence that I got promises fulfilled. The present case is very different, but I never should be surprised if I got into a new scrape, unless I have my eyes about me. In that translation of Scripture matter, the Cardinal coolly put the whole matter of expense upon me, giving as his reason that it could not be expected that the Bishops, *men advanced in life*, would like the responsibility. I *took* it — but soon came another difficulty, which in like manner was shoved upon

¹ Hanmer was the owner of a cotton mill in Lancashire, and his business became precarious during the American Civil War. Cf. letter of 7 May 1863 to him.

me. The American Bishops protested against my translation; instead of saying a word to protect me, he coolly sent me their letter with a verbal message to see about it.

He did not even answer them; this I know from themselves. It was too much; I determined to do nothing till *he* settled, what was *his* affair — and so it remains to this day. I have never heard from him on the subject.¹

In like manner now, I have feared, and still fear, lest, after having embarked in a large matter, I should be left in the lurch. All along, long before the purchase of the land, I made *no secret* that my going to Oxford was *in order* to meet the *evil* that young Catholics were there. I said that I had no call to go *unless* they were there. Now *suddenly* the Bishops are to meet and Propaganda apparently will decide, that they are not to be allowed to go there — If this takes place, I shall be left in the lurch again, and shall have to back out and sell my land as best I may — for our Bishop, who has been very frank, knows perfectly well, that *all along* my object has simply been to do a service to Catholics, not to thrust my nose into Oxford. I am not at all quarrelling with the decision, but at the little regard which has been shown for my difficulties. Not a single person in authority has said to me 'Keep the whole land awhile.' I must consult for myself.

Yours affectionately John H. Newman

TO JOHN HUNGERFORD POLLEN

The Oy Bm Decr 1/64

My dear Pollen,

We have not forgotten your sorrow, and have been saying Masses for your sister for her *bona mors*; and now that you tell us that it is happily over, we will say Masses for her soul. I hardly ever saw so beautiful a sight, as that of her and her sister walking together, and it must be a bitter trial to her birth friends.²

It had been my intention to call on Mr C. whom I had not seen for 17 years — but, after seeing you and your wife, I could not get myself to do so, and the long interval, besides that I had taken the part of Miss Bowles, was my excuse to myself.³

¹ See letter of 20 Aug 1864 to Miss Holmes.

² On 30 Nov. Pollen wrote to Newman that his sister-in-law, 'whom you remember so bright and handsome in Dublin', Catherine Laprimaudaye, Sister Theresa, died at the Holy Child Convent, St Leonard's, on 28 Nov.

³ 'Nr C.' is the copyist's error for 'Mrs C.,' Mother Cornelia Connelly, whom Newman had met in 1846. After what Newman had learned from Pollen and his wife of the treatment of Catherine Laprimaudaye (see letter of 8 Nov. to St John), he could not bring himself to call Pollen wrote on 30 Nov. that he was admitted to see and talk to her the day before she died. 'We had been somewhat rudely refused before at a less advanced stage of her illness. This had become known somehow, and a coarse letter appeared in the *Telegraph*. It acted like an "open Sesame" I think if it was right to admit us, we should have been allowed earlier, and as Catholic relatives, and not on such vulgar external pressure.' Emily Bowles, one of the first of Mother Connelly's nuns, left her Order in 1856.

Thank you for your most liberal subscription —² at the moment there is something of a hitch. It is a question whether Propaganda will allow me to *profess* to go in order to remedy the evil (Catholic youths being in Protestant Colleges). At my age I am not going, apropos of nothing, to make a crusade at Oxford against Protestantism — I must go with a definite object of aiding Catholics, or I cannot go at all. And this at the moment hinders me from bringing out my circular for subscriptions. If I am not allowed to profess what I am doing, perhaps at the end of a year or so, Propaganda will decide that I may *not* go for any spiritual purpose towards Catholics at the University (for there is a *talk*? I suppose nothing more than a talk of making membership with the University a reserved case) and then I shall have given myself all the trouble for nothing.

I have been so often balked, — brought into undertakings — then left in the lurch, that I wish, if I can, to guard against any such new mis-hap now.

Ever Yours affectly John H Newman of the Oratory

J. H. Pollen Esq.

TO H. H. O'BRYEN

The Oratory Bm December 2/64

My dear Revd Sir,²

If I did not answer you at the time that you wrote to me, it was because I did not like to return you an unfavorable answer, and did not know how to return you any other. The truth is our Congregation is so poor, or so unwilling to give, that we can raise nothing from them. The Collection at Sunday Benediction is sometimes not 2 shillings — and the offertory and seat money has never covered the current, necessary, expenses of the Mission. As to the London Oratory, I am quite as much a stranger to it, as you can be; and have no influence at all with it. If I could do any thing for you, I would — but I am very sorry to say, it is out of my power.

I am, Dear Revd Sir, Very truly Yours in Xt

John H Newman of the Oratory

The Revd H. H. O'Bryen D D

TO ROBERT ORNSBY

The Oratory Bm 'December 2/64'

My dear Ornsby

I have ever been taking up my pen to write to you — but the number of letters which have been forced on me for some time has hindered me. Now

¹ Pollen wrote, 'Put me down for 20£ for the Church, as a child of the movement.'

² O'Bryen was the priest who had taken James Nugent's place at the Church of St Philip Neri, and the Catholic Institute, Hope Street, Liverpool.

there is somewhat of a lull, occasioned by the sudden summons which has come to our Bishops to meet (December 13) and the prospect of its ending in an adjournment, and, after all, the termination of their proceedings, as enjoined upon them, being nothing more than a report of their separate opinions on the University question to Propaganda, where in due time it will be settled.

We have no notion of leaving Birmingham; but, if we are prospered, we shall found an Oratory at Oxford. I was beginning to collect money for a Church, but my proceedings have been stopped by the projected meeting; and when I shall be allowed to resume them, I do not know.

‘I grieve to hear your account of Irish matters — a charter, I fear, will do little for the University.¹ On both sides the Channel, the deep difficulty is the jealousy and fear which is entertained in high quarters of the laity. Dr Cullen seems to me to think that ‘young Irelandism’ is the natural fruit of the laical condition every where if let to grow freely; and I wish I could believe that he is singular in his view. Nothing great or living can be done except when men are self governed and independent: this is quite consistent with a full maintenance of ecclesiastical supremacy. St Francis Xavier wrote to St Ignatius on his knees; but who will say that St Francis was not a real centre of action?’²

Ever Yours affectly John H Newman of the Oratory

R. Ornsby Esqr

TO LAVINIA WILSON

Dec 2/64

My dear Child

How great a trial for you, and for your Spiritual Mother! Ah, that it should be necessary! but think of our Lord’s words, Matt x, 37. and of the first Christians.²

I seem to myself so unkind, but what can I do?

As to the *intervals* of time I mentioned (Purifn Easter) use your own discretion. Use any Catholic books which your Spiritual Mother would not object to.

Don’t doubt that God will provide all things for you

Yours affectly John H Newman

I will do every thing I can for you

¹ Ornsby wrote on 20 Nov. about the efforts of Dr Woodlock, the Rector, to alter the constitution of the Catholic University in Dublin. Woodlock had remarked that the Irish bishops regarded themselves as the only senate of the University.

² ‘He that loveth father or mother more than me is not worthy of me.’ See Newman’s letter of 29 Nov.

TO ALEXANDER COMBERBACH

The Oratory, Birmingham Dec 3/64

Dear Mr Comberbach

I have received this morning your cheque for £187. 4. 3 and will send you a formal receipt for it. But I should like to put upon the receipt the *items* — that is the persons whose contributions make it up, if you can kindly give me the names. Also, I should like to know if there are *any outstanding claims* upon it of any kind. If you do not know the contributors, and have paid up all claims, I should like to be able to say 'Balance of Church account received from Mr Comberbach.' For instance, have you fully satisfied the claims of Mr Buckler?¹

Very truly yours in Christ John H. Newman²

The Rd A Comberbach

TO T. W. ALLIES

The Oratory Bm Dec. 4./64.

My dear Allies,

It may be an accident that I have not yet heard any thing of Dr Dunn's opinion — but if I don't hear, it will be a proof, I think, that he is puzzled how to answer the question.³

As to the meeting of the Bishops, I really do not think that any one of them has yet a definite opinion formed, either against a College or against our youths going to Catholic Colleges. On the other hand, I think no conclusion, restrictive of their liberty to go to Oxford, is off the cards. What I most fear is an adjourned meeting, difficulty of coming to any satisfactory conclusion in so anxious a matter, — reference to Propaganda — and such a delay, as scarcely can be avoided, in sending back a decisive answer.

Were I allowed to bring out my circular stating that I went in order to remedy a *de facto* evil, I would not mind risking the ultimate decision, whatever it was, for I don't think it would damage my position, but I don't like to go ostensibly, and really, and from the first, with no proper Catholic object at all, but at the end of 20 years without rhyme or reason to attack the University. I don't think it would be to the advantage of the Catholic cause itself, if I made a gratuitous onslaught on Oxford; not advantageous to Catholicism,

¹ Cf. letter of 15 Nov. to Albert Buckler. Charles Buckler appears to have drawn up plans for a church at Oxford and asked for £75 for his trouble.

² Newman made a note on this letter, 'N B Mr Comberbach's list of subscribers, which I have placed with the other lists, does not tally with the £187. 4. 3 which he sent. Its first three sums are Mr A Smith 100 Mr Grafton 100 Mr Patterson 100 etc etc'

³ See letters of 30 Nov. 1864 and 21 Jan. 1865 to Allies.

whether in the way of advancing conversions, or of what is becoming to it and of good repute. It would irritate men, and throw them back, if you came in order to convert them, but, if bona fide you came to protect your own youth, no one would complain. You must not suppose I am desponding, but I feel it alas, too true that, if you wish to succeed, you must show your teeth, that the more in this world you yield, the less you get, and the more you claim, the more you are considered.

Yours affly in Xt John H Newman

P.S. There is a Review in yesterday's *Saturday* on Merivale's Boyle Lecture. It would be to your purpose to look at what he says of Epictetus etc, I am disposed to follow him.¹

TO THOMAS GAISFORD

The Oratory, Birmingham. December 4th. 1864.

My dear Mr. Gaisford,

You may wonder why my circular has not yet made its appearance. The truth is, there is just now a sort of hitch, which I trust will not last — or at all events will be got over.

This meeting of the Bishops renders it impossible at the moment to proceed. It is not off the cards that they will forbid young Catholics going to Oxford at all. I don't think they will do so — but I find it would be premature in me, and would compromise them, if I published that I was going to take charge of them in the same breath in which they said that Catholic youths might not go to the University at all. The Bishops meet on the 13th. some say that they will, after meeting, adjourn till after Christmas. The delay is unfortunate, even though it should only be a delay. I cannot help thinking they would be glad to know what Catholic gentlemen think on the point.

I hope Lady Emily is not suffering from her family affliction — in a day or two I trust I shall be able to say Mass for the repose of her sister's soul.²

Very sincerely yours, John H Newman

¹ There was an article on Charles Merivale's *The Conversion of the Roman Empire. The Boyle Lectures for 1864*, in the *Saturday Review* (3 Dec. 1864), pp. 695–7. Merivale claimed, it was pointed out, that the pagan 'philosopher, unconsciously to himself, anticipates, in a society which was not yet Christian, the place and the familiar offices of the Christian minister. He is "no longer a logician with an essay, or a sophist with a declamation; he is a master, a preacher, a confessor, a director of souls; not a speculator inquiring into truth, but a witness of God bearing testimony to the Divine law, and charged with the cure of souls entrusted to his teaching." Epictetus and his brethren were the "spiritual advisers," the "directors of conscience," the "physicians of the soul," . . . Mr Merivale does not shrink from the parallel which his words suggest. . . . Christian Fathers and heathen teachers were bent in different ways on the same great ends . . . ' p. 696.

² Gaisford's wife, Emily, was the eldest daughter of the third Earl of Howth. The Earl's fourth daughter, Lady Mary St Lawrence, died on 15 Nov. 1864.

TO SAMUEL WILBERFORCE, BISHOP OF OXFORD

The Oratory Birmingham Decr 5. 1864

My dear Lord,

I have felt a sincere gratification in reading the words of a letter of your Lordship about me addressed to Mr Ogle, which has just come to me.¹ Of course it shows me that I must have been guilty of a mistake in attributing to you the remark which led me last spring to mention your name to him in connexion with the charges which have been for so many years made against me in the periodical publications.

Some time ago by chance I took up the *Quarterly*, when I was from home, and read in it a review of the 'Essays and Reviews,' in which the writer went out of his way, I thought, to cast reflexions upon me. I was told that the article was known to be written by the Bishop of Oxford.²

But your Lordship's letter to Mr Ogle shows me, that either I have ascribed to you what you did not write, or, as is not infrequently the case, I believe, with Reviews, that the passage in question was inserted by the Editor.

Be sure, my dear Lord, that your frank and kind words about me have quite

¹ Octavius Ogle sent Newman on 5 Dec., part of a letter he had written to Samuel Wilberforce with its reply. Wilberforce was his bishop, and Ogle wrote to Newman, 'There is in truth no man except yourself whom I regard with more affectionate admiration than our Bishop, and I had it greatly at heart that neither of you two should misunderstand each other.' Ogle's extract from his letter to Samuel Wilberforce ran:

'Some months ago my dear friend and once God-Father Dr Newman in writing to me about his Apologia and his reason for publishing it mentioned the frequent indirect occasions for it which he might have taken if he had not determined to wait for a public accusation of dishonesty such as Mr Kingsley's. In writing of "flings and hits and the like" at him in publications of the day he says "as from your Bishop not so long ago." I am perfectly ignorant of what he alluded to, and believe him to be in an utter misconception if he thought that by anything your Lordship said or published you meant indirectly to impugn his truthfulness or honesty. But (if I am not mistaken in this) I know very surely what comfort it would be to his sensitive mind if he could have conveyed to him, through me or any channel your Lordship choose, an assurance from yourself that his misconception was such as I have described it. If I am impertinent in this, I pray you to impute it to the true motive, my great affection for him and yourself, and my earnest desire that neither should misapprehend the other'

To this the Bishop replied:

'The Athenaeum Dec 1 1864

My dear Mr Ogle

I thank you very kindly for your note and its kind acceptance of the *Catena Aurea*. I most heartily give you my blessing on your work at the Warneford Lunatic Asylum. May God prosper you in it. I thank you for telling me of Dr Newman's impression. I cannot conceive from what it is derived. I think I could if I had any right to do so undeceive him upon the point. I have revered him; and I may say most affectionately regarded him always. I have mourned his loss; I have admired his forbearance and generosity towards us and been an implicit believer in his Strict Personal Honour. I should be really thankful to you for conveying this assurance to him

I am affly yours S Oxon'

² 'The Essays and Reviews London 1860,' the *Quarterly Review*, CIX, 217 (Jan. 1861), pp. 248-305. "'The Quarterly Review" of January 1861 contained an article on "Essays and Reviews" which is now known to have been written by the Bishop; that article was so widely read that the number of "The Quarterly" which it contained went through five editions.' Reginald G. Wilberforce, *The Life of the Right Reverend Samuel Wilberforce*, second edition, London 1883, III, p. 2. See Newman's letter of 18 Aug. 1861 to Sister Mary Gabriel Du Boulay.

6 DECEMBER 1864

wiped out the impression which had been wrongly made upon my mind, and that I feel a true relief in being rid of it.¹

I am, Very sincerely Yours John H Newman

The Lord Bishop of Oxford

TO LAVINIA WILSON

December 6. 1864

My dear Child,

The Espousals is a very good day for a great act.²

I inclose a letter for your Spiritual Mother. Give it to her, sooner or later, whenever you think it right to do so. Read it first. The sooner you give it, the better, since your mind is made up. If you wish not to give it at all, don't; but tell me

Could you get her *permission* not to go to Confession or Communion? You must *not* go, certainly.

As to the trial which you will have to go through, when your resolution is made known, it will be great. But recollect, it is the trial of your *sincerity*; the trial whether you are 'worthy of Him.' You must not be talked over, recollect this. And mind, you must not be 'compelled.' If there is any talk of penance, discipline etc, you must leave at once.

God will help you through it. I will say Mass for you, if possible, every Friday at half past seven

When you leave, you may go to the 'Convent Hunter's Lane, Birmingham.' Going there will not commit you at all.

Yours affly in Xt John H Newman

THE SUPERIOR OF THE OXFORD SISTERHOOD

[6 December 1864]

My dear Lady,

I write to you as a woman, and as one who knows that she stands in God's presence. One of your spiritual daughters has no faith in Anglican confession and communion, and has no doubt about the divinity of that Church of which I am a Priest. What can I do, but say to her 'you must join it'? and what ought you to do but to throw yourself into the state of her mind, to be compassionate with her and make things easy for her? Do to her as you would wish to be done in a like trial yourself. I know how great a pain it will be to you as well as to

¹ Wilberforce did not reply, for on 10 Jan. 1865 Ogle wrote to Newman, 'I am sorry the Bishop did not answer your letter to him . . .'

² The feast of the Espousals of our Lady, 23 Jan. 1865.

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her; but don't you feel you will have a blessing from God, if you let her follow what she sees to be right? May God bless you ever, may He guide and protect you, and be with you in all times of distress or perplexity, etc

I am &c J H N

THURSDAY 8 DECEMBER 1864 sang Mass

FRIDAY 9 DECEMBER Mr Bodenham called

TO WILLIAM FRASER

The Oratory Decr 9/64

My dear Mr Fraser

As you know well, it is very difficult for men on opposite sides of a question to understand each other. I don't know that I can throw light on the feeling under which one of our Bishops would regard the Union Movement — but I will say what strikes me at first sight in answer to what you say.¹

First, as to the object of the movement itself — is it not (if you will let me use a familiar phrase) putting salt upon the bird's tail? what is unity of communion, or rather communion itself but unity of prayer? prayer is the great 'munus' which is the privilege of divine citizenship; when then a society is set on foot for joint prayer, our Bishops at once feel that it is asking their flocks to admit the very subjects in dispute between them and Anglicans.

Then again a Bishop feels that he is guardian of the Depositum. He is not an individual conversing with individuals, so that he may recognise them in their personal characteristics and wishes, hopes, and intentions; but he is drawing out distinctly the lines of doctrine, and he dare not allow the outline to be dim or wavering in any one point of it. Do you not think that St Cyprian's *De Unitate*, or much of St Augustine on the Donatists in spite of his great urbanity of tone, would have grated on many a soul who was not in communion with them? Think of the fierce tone of many of the early Christian writers; consider the sternness of the Apostle of love. I am not deciding,² in thus speaking, that we are with St Augustine, St Cyprian, or St John; but that any one who has upon him the burden of the guardianship of Christian truth, must, when he speaks *ex cathedra*, speak with a reference to that truth and not to individuals, with a supreme love of that truth which at the moment (so to say) seems to obliterate his love for individuals, as fulfilling our Lord's words, 'He that loveth father or mother more than Me, is not worthy of me.' He will be very *jealous*; and hence the Roman church itself is so often reproached for its unamiable jealousy. Well — I confess it does present this

¹ Writing on 8 Dec. to thank Newman for a copy of *Apo.*, (Cf. letter of 1 Oct. to the Editor of the *Churchman*), Fraser complained of Bishop Ullathorne's *A Letter on the Association for the Promotion of the Unity of Christendom*, in which he defended the censure of the Inquisition. See letter of 11 Oct. to Ffoulkes. Fraser 'felt saddened to see how good men in the R.C. Church seem incapable of sympathy with us, in many cases'.

² On a copy of this letter, Newman wrote here in pencil [[assuming]].

sort of appearance to the world — and, when I was an Anglican, I felt it and urged it. I think so still — but now think *also*, that it can't be helped — that it is in the nature of the case so to be.

Then again, a Bishop naturally says, 'Who are these people who come to me with their proposals? are they Anglican Bishops? no — priests or laymen.' Do you not see that this has been a great mistake? Now I am simply speaking from myself; and, if I were to be heard by the Bishop to whom you refer, perhaps he would tell me that I am quite wrong —¹ however, it does seem to me to be a great solecism, (to speak of my own view of the matter) for Anglican clergymen to go with any such proposition to a Catholic Bishop. 'Who are you? whom do you represent? my opinion is worth something, for I am in authority, but what is yours worth? When a private Anglican comes to me, a Bishop, he must be coming in order to make his abjuration and be reconciled; else, his coming is an impertinence.'

Now in the East, Bishops have come over with their flocks in the Roman See, and *they* have been able to make terms, by a natural fitness; there is, in such cases, some one to treat with, and our authorities are not unwilling to commit themselves to concessions, when they are approached without ipso facto disrespect. You recollect what a fuss was made about some Bulgarian Bishop lately, who was to join our communion with his people. I believe he did not; but the very consideration shown him evidences the extreme readiness and charitable haste of the Holy See to lend an ear to proposals of accommodation, when there are responsible parties to treat with.² Here I think is the real hitch — who is there to come forward on behalf of the Church of England or any of its dioceses? can the diocese of Exeter or Salisbury, much less the Province of Canterbury say 'We wish to open negotiations with the Apostolic See?' What would Parliament say on the one hand, and the Anglican laity on the other? What would the Record say? and Lord Shaftesbury and Exeter Hall?

But supposing these present impossibilities overcome, what should *we* say?

Well, I confess, the time is unpropitious for any such measures of large policy, as would be required of us. It is a time of transition; great events are before us; experiments are dangerous: a strong and very definite, what you will be tempted to call, a 'narrow,' or 'a rough and ready' policy, has great recommendations, and a violent party, as you would call it, seems to be fitted for the season. If indeed you could come to us, and say 'the Church of England can turn the balance in favour of the Pope's temporal power, and will do so — we will get back Umbria and the Adriatic coast — we will stop the persecution of the Polish Church, and we will demolish the power of the Orangemen, then I think Cardinal Antonelli would listen, and Propaganda would

¹ Again, added in pencil, [[in my surmise]].

² In 1861 the Bulgars sent a deputation to Pius IX and over 60,000 were reunited to Rome, but owing to Russian intrigues and the kidnapping of their bishop, Joseph Sokolsky, who spent the rest of his life at Kiev, the majority reverted to Orthodoxy.

have real reason to extend the limits of religious condescension, as far as ever the sacred duty of guarding the Faith would admit. But you cannot expect that the high Majesty of St Peter would listen to the vague sollicitations of an anonymous crowd calling itself the A.P.U.C.

And this leads me to a last consideration. That Society is anonymous, and worse. It has about it what enemies consider tokens of disingenuousness. Our partizans are very sceptical about the membership in it of so many of us, ecclesiastics and laity, as its advocates claim. We are told that Catholic Bishops have written their names upon its lists, actually written with their own hands. But we cannot get their names. This looks suspicious. But it is irritating, very irritating too; if we wavered between suspicion of our own people and disbelief of the statement, and so got very angry with those who told us so much, and did not tell us all, no one would have cause to be surprised.

Now, please, don't suppose that in the above I am even putting down my own actual feelings — much less am I speaking for others — but I am taking the liberty of trying to put your minds into such a posture that you may enter into the minds of your opponents

Very truly Yours, John H Newman

TO AUGUSTUS BETHELL

The Oratory, Birmingham Dec 10/64

My dear Augustus,

I have read with much interest your letter in the Register, and I thank you for what you say of me and of Edgbaston.¹ And my best acknowledgment, as I think, will be to tell you just how my thoughts lie about the difficult question about which you write.

Of course I never should have gone to Ireland, except with a view of benefiting English Catholics, and I said so all along. And the one idea with the Holy Father and with Propaganda was to unite the Catholic youth of both countries in one University. Moreover, afterwards, when the state of things was anxious, I prosecuted the idea of an English College in the University, as you suggest, and actually got contributions towards it, one of which is still in my hands. If then there were any way of bringing about what you propose, it would be giving me the consolation of thinking that several good years of my life were not thrown away, and I would take the project up again, as warmly as I did before.

¹ The *Weekly Register*, (10 Dec. 1864), p. 381. Bethell, who signed himself 'A Licentiate of the Catholic University', argued that this last would supply the need of English Catholics for higher education 'far better than Oxford, though appearances are against it'. A college for English youths ought to be founded in Dublin. Bethell praised Newman's work there and his excellent professors, but maintained he had not been provided with suitable material. What the University needed in order to advance, was more boys who had been well educated, such as those at the Oratory School.

But I am unwillingly convinced by facts that such an idea is a mere dream. Hardly had I gone to Dublin, when the Bishop of Birmingham had seen enough to be able to tell me that I should not get English Catholics to send their sons to Dublin. When I was at Rome in the winter of 1855-6, Cardinal Barnabò had already seen enough to throw out in conversation that it was hopeless to unite English and Irish. And I had a clearer understanding, year by year, of the antipathy which Dr Cullen entertains towards English and Scotch. The utter apathy of the English Colleges on the subject of the University, shown especially about the years 1858-9, was but the natural response to this feeling on the part of the Archbishop. Since then, it has been almost proclaimed in the University, that English Professors were not wanted; and they have left and are leaving. I see no way out of this difficulty; I do not see how we can avail ourselves of the University; and a like feeling on the part of the Dublin and Oakeley, explains why neither of them has even alluded to such an expedient.¹

Then comes the question, what are we to do? Are we to found an English University, or a College at Oxford; or allow Catholic youths to go to Protestant Colleges? It is easy to see which plea [plan] is abstractedly the best, and which is abstractedly the worst. The worst is to let them go to the Protestant Colleges; the best is to found a University.

But there is another aspect in which the question must be viewed; viz. What solution of it is the most practicable; and which will commit the Church least. I suppose silence in itself commits the Church less than speaking and acting.

For myself, friends have said 'Why don't you write on the subject?' but to tell the truth, I see the difficulties of the question far better than their solution. Luckily for me my opinion has never been formally asked by any one who has a right to do so; if it had been, I should have been obliged, as a matter of duty, to make up my mind to the best of my power; but, things being as they are, I have remained in that state of indecision, which conflicting arguments are adapted to produce.

Freehold land was for sale last summer in Oxford, such as never could come into the market again. I bought it in order to secure it for Catholic purposes:-

1. for a College, if the Bishops wanted a college for Catholics.
2. for an Oratory, if there were to be Catholics in the Protestant Colleges.

If neither condition is to be fulfilled, I shall sell it again.⁷

Yours affectly in Xt John H Newman of the Oratory.

The Revd. A. Bethell

[[(N.B. September 8, 1873. I can't tell whether this following P.S. was added to the letter or not, It is in the rough copy)

¹ i.e. 'University Education for English Catholics,' *DR* (Oct. 1864), pp. 372-401, and F. Oakeley, *The Question of University Education for English Catholics*.

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P.S. I think in *matter of fact* that such Catholics as wish their sons to go to a University *at all*, will be content with nothing short of their going to the Protestant Colleges.]]

MEMORANDUM, CATHOLICS AT THE UNIVERSITIES

Decr. 10. 1864

NB Three reasons for allowing Catholics to go to Protestant Colleges at Oxford and Cambridge.

1. That it does not require any positive act on the part of authority, but is merely leaving things as they are, with the power of interfering after trying such a practice as an experiment, — of either prohibiting or founding a Hall.

2. that to prohibit at once is without tangible grounds to interfere with a privilege which Catholics have always enjoyed on the part of the Church.

3 that, in matter of fact, it is the only measure which will satisfy the majority of these parents who want the higher education for their sons at all.

J H N

SUNDAY 11 DECEMBER 1864 Baroness de Twyl in Bm.

MONDAY 12 DECEMBER Canon Walker came 2 AM — went Ornsby came

TUESDAY 13 DECEMBER Ornsby went. Bishops' Meeting in London

TO W. J. COPELAND

The Oratory Bm Decr 13/64

My dear Copeland

I have just heard of dear Keble's illness. Tell me, if you have any thing to tell me about it.

Only think among strange facts, (it is a *secret*) of *Manning* and *Ward* co-operating to fulfil *Pusey's* wish of keeping me out of Oxford. And, according to appearances, they are likely to succeed.¹

Ever Yours affly John H Newman

The Revd W. J. Copeland

¹ Allies wrote to Newman on 10 Dec., a letter of which a copy has been preserved: '[E.H.] Thompson called here yesterday to tell me there was a split in the Dublin [Review]: he and Henry Coleridge unable to bear Ward's highhandedness leave it. But *you* are the cause of the split. They wanted to say more of you and the Apologia. W: would not allow it.

I confess I suspect this meeting of the Bishops has been called expressly to prevent your going to Oxford, and that the Bishop's giving you the mission at Oxford was its immediate momentum.' Allies then went on to refer to the paper of twenty questions about university education for Catholics, sent out in Wiseman's name. See letter of 14 Dec. to Lord Charles Thynne.

Thompson kept the draft (now in the possession of the Catholic Record Society) of his

13 DECEMBER 1864

TO E. B. PUSEY

The Oratory Bm Dec 13/64

My dear Pusey

I am most deeply concerned at what you say about Keble. It must be paralysis, from your account, brought on perhaps by his correspondence in the *Times*.¹

Our Bishops meet to-day. It is quite uncertain whether 1. they forbid all their youths to go to Oxford. 2. or found a College there — or — 3. leave things just as they are. Only in the last case should I found an Oratory in Oxford, as far as I can see; at least, I could not undertake a College.

Their judgment will not be decisive, but will go to Rome; so that it is doubtful when any plan will be brought into execution.

I have no wish at all to get into the work which an Oxford Oratory would occasion. Nor should I think of setting myself against the authorities of College or University. At the same time I never can conceal, that, should any person ever come to me and say 'I wish to be a Catholic,' I could not, as a matter of simple duty, refuse to do my part in fulfilling his desire.

Ever Yrs most affectly John H Newman of the Oratory

The Revd Dr Pusey

TO BARTHOLOMEW WOODLOCK

The Oratory Bm Decr 13/64

My dear Dr Woodlock,

I despatched your letter yesterday by a safe hand to the Cardinal, for the meeting of our Bishops. It was important that they should have your

final letter of 19 Dec. to W. G. Ward, refusing to work under him on *D R*: 'If I felt about N as you feel, and had the sort of dread of his influence that you have, I should give him his due need of praise, but I should not refrain from criticizing where I judged him open to criticism or from censuring where I thought him censurable. This, to my mind would have been open dealing and fair fight, and indeed a duty.

I could not treat him as you treat him. And really it seemed to me that by your mode of proceeding you tacitly concede to him the very position you deprecate. You treat him as one who is too powerful, too great, to be openly assailed; and you would dwarf him by affecting not to see him and slurring over him in the pages of the *D R*. Well, I could not do this.'

Manning regretted that Thompson should disagree with Ward.

¹ Pusey wrote on 12 Dec. about the anxiety felt for Keble, who had a slight stroke on 30 Nov. which paralysed his right hand.

The Judicial Committee of the Privy Council had decided, in connection with *Essays and Reviews*, that an Anglican clergyman was not bound to accept the inspiration of Scripture or the doctrine of eternal punishment. Keble had protested and had written to *The Times*, on 24 Nov. and later, about the final court of appeal in doctrinal matters for the Church of England.

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proposition before them; but I don't expect they will entertain it. If I hear any thing, you shall know.¹

Most sincerely Yours John H Newman

The Very Revd Mgr Woodlock

WEDNESDAY 14 DECEMBER 1864 Boys Examinations began. First Rehearsal of Phormio.

TO LORD CHARLES THYNNE

The Oratory, Birmingham Decr 14. 1864.

My dear Lord Charles,

I have not seen the questions you speak of, or any one of them. I never heard of their existence until two days ago, when a friend accidentally alluded to them in a letter. My opinion has never been asked as [to] the subject by any one in authority.²

I believe our Bishop was as much surprised at the news of the Meeting as I could be, nor that he received the intelligence directly from Rome.³ I had told him distinctly and formally, a month before I bought the ground, that I had no intention of taking the Oxford Mission, unless there were Catholics at the University. I have not yet heard a word of what has been done at the meeting. There would have been no meeting, had not the Bishop given me the Mission.

Yours most sincerely John H Newman of the Oratory

Dec 16. Since writing the above a friend has lent me the questions. They are not questions but arguments.

¹ Bethell told Newman that one purpose of his letter in the *Weekly Register* was to elicit views from Dublin on the English university question. Woodlock presumably put forward a proposal that English Catholics should go to the Catholic University of Ireland.

² 'A few days before the meeting [of the bishops] a strange thing happened. An interrogatory of twenty questions was circulated among the University men of the converts, lay and clerical, Newman excepted, and they were asked to "consider them conscientiously in the presence of God, and weighing them in the balance of the Sanctuary, to say, Do you believe that, should a considerable body of young Catholics receive education in Protestant Universities, the result will be the formation of a future Catholic body more conscientious, more orthodox, more religious, more devout, and more pure than we can obtain by any other process of education? . . ." The questions were drawn up in such a way as to make it clear that a negative answer was desired and indeed to make an affirmative difficult. They went out in Wiseman's name, but certainly he did not draw them up. It does not appear whose handiwork they were — probably a joint production of Manning and Ward, with Dr Grant of Southwark . . .' Butler's *Ullathorne II*, p. 9. See also Memorandum of 19 Dec. 1864. The questions are printed in full in Appendix 2.

³ Lord Charles wrote indignantly about the questions, and then asked Newman where he was to send his son, who was already down for Balliol and Christ Church, if Oxford were forbidden. This was not yet the case, 'but one is a *little* aware of the animus, and one knows that there is a dead set made against Oxford, by Manning, W. G. Ward and Hy Wilberforce who told me the other day he had rather see his son dead at his feet than send him to Oxford — And I feel almost more for *you* my dear Dr Newman . . .' Lord Charles thought that Ullathorne had given Newman the Oxford Mission when he already knew of the Bishops' meeting and proposed ban on Oxford.

Lord Charles also asked what substitute the bishops had to offer. 'Surely the Army and Navy the Bar and Medicine offer greater temptations to boys than Oxford.'

THURSDAY 15 DECEMBER 1864 E. Froude came. Miss C. Smith and cousin here.

FRIDAY 16 DECEMBER Quarant' Ore. sang Mass. Fr Suffield called.

TO THOMAS GAISFORD

Confidential

The Oratory Decr 16/64

My dear Mr Gaisford,

I heard of the questions for the first time three days ago. I had not seen them nor any one of them till you sent them. As for my own opinion, it has never been asked in any shape.¹

Such a paper of questions is deplorable — deplorable because they are not questions, but arguments — worse than 'leading questions' — They might as well have been summed up in one, viz. 'Are you or are you not one of those wicked men who advocate Oxford Education?' for they imply a *condemnation* of the respondent, if he does not reply *in one way*.

I do not believe that the meeting, or the questions, came from the Bishops. They come from unknown persons who mislead Propaganda, put the screw on the Bishops and would shut up our school if they could; — perhaps will.

As to our Bishop, I formally told him, a month before I bought the ground, that if I accepted the Mission, and proposed to introduce the Oratory to Oxford, it was solely for the sake of the Catholics in the Colleges. Yet he let me go on. In truth he knew of no real difficulty or hitch in prospect. I believe the news of the intended Bishops' meeting was a surprise to him.

I think your Letter and Answers very good, very much to the point. There is a straight forwardness in them which must tell, if they are read.²

It is the Laity's concern, not ours. There are those who contrast the English laity with the Irish, and think that the English will stand any thing. Such persons will bully, if they are allowed to do so; but will not show fight, if they are resisted.

Yours very Sincerely John H Newman

Thos Gaisford Esqr

TO SIR JOHN SIMEON

Confidential

The Oratory, Birmingham Dec 16/64

My dear Sir John,

As to myself, my opinion has never been asked by any one in authority. I never saw the questions till yesterday, when a friend gave me a sight of

¹ On 14 Dec. Gaisford wrote indignantly about the unfairness of the questions and quoted a strong letter he had received from Sir John Simeon, in the same sense. This ended, 'From what I hear and that from *good* catholics this is only part of a deliberate system to drive things to extremities'.

² Gaisford's reply of 11 Dec. to Bishop Grant answering the questions, is printed in Appendix 2.

them; nor heard of them till three days ago. As to our Bishop, I believe he knew nothing at all of the intended meeting, for he suffered me [[to buy the ground (?)]]¹ both before and after I bought the ground, to tell [[I told]] him distinctly, that I had no thoughts of buying the ground, or taking the mission, if Catholic youths were not at Oxford. I fear I shall not be able to part with it again, except at a loss.

It is not the Bishops — but it is certain unknown individuals here and at Rome, who pull the strings — and they will do any thing they can, till they get frightened at the laity. They would shut up our school, if they could. At present they think to override both the laity and the Bishops.

Thank you for your promised subscription — but at present it looks as if no Church would be built.²

Yours very sincerely John H Newman of the Oratory

P.S. We will not forget Lady Simeon.³ Johnny has certainly exerted himself heartily this term — but at times he flags from weariness. It will be some time before he shows to advantage.⁴

TO GEORGE BERNARD SMITH

The Oratory, Birmingham Dec 16. 1864

(Copy)

My dear Mr Smith

I am free to offer you the better part of the ground. I inclose a plan. I offer you the *yellow* — I keep myself the *blue*. . .

The portion coloured yellow is nearly three acres. It has the whole frontage of Walton Street and 161 feet of Little Clarendon Street. I offer it you for £6500. Will you let me have your answer as soon as you can⁵

J H N

¹ Newman made pencil corrections on a copy of his letter.

² Simeon wrote on 15 Dec., 'My intention was to beg you to accept a subscription of £50 . . . I must, however, say, that, in the event of such a decision being given by the Bishops as will probably prevent any considerable number of Catholics from going to Oxford, I shall not feel inclined to contribute so largely to the new Mission. . .'

³ Simeon's wife was expecting a child.

⁴ Simeon replied on 17 Dec. expressing his indignation that Newman, of all men, had not been consulted on the Oxford question, and added, 'The fact of your having made this large outlay at Oxford would to men of either sense or delicacy have been an additional reason for taking counsel with you.' Simeon consoled himself that there were at least a few people such as Newman, 'who are not disposed to drive the Educated Laity to despair'.

⁵ See letter of 23 Dec. to Smith.

17 DECEMBER 1864

TO C. F. AUDLEY

The Oratory, Birm Dec 17. 1864

My dear Sir,

Your name is perfectly well known to me, and I thank you both for the kindness which, I find from you, you have done me in making my name known through the *Correspondant*, and also for the honor which you now propose for my recent volume in publishing it in translation in the same distinguished periodical.¹

I will tell you how the matter stands as to a French Translation. Several French Priests have kindly offered to get it done, but a lady, a great friend of a great friend of mine, Mr Monsell, is actually engaged upon it. But she will not translate from the present Edition. A new Edition I am told will be wanted in the spring of the year. I am cutting off the beginning (Parts 1. and 2) and the Appendix — and substituting a short explanatory introduction. This will be the form in which it will be translated.²

I do not know whether Mr Monsell has engaged a publisher — but I conceive he would be very glad to see the Lady's translation transferred to the *Correspondant* instead, i.e. if it is the translation from my 2nd edition.

I should add that I mean to call the book thus curtailed 'History of my religious opinions.'

The copy of the *Correspondant*, sent to me so kindly by the Editor never reached me.³

I am, My dear Sir, Very truly Yrs, John H Newman

C. F. Audley Esqre

TO ISAAC THOMAS HECKER

The Oratory Birmingham Decr 17. 1864

My dear Very Revd Sir,

I have just received your most kind and gratifying letter. It is with great thankfulness to the Father of all mercy and grace that I read such testimonials in my behalf, far above my merits indeed, but still most pleasant, as being evidence of your sympathy for me.⁴

¹ Audley, who was one of the contributors to *Le Correspondant*, wanted to translate *Apo.* into French. He claimed that his review of *Apo.* in *Le Correspondant* for Aug. had made a sensation in France.

² See letter of 27 Nov. to Monsell.

³ Newman had been sent a copy of *Le Correspondant* for Aug. See also letter of 17 Dec.

⁴ Hecker wrote on 30 Nov. from the Church of St Paul the Apostle, New York, in reference to *Apo.*, 'It is a singular satisfaction to your friends dear Dr Newman that this work of yours should have called forth such general and strong expressions of reverence for your genius and admiration for your character. Will you allow me, for my part to say how largely I have shared this feeling, and to subscribe myself among the many who in addition to their common obligation to you as a catholic are your debtors for great personal benefits.'

19 DECEMBER 1864

I feel much obliged by your intention of sending me the American Edition of my volume.¹

Begging your good prayers for me, I am, My dear Very Revd Sir
Sincerely Yours in Xt

John H Newman of the Oratory

The Very Revd Fr Hecker

SUNDAY 18 DECEMBER 1864 Canon Walker called Quarant' Ore ended

MONDAY 19 DECEMBER The Bishop called

MEMORANDUM, THE BISHOPS' MEETING

Decr 19. 1864

The Bishop began this afternoon by asking whether I had seen certain questions which had been put out. I said I had not, and thought that it was a great disrespect to me that they had not been sent to me. I knew well that he had nothing to do with the matter.

He said that a certain number of copies had been sent to each Bishop — that, when they came to him, they seemed so unfair as being mere leading questions, with partial views of the matter, that, taking Northcote and Estcourt into his counsels, he determined to send them to no one. He said that Dr Goss<?>, a shrewd man, believed them, from their internal characteristics, to be written by the Cardinal. He thought so himself. He said the Cardinal was quite excited in the view he took on the question which was the extreme view. The Cardinal was lying on the sofa; his legs are seriously bad.

On the meeting of the Bishops on the 13th, he began by giving his own opinion, which was contrary to the rule at such assemblies; but then the junior Bishops were aristocratic, and would be, in their judgment of the matter, at variance with his Eminence. After laying down his view, which was antagonistic, to any Oxford plan very strongly, to his surprise he found Dr Ullathorne against him, and a sharp debate ensued.

After this, the deliberations of the Meeting proceeded, and they drew up a letter to Propaganda, first putting down the points in which they were unanimous

1. That there must be no College or Hall for Catholics in the Oxford University. 2 that Catholics must be warned against going there as dangerous. But then came the point in which they differed viz whether Catholics should be *prohibited* going. On this point there was a unanimous opinion in the negative on the part of all but two, who were vehement in favour of such a step — and who will be writing to Rome on the subject.

¹ At Hecker's request *Apo.* had been republished by Appleton of New York.

So much that day: the next the Cardinal made an attempt to break up the majority, by urging that their joint judgment had been rested, in separate instances, on various grounds. But Dr Ullathorne resisted this, and the Letter has been despatched to Rome. It will come before the Sacred Congregation, not simply Cardinal Barnabo — and the answer may be expected in three months.

He said the answers of about half a dozen persons to the questions were read on starting. Allies's paper was very able — and Simpson very good. Lewis's too was read. The Jesuits were much annoyed, that no paper of questions was sent to them.

After relating what had passed about the main question, the Bishop went on to say that my name was introduced. What did I propose to do? The Bishop had taken with him my Letter of Sept 23. his answer to it, and my reply of Sept 26. and offered to read them. This offer was several times declined; at last, when my name had been mentioned several times, the offer was accepted, and they were read. From what the Bishop said, it would seem as if the majority of Bishops spoke respectfully of me. Dr Goss said that he thought the matter lay between the Diocesan and me, and that they had nothing to do with the questions. The Cardinal then said, had I not issued some circular? The Bishop said that he had brought it — it had not been issued — that, directly he had mentioned the subject of it to me, I had instantly brought it, put it into his hands, and begged him, if necessary, to lay it before the Bishops — that I had no sort of intention to go against ecclesiastical authority. He then read it; — on which one Bishop said, that it was well that it had not been issued, for it would have burst like a shell among the Catholic body and would have divided them into two camps.

The Bishop then went on to speak of the present state of things, as regards myself; — he supposed that I should wait and do nothing till Rome had decided; though waiting must of course be a great inconvenience. He had sent a whole account of my negociation with himself to Rome, giving an abstract of my letter of Sept 23. and quoting the 7 points of the letter of Sept 26. And now what did I think of the state of things?

Well, I thought thus: — that, while his Lordship was treating with me about taking the Oxford Mission, certain unknown persons had interfered and stopped the course of our negociation. There would have been no meeting of the Bishops on Decr 13, had he not given me the Mission. This in consequence had thrown a great damper upon my side of it. I was old; I could not be sure of my health; the undertaking might be too much for me; even independently of the strain which it would put upon my powers, I could not promise myself a long time for active work; besides to go to Oxford was in itself a very great trial, or as I might say travail. I would much rather be off the business altogether. It would be a great relief to me if I were off it. Then on the top of all this comes this secret influence, unsettling every thing, making the future uncertain. How could I tell, that, when I had half built the Church,

there would not be a fresh interference? Propaganda had not so acted towards me in former times, as to leave any pleasant recollection of it upon my mind. I could not forget how, when I had left those Fathers at St Wilfrid's in former days, because his Lordship had wished it, Cardinal, then Mgr Barnabò, had written abruptly to me, finding fault with me for having done so, without knowing any thing about the matter — and that the Bishop had interfered, and put the matter to rights.¹ I could not forget how eight or nine years ago, the same Prelate had suspended a portion of our Rule without our knowing any thing about it — and forced me in the winter suddenly to go to Rome to prevent a great evil befalling us. When I got there, I found the Pope himself had interfered at the last moment, I said to his Lordship plainly, that I had no confidence whatever in Cardinal Barnabò.² He might easily be set on again by that same influence, which had caused the recent meeting, and which had led to the Cardinal Archbishop's attempting on the second day of the meeting to undo the decision to which the majority of Bishops had arrived. And therefore, before I could undertake the work, I must have some distinct recognition from Propaganda as to it, lest Cardinal Barnabò should be put up suddenly to say 'What business, Fr Newman, have you in Oxford?'

He answered that I meant Manning and Ward. Manning had lately said to him that he feared I thought that he had in some way or other crossed my path. This had struck Manning the last time that he had called on me. I answered that I certainly had closed up on that occasion — but that it was in consequence of what his Lordship might recollect he himself had said to me, that 'Manning never went any where, but in order to find something out.'³ — However, it was a fact that he had done an ungracious thing towards us, before this and in connexion with this occasion. We did not forget that, in his article in the Dublin on the subject of a University, and in his enumeration of Catholic Schools, high and lower, he had emphatically omitted ours, and that in the next number, though correcting some mistake about that enumeration, he had not set right that omission of the Oratory.⁴ He took this remark in silence, and shortly went.

N.B. He mentioned that the Cardinal had quite forgotten that in the early part of last year the Bishops had written formally to Propaganda, recommending that nothing at all should be done about the Oxford question.⁵

¹ See letter of 24 Nov. 1849 to Faber.

² See Volume XVII, the correspondence from Oct. 1855 to Jan. 1856.

³ Cf. diary for 23 Aug. 1864.

⁴ *D R*, (July 1863), p. 158, and (Oct. 1863), p. 612. See postscript to letter of 15 Aug. 1863 to St John.

⁵ As late as 14 Aug. 1863 Ullathorne wrote to Barnabò that at the meeting of the bishops at Oscott earlier that month nothing was done about Catholics going to Oxford. Ullathorne added 'Valde tamen dubitandum est, si formale praeceptum in praesenti rerum statu expediret.' Archives of Propaganda, *S.R.C. Anglia*, 16, 1861-3, ff 1109-10.

19 DECEMBER 1864

TO THOMAS GAISFORD

Private.

The Oratory, Birmingham. December 19th. 1864.

My dear Mr Gaisford,

I am glad to say that my anticipation about our Bishop is quite fulfilled. He had no part in those questions, does not approve of them, and takes a moderate part. The matter goes to Rome, but nothing extreme, I am sure, will be done.

Very sincerely yours, John H Newman.

Thos. Gaisford Esq.,

TUESDAY 20 DECEMBER 1864 school broke up

TO RICHARD FREDERICK LITTEDALE

N.B. I wrote this in answer to Dr Littledale's present of his Pamphlet; but wrote it again, curtailed and more guarded — I sent it about Decr 20.

The Oratory Bm Dec 11. 1864

My dear Sir

I have received from you a copy of your Pamphlet for which I thank you.¹

Though it is very difficult to enter into the feelings of others, yet in part I think I can understand the discouragement which the zealous persons whom you represent must have felt both from the recent Rescript and our Bishop's Letter. But perhaps you too do not rightly apprehend the feelings of those who speak through that Rescript and that Letter.

Not that I can be the interpreter of those feelings; but excuse me, if I say, that an attempt to enter into them would perhaps have led the promoters of the Association to have anticipated what has been done, and would have prevented the discouragement and irritation which it is natural they should feel themselves, at the obstacle which is now placed in their path.

Persons in place can only be approached by persons in place. Our Bishops should have been approached by means of responsible persons. If those responsible persons in the Anglican Church felt it too great a responsibility to come forward, was it not natural that our Bishops should think it scarcely appropriate that they should be addressed, and, as it were, challenged to speak, by laymen or simple priests of the Anglican communion?

Not a single word has dropped from our Bishop in my hearing which leads me to say this. I am speaking simply and entirely from what seems to me probable from its being natural.

¹ *Unity and the Rescript. A Reply to Bishop Ullathorne's Pastoral against the A.P.U.C.*, London 1864. Cf. letters of 11 Oct. to Ffoulkes and 21 Oct. to Lee. Littledale was one of the secretaries of the Association for the Promotion of the Unity of Christendom. Cf. also letter of 9 Dec. to Fraser.

Then again, when our Authorities hear that other Catholic Bishops have been prevailed upon to join our [sic] Association, they are naturally unwilling to believe that their brethren should have done what they do not think it right to do themselves; and they ask for their names. But they are pained to find that they cannot get them. They find that the Association is a secret society. Is not this a fair ground of complaint?¹

Then further, when these Bishops' names are *concealed*, does not this naturally produce an unpleasant effect, as if there was a mystery which would not bear the light?

Will you allow me to remark that the practical way of a better understanding between you and ourselves, lies, not in any attempt at joint action, but in the steady increasing revival of a Catholic and primitive spirit, which has shown itself in the Church of England during the last thirty years? I am quite sure that the more this revival proceeds, the nearer you will come to us, and the fewer difficulties you will find in our system. On the other hand, if there is jealousy, suspicion, bigotry, and cruelty, to be found any where among us, such evil tempers will lose that place and influence which they at present possess; and the more generous faith and Christian affectionateness, which now, as ever, are the possession of the Catholic body, will show themselves in the social action and the surface of Catholicism with a power which you will be unable to deny or resist. In that day, we shall from tender charity be ready to grant every thing which we can possibly grant with a safe conscience; and Anglicans will think more of what God requires of them individually than what historical wrongs they have received from the course of Catholic policy. *We shall not live to see this, but may God bring it about in his own time*

Very truly Yours J H N

The Revd R. F. Littledale LL D.

TO SIR FREDERICK ROGERS

The Oratory, Birm Decr 20 1864

My dear Rogers,

Your offer is very tempting. I should like to be with you and Lady Rogers. I should like to meet Church — and, not the least pleasure would be to see your Mother and Sisters. But I am an old man, oppressed with reasonable and unreasonable difficulties, in confronting such a proposition. How do I know but I shall have a cold, which will prostrate me? five years ago I had a slight attack in the bronchia — and, when it has once occurred, it never quite goes; and if I had ever so little return of it, I should have great difficulty in shaking it off. I go on expecting it all through the winter and never get through

¹ Littledale replied on 22 Dec. that by their own wish the names of Catholic dignitaries who approved of the A.P.U.C. had been kept secret. The secrecy was optional.

without a touch, sooner or later. I begin to understand old Routh's excessive care of himself; for if I neglected myself an hour or two, I might be in for it. Then again in other ways, though my health is ordinarily good, nay tough, I am prostrated for half a day; after a quiet evening and good night, I am right again. Then I am a sort of savage, who has lost manners. Except once at Hope-Scott's, and once at Henry Bowden's, and a day or two at W. Wilberforce's last year, I have not been in a friend's house these 20 years — and I should not know how to behave. If I made an engagement with you, I should go on fidgetting myself till the time comes, lest I should be unable to keep it — and if I don't make one, then I am sure not to go to you. And thus you have the measure of me.

There is a half motive of duty comes in, of this kind, in favour of my accepting what would I know be a great pleasure, if I could screw myself up to it; — viz. I want light upon this Oxford plan — I live in a hole, and light would be welcome from any quarter. Nothing will ever take me from Birmingham, but to set up an Oratory in Oxford would oblige me to go there in an intermittent way. But first of all there is my age and strength — and the difference of times — and then comes the status of the question. I go simply with the object of taking charge of the young Catholics in the Colleges. Of course did any one else come to me, and wish to be a Catholic, I should indeed inform the proper persons first, if he were in statu pupillari, but, if I thought he was acting rationally and prudently, I could not refuse to receive him — And hence I am in a certain sense aggressive, whether I will or no. This is one grave matter to consider — What duty have I, at my age, to get into controversy and hot water?

But more direct difficulties come in the way; — of course I am thrown across the religious questions of the day, inspiration of Scripture, certainty of faith, eternity of punishment etc — and then, even if I have my own view and can say my own say on these points, some feverish or narrow-sighted, or party-spirited theologian among my own people may shut me up by his criticisms or animadversions.

(*Private*)

But there is something still more difficult to me. We all think that it is *dangerous* to the faith and morals of our youth to go to Ch. Ch. [Christ Church] for morals and to Balliol for faith. A small, stirring, violent, influential party are for *prohibiting* any Catholic going to Oxford at all. I don't think they have much chance of success — but still they may so trouble the waters as to deprive *our* own work there of any chance of telling. Thus much they certainly will effect; (and the more so, because of the strong feeling of alarm which, as I have said, is general) — viz. there will come a strong dissuasive from the Holy See of young men being sent to Oxford. Well then, the question comes, Shall I not be in a false position, even though my Diocesan puts me there, if I go to take charge of youths, who are sent in disobedience

to the wishes of ecclesiastical authority? — and they will not be few, because parents consider that, though that authority may be performing a sacred duty in warning them, yet still after all the decision on a complicated question is left by that authority, as it ought to be, in their own hands. Were I a parent, I think I should decide as parents are likely to decide, *provided* I could be sure of the presence in Oxford of such an establishment of religion as an Oratory would be. As to the notion of a Catholic College or Hall in Oxford, that is put aside by nearly every one, that is, by *this* time, for there *has* been some advocacy of it, or rather I should say, put aside *at* and *for* this time, whatever becomes of the future, as being a measure which does not meet the particular difficulty of the moment. Catholic parents wish their sons to mix with other youths — and, if they are put into a separate Society, this object is defeated. This is in fact, one form or part of the dilemma which I put to you when you were here, 'If we go in force we shall be hated — if we go in a shabby way, we shall be despised.'

However, as to Catholics going to existing Colleges, the discouragement of such a proceeding may come from Rome in such terms, as to make me say, 'I have no call to go to Oxford, under such a great discouragement' — and any how, whether the terms be strong or not, I think I certainly shall not go there without some express and direct *sanction* from Rome on my (personally) going there. If I did not do so, those same persons, who have already been throwing so many obstacles in the way, might a year or two hence bother me afresh; As then in the matter of an estate, a 'parliamentary title,' or a 'Commissioners of Poor Title,' sweeps away a deal of legal trouble, so I think I shall not move, if I am to take the first step — and, though my Diocesan is strongly for me, indeed it is all his doing, it seems to me very problematical that I *shall* get any sanction from Propaganda, such as I require. And thus perhaps, without any decision of my own, the project will come to nothing

With all these difficulties on every side, (even if I got the sanction from Rome,) with so much jealousy and opposition both from Catholics and Protestants, so much chance of collision with friends and foes, and at my age, and with the certainty of such grave pecuniary liabilities, and such intellectual responsibilities, and such scantiness of hands in a great work, it would be a great comfort, if any authoritative voice would say 'Don't.' My motives for going are 1. the strong and earnest desire of the parents of the youths going to Oxford, and 2. a desire, in a troublous eventful future, to found a strong ecclesiastical establishment in Oxford

Yours affly John H Newman

Sir Fredc Rogers

20 DECEMBER 1864

TO BISHOP ULLATHORNE

The Oratory Decr 20/64

My dear Lord,

I am in doubt, whether I said with sufficient distinctness to your Lordship yesterday, what I felt then, and feel more strongly to day: viz. that you must be so kind as to allow me to wait for the expected decision from Propaganda, before I give in to you my definitive answer, whether, under the state of things which the fact of the sudden Episcopal meeting of Dec 13th has brought home to me, I can proceed with the Oxford scheme or not.

As you will easily understand, I have difficulties enough in contemplating it, without those additional ones, which the terms of the expected Letter from Rome might possibly create

I am, My dear Lord, Yr affte Servt in Xt
John H Newman of the Oratory

The Rt Revd The Bp of Birmingham

TO LADY CHATTERTON

The Oratory Birmm Decr 21. 1864

My dear Lady Chatterton,

I felt your kindness in sending me the 'Quagmire ahead' and your own Poems. As to the latter, I began to read Leonore directly — and I assure you I could not put it down, till I had finished it. This is, I suppose, as far as one reader is concerned, the best compliment that I can pay it — and, I assure you, it is quite a sincere one. Some passages in it seem to me very beautiful. I hope to finish the volume before long¹

I am, My dear Lady Chatterton, Sincerely Yours John H Newman
Lady Chatterton

TO R. W. CHURCH

The Oratory, Bm. Dec 21/64.

I wrote to Rogers yesterday, in more than doubt whether I could accept his offer. Of course I should like extremely to meet whether you or him, and much more both of you together — but I am an old man — and subject to coids and slight ailments which make me slow in committing myself to

¹ *Quagmire ahead*, a pamphlet, privately printed 1864; *Léonore, a Tale: and other Poems*, London 1864. Both works were by Lady Chatterton.

engagements. And then a profound melancholy might come on me to find myself in the presence of friends so dear to me, and so divided from me. And therefore, like a coward, I have declined. I could bear one, better than two.

I want very much to see you, and think it most kind in you to think of going the long way whether to London or to Birmingham for my sake — but here again I should prefer the summer to the winter for your visit, for Brummagem is a dirty, unattractive place — and we have no indoor amusements. In the summer I should ask you to go over to our cottage at Rednal — but in winter, unless I went out with you shooting, or mounted you for the hunt, or went sliding or skating with you, what could I do? so that I have the same reluctance to ask you in winter, as you seem to have in asking me in the same season to Whatley.¹

TO HENRY CLUTTON

Decr 23, 1864

My dear Mr Clutton

As you know, this Oxford matter is referred to Propaganda. I recollect hearing last year that the Bishops had then written to Propaganda to advise doing nothing; so I am taken by surprise, as many others are, by this sudden re-opening of the question.

I fear it will put an end to our plans; for though Propaganda may not prohibit, it may condemn, University education; and, even if it did not do this, yet, as the question has been opened a second time, it might, as soon as we had built our Church, be opened a third time, and then, where are we?

For the time then our budding scheme, I regret to say, is at least suspended, however, I shall keep the land

J H N

TO W. J. COPELAND

The Oratory Bm Decr 23. 1864

Charissime,

I write to thank you for the splendid turkey and to wish you a happy Christmas. I can't help fancying that you are in an out of the way corner of the world, where you have no one to be with on so great a day. However, you can't be so badly off, as I, who went up in 1828 to preach at Whitehall to empty seats, and dined at an Hotel near the Haymarket.² You can't be so badly off as Ambrose and I in 1847, who hurried from Rome to get home by Christmas Eve,

¹ Church wrote on 19 Dec. trying to arrange to meet Newman either in London at Rogers's house or in Birmingham. Cf. diary for 7 June 1865. Newman did not visit Church at Whatley Rectory, near Frome, until June 1870.

² Cf. *Moz.* I, p. 188.

23 DECEMBER 1864

and ate our Christmas dinner soli in the White Horse Cellar Coffee Room. Weren't we more like Jeremiah then, than I am now? The sermon to which you allude was written in 1829, soon after the former of these baulks.¹

Thank you for what you told me about Keble; sad as it was, it might have been worse. Rogers has asked me to go and see him; but I am an old man, and dread to go out in the winter. It is very unlikely now, that we shall have any thing to do with Oxford; so, if you want to buy land dear for some purpose, I have it to sell. I should like to sell it for some large institution, but am not likely to find purchasers. It seems cruel that so fine a site should be devoted to small shabby houses, when, as time goes on, it will be so wanted for public purposes.

I am laden with Christmas greetings to you from your friends here
and am, Ever Yrs most affectionately John H Newman
The Revd W. J. Copeland

TO GEORGE BERNARD SMITH

Decr 23. 1864

My Dear Mr Smith

Your proposal is very kind.² You are quite at liberty to mention to the parties you speak of the quantity and the price of the land which I offer for sale; with a view to their purchasing it

J H N

TO LAVINIA WILSON

The Oratory, Birmingham Dec. 23/64.

My dear Child,

I am sorry so much trial should have come on you at Christmas time — but recollect that those who sow in tears shall reap in joy.

You may come to the Convent at Handsworth, when you will; only give me due notice, notice both of the day and of the train which you come by. In that case you shall be met at the Birmingham Station and taken to the Convent. You shall be quite at liberty to go again, should you wish it.

Yours affectionately, John H. Newman.

Sister Lavinia.

¹ Replying on 16 Dec. to Newman's letter of 13 Dec. Copeland wrote, 'You certainly anticipated much of what has befallen you in your Sermon on Jeremiah in Plain Sermons.' *P.S.* VIII, pp. 124-40.

² Smith wrote on 22 Dec. that he was unable to purchase the Oxford site, but knew of a person interested in doing so.

26 DECEMBER 1864

SUNDAY 25 DECEMBER 1864 sang 5 AM Mass

MONDAY 26 DECEMBER Bowyer called

TO C. F. AUDLEY

The Oratory, December 26/64

My dear Sir,

Again I thank you for the honour which you intend me.

I do not understand quite what you mean by asking for my determination.¹

Since July last I have put the matter of translation of my *Apologia* simply into Mr Monsell's hands, who kindly showed a great interest in the matter. And I told him that I should curtail it, and add some sentences both for the new English Edition, and for the translation which was to be made from it. I know the translation is some way advanced, and that it will be corrected from my copy.

I know perfectly well that the right of translation is not reserved. Mr Longman did not advise it. For myself I much despaired of such a work admitting of a French dress, and therefore acquiesced in his decision.

The Number of the *Correspondant* has come — and I beg to thank you for it, and for what you have so obligingly said to [of] me.²

Very truly Yours John H Newman of the Oratory

C. F. Audley Esqr

TO MISS M. R. GIBERNE

The Oratory Bm Dec 26/64

My dear Sister M. Pia,

A very happy Christmas to you, and New Year. I do trust those sad trials of mind, which you spoke of, are not what they were; and that, in place of such desolation, you have begun to reap the fruits of your generous and singular Sacrifice of yourself to our dear Lord.

And now I am going to disappoint you about our Oxford matters — but every thing is right and has a good purpose — and, as regards myself, I have had so many baulks, — that I have had no trial in the matter. But, when our Bishop had given me the Mission and I had bought the land, one or two persons, who had influence with Propaganda, have contrived to stop all the proceedings — and, though our Bishop is and has been very zealous for me, I

¹ Audley wrote on 24 Dec. still hoping to be allowed to translate *Apo.* in spite of Newman's letter of 17 Dec.

² See letter of 17 Dec. In reviewing *Apo.* in *le Correspondant* (25 Aug. 1864), pp. 745–88, 'Histoire d'une Ame', Audley gave a heavy-handed account of Newman's history.

think my plan will come to nothing. I proposed going to guard the faith and morals of the Catholic youths who go there; it is more than likely that Propaganda will bring out some Letter to the English Bishops which will have the effect of *not* stopping the *youths* from going, *but* of stopping *me*. I don't think this will be any desirable result, but it may seem otherwise to the English party who are acting upon Propaganda. Is it not queer, that the two persons who are now most opposed to me are Manning and Ward?

We all send to you our best Christmas greetings and beg your prayers

Ever yours affectionately in Xt¹

Sister M. Pia.

TO WILLIAM MONSELL

The Oratory Bm Decr 26/64

Private.

My dear Monsell

A happy Christmas and New Year to you and yours.

You will like to hear about the Oxford plan, which has all but gone to the wall, and I think will really come to nothing — at least for a long while. I shall keep two acres of ground, if I possibly can — and this will make me master of the situation — for no other ground is to be got.

Suddenly, out of course and at an inconvenient time of year, an Episcopal meeting was called, at the instance of Propaganda. That this never would have taken place, but for the Bishop giving me the Mission of Oxford and my buying ground, seems to me very certain. Dr Ullathorne was, as much taken [by] surprise as I was — and the more so because, I recollect, that only last year the English Bishops had sent a message to Propaganda to the effect that things had better be *left quiet*. Now, however, they were told that they must make up their minds, and send their judgment to Rome for its decision. The answer is expected back in a few months — and, I do not doubt at all, that it will be a distinct discouragement of Catholic youths going to Oxford.

1. This in itself may be of such a character, as to make it an inconsistency in my going there to take care of them — and I can go for *no other* reason.

2. But, besides this, this sudden proceeding of Propaganda unsettling a diocesan transaction between me and my Bishop, has utterly removed my trust in the future. How do I know, that, when my Church is half built, Manning or another may not prevail with Propaganda, to put another sudden spoke in my wheel? It is plain then, I cannot proceed, unless I have some direct encouragement or guarantee from Propaganda in favour of my undertaking the Oxford Mission (I don't say it need include *my* object in doing so, but a recognition of my absence from Birmingham) and this I doubt whether I shall ever get.

¹ The signature has been cut out.

27 DECEMBER 1864

Mr Audley has written to me to say that he has begun to translate my Apologia — and I answered that you had been good enough to prevail on a lady

Ever Yrs affly John H Newman

TO CATHERINE ANNE BATHURST

The Oratory Bm Decr 27/64

My dear Child

All Christmas blessings to you — Thank you for your prayers for me. I have not seen the new photograph — and I think have been treated ill about it, one of my grievances being that though I have written once or twice, not one has been sent me. I send you one of the Paris ones, thinking you have not seen it.¹

The Oxford scheme is, I suppose, all at an end. It has proved one of those baulks, which have so often visited me. The Bishop gave me the Mission and I bought land. He had no idea of Propaganda interposing — nor would it, had I not thus been going to Oxford — I suppose some one in England put Cardinal Barnabò up to it — So a letter came for the Bishops to meet, and send their opinions, and Propaganda is to send back its final decision. If it is a dissuasive of youths going to Oxford, of course it extinguishes me — for, if there was any thing which would encourage parents sending their boys there, it would be the presence there of some body such as the Oratory. The consequence is, I have to get my land off my hands as I can — it is not easy to sell £8400 worth of land — not easy to pay the interest of it — and thus I am in a hobble. I never thought of *living* at Oxford — but of setting up an Oratory there.

I don't forget to say Mass for you. The same persons, who are thwarting me at Oxford, would shut up our School, if they could

Ever Yrs affly in Xt John H Newman of the Oratory
Sister M. C Philip

P.S. You forget that London is a province, not a city — and that it literally takes *hours* to go to and fro from one point to another. I got to Town at half past 10, had 4 or 5 engagements of business, and left for Hastings in the afternoon. I am sorry to say, you are 20 minutes in a cab even from the N.W. railway, and I had to come by the Great Western.²

WEDNESDAY 28 DECEMBER 1864 Ambrose went thro' London to Brighton

¹ Newman was photographed in Paris in July 1863 and again in London on 20 July 1864.

² See diary for 4 Nov.

TO SISTER MARY GABRIEL DU BOULAY

The Oratory Bm Dec 28/64

My dear Sister M G.

Thank you for your affectionate letter. It is strange in God's Providence that you should return to your first home.¹ And has He not sealed your coming with some particular grief,² as if to show you that you are His, and that where you go, He is the Sender of you? You are in His eye from first to last. If all is well, I will say Mass soon for your various intentions.

As to the Oxford scheme, it is still the Blessed will of God to send me baulks.³ On the whole, I suppose, looking through my life as a course, He is using me — but really viewed in its separate parts, it is but a life of failures. My Bishop gave me the Mission without my asking for it. I told him that I should not think of going, except for the sake of Catholic youths there — and with his perfect acquiescence I bought the ground. It cost £8400. When all this had been done there was an interposition of Propaganda, for which I believe he was absolutely unprepared, and the more so, because I heard at the time, the collected Bishops had last year recommended Propaganda to do nothing in the Oxford question. However on the news coming to certain people in London that I was going to Oxford, they influenced Propaganda to interpose, and the whole scheme, is, I conceive at an end. Of course, if Propaganda brings out any Letter of disapproval of young Catholics going to Oxford, (and people think it is certain to do so) my going there is either superfluous, or undutiful — Superfluous if there are no Catholics there — undutiful if my going is an inducement to them, or an excuse and shelter for their going there.

And now my anxiety, not a slight one, is to sell my ground again without pecuniary loss. Will you pray for this?

Ever Yours affectly in Xt John H Newman

TO CHARLES MEYNELL

The Oratory Bm Decr 28/64

My dear Dr Meynell

Thank you for your Christmas greetings, for your zeal about my Sermons, and about the Oxford Scheme.⁴

¹ Sister Gabriel had gone to the convent of her Order at St Mary Church, Torquay. She was living at Torquay, when, in 1850, she came up to London to be received into the Church by Newman.

² This was the death of her young married sister.

³ Sister Gabriel wrote on 26 Dec., 'I was so much interested in hearing of the Oxford plan — and long to know more of its development.'

⁴ Meynell enquired on 24 Dec. about the republication of Newman's Anglican sermons. See letter of 16 Oct. He also offered £1 towards the Oxford church.

That scheme, I consider, is at an end, and I am doing my best to sell the land again. As to my Sermons, I conceive it is so hard a job, to alter them, and so nice a matter to select such as need not be altered, that I don't think I shall do any thing

Very sincerely Yours in Xt John H Newman of the Oratory

P.S. I see I have not reciprocated above your Christmas good wishes, which I do with all my heart. We have been much concerned to hear of the state of your President's boy.¹

TO E. B. PUSEY

The Oratory, Birmingham Decr 28. 1864

My dear Pusey,

All best Christmas greetings to you. Can you tell me whether the inclosed comes from that Dr Giles who figured publicly some years ago? Any how, I don't wish to give him the leave that he asks. Can you give me your opinion?²

I suppose I shall not go to Oxford in the way I proposed, or in any way. There is no thought now of a *College* for our youths there — and the only question which is *not* certain is the *degree of disapproval* which Propaganda will express on the subject of our youths being in the *existing* Colleges. Now, if it speaks at all, it must be in the way of disapproval. It might keep silence — overlook — ignore — but it could not *sanction* the principle of mixed education. Therefore, since it *is* to speak, it must disapprove, dehort, dissuade — whether gently or vigorously. Now I should be in a false position, if I went in order to cooperate in proceedings which had been placed under a slur. This would be the case, supposing all parents did not follow the advice of Propaganda — but if all did, and there was *no* Catholic youth at Oxford, I should be going for nothing at all. Either then my setting up an Oratory there is superfluous, or it is undutiful. I can't get out of this dilemma — but we shall see. Meantime, I feel it so strongly, that, did any one offer, as some one did in October, £9,000 for the *whole* plot of land, I think I should be tempted to close with him at once, for I dread pecuniary embarrassment.

¹ The son of J. S. Northcote, the President of Oscott, was dying. See letter of 5 Jan. 1865 to him.

² John Giles wrote on 15 Dec. from 29 Albion Street, Hyde Park, asking for permission to reprint *Tract XC*. John Allen Giles, who was at Corpus Christi College, Oxford, where he took a double first in 1828, was curate of Bampton, Oxfordshire, 1845-54. On 6 March 1855 he was sentenced to a year's imprisonment for having made a false entry in a marriage register book at Bampton, but was released on 4 June 1855. He was the author of more than eighty books. See also letter of 31 Jan. 1865 to Pusey, who was not sure of the identification. Pusey replied that 'if *Tract 90* is reprinted at all, I should like to reprint it, and it might suit well to reprint it now that I am reawakening people's minds to it' Cf. Liddon's *Pusey*, IV, p. 101. Newman noted on Giles's letter, 'answered declining and saying (Jan 6/65) that I had put the *Tract* into Pusey's hands. J H N' Pusey republished *Tract XC* in 1865. Cf. letter of 31 Jan. to him.

How I view 'Indulgences' is thus: are there any grounds, theological, of historical fact, or in reason, of *sufficient strength* to hinder men from giving credit to the word of the Church which is 'the pillar and ground of the Truth?' I know of none¹

Ever Yrs affly John H Newman

TO EDWARD HEALY THOMPSON

The Oratory, Birrmm Dec 28. 1864

My dear Thompson

Thank you for your Christmas greetings which I heartily return to you and Mrs Thompson.

It is a great pleasure to hear from you; and as you say nothing to the contrary, I cannot help hoping you are better in health than you were

You must have had a great deal of anxiety in your late occupation.² Ward has a hundred good qualities — and, as you say, his sweetness of temper is admirable, but I have long thought that his intellectual complexion has something morbid about it. The present state of things is very sad — and would make me unhappy, had I not got callous to balks and rebuffs. Things must be worse before they are better, I say to myself, and resign them into the hand of God, and to the generation to come.

As to my Oxford scheme, I suppose it is all over — and I am trying to sell again land, which has cost £8400. I trust I shall not lose by it — but it is a ticklish operation.

Last year, (as I heard at the time,) our Bishop advised Propaganda *not to interfere* in the Oxford matter. Most certainly our Bishop expected no interposition now — for, though I told him expressly that I did not think of going there except for the sake of the Catholic youths at the University, he, without my asking, gave me the Mission, and acquiesced in my buying the ground. He also gave me a strong Letter of recommendation to collect money with for a Church. Nay, I never should have thought of going there except at his suggestion — not that I *ever* meant to *leave* Birmingham, but my even founding an Oratory there (which implied no leaving of Birmingham) was an idea which rose out of his offering me the Mission. All I had proposed was to buy

¹ Pusey, who was at work on his *Eirenicon* in reply to Manning's *The Workings of the Holy Spirit in the Church of England*, wrote on 24 Dec., 'I have long felt that although there are some things e.g. indulgences which I cannot in the least understand our difficulties are mostly in the practical system rather than in the *letter* of the Council of Trent.' Pusey also described his reply to Manning as 'in fact a reawakening of Tract 90'.

² Thompson had retired from the sub-editorship of *DR* because he found it impossible to work under W. G. Ward, the editor. Writing on 24 Dec. to Newman, Thompson complained of Ward's 'narrow and intolerant spirit', and said, 'To such lengths has he allowed himself to be carried by his peculiar crotchets and morbid apprehensions, that I verily believe his mind itself must be diseased: certain of his acts seem to me not to be those of a rational being.' Cf. note to letter of 13 Dec. to Copeland.

ground for a *future* Oratory, but the offer of the Mission determined me to act at once. After I had bought the land, then, to his surprise as well as mine, a letter came from Propaganda suddenly, bidding the Bishops meet at an inconvenient time, in order to instruct Propaganda on the Oxford question with a view to Propaganda's deciding it. There never would have been that meeting, unless I had bought the land, and the Bishop given me the Mission. I say the Bishop did not imagine such an occurrence — because, not only did he allow me again and again to write him word that I went simply for the Catholic undergraduates, but he distinctly said, even after the meeting of the Bishops was determined on, that nothing that took place in that meeting could alter the arrangements between him and me.

Then the meeting was held — and questions put out, which were not questions, but *arguments* — shown too to only a few picked men. As for myself, no person in authority has up to this day ever asked my opinion upon the Oxford question.

Now look at the state of things — If I do not sell my land at once, I shall not be able to sell it at all — or at a loss. How can I wait months till Propaganda decides? Land for building is sold in the spring only; if I don't sell it in a month or two, I can't sell it for a year — and how can I bear the interest at 5 per cent of £8400? Then again, since *one* sudden interference has taken place on the part of Propaganda, why not others? How can I know that, when my Oxford Church is half built, I might not have a letter from Rome to say 'Pray, Dr Newman, why ain't you at Birmingham?' This thought alone destroys all my confidence in the future. I thought my *Bishop* sufficient guarantee that I was safe; but he is set aside, as well as I.

Then further, after all; I don't indeed expect that Propaganda will send any *prohibition* of youths going to Oxford, but if it does speak *at all*, (and it is to speak, it seems) it *must* speak in discouragement — dehortation of their doing so. How then can I build a Church there, when the very *fact* of an Oxford Oratory would be an *encouragement* to them, and an excuse, for going there? Is it not clear that, if I continued my project, any how I should be placing myself in a false position, and be acting in an unbecoming and inconsistent manner, and most likely should have besides a reproof from Propaganda?

Every Yours most sincerely in Xt John H Newman

TO BISHOP ULLATHORNE

The Oratory Bm Decr 28. 1864

My dear Lord

I do not like to proceed in the matter of selling my land at Oxford, without telling you what I am doing, — though I hardly can expect you will take it of me at the sum that I am asking.

29 DECEMBER 1864

It was the sum which I could have got for it two months ago — and therefore I have reason to think that I can get it now. The sum for the whole plot is £9000.¹

Asking your blessing on us at this joyful season, I am,

My dear Lord, Yr affte & faithful Servt in Xt
John H Newman of the Oratory

The Rt Revd The Bishop of Birmingham

TO THOMAS GAISFORD

The Oratory, Birmingham. December 29th. 1864.

My dear Mr Gaisford,²

It seems now quite clear, that, the land which I have bought at Oxford cannot at once be used for the purposes of a New Church and therefore it must be in a pecuniary point of view, for the time, unremunerative. I fear, however, it is out of my own power to keep even a portion of it for the chances of the future, unless I am furnished by others with means of doing so.

What I shall require for the purpose is at most £1,500; and my way of raising it is this:

Various friends besides yourself have given me the promise of their contributions for building a Church upon the ground in question. Now I propose to ask them to advance these sums at the moment for the ground itself on which it is to be built, undertaking that, as soon as the building of the Church commences, I will restore their money to its original purpose, and use it upon the Church itself. I will give them a receipt for the sums they respectively contribute, which will be their guarantee both of the share they have in the ground and their claim that the share shall be used in the building of the Church, when the proper time comes. If the ground is eventually sold, their share will come back to them again.

Are you willing to give me your contribution of £100 at once upon this condition?

I should add that the following sums are contributed already for the above purposes by ourselves.

The Oratory	£100
Dr Newman	£100
Fr. St. John	£100
Fr. Neville	£100

I am, My dear Mr Gaisford, Sincerely Yours,
John H. Newman of the Oratory.

Thos: Gaisford Esq.

¹ Ullathorne replied on 30 Dec. that he was not surprised at Newman's decision, but that he could not purchase the land at Oxford.

² Similar letters were sent to Lord Dunraven, to Monteith and to Scott Murray. Gaisford sent £200, Lord Dunraven and Monteith each £100, and Scott Murray £50.

30 DECEMBER 1864

TO JOHN B. SPEARING

The Oratory, Bm Decr 29. 1864

Dear Sir,

I wish to part with a portion of my land — nearly three acres — the portion bounded by Walton Street and part of Little Claredon Street, viz 161 feet. I inclose a plan. I wish to sell for not less than £6500. Will you let me know, if you are able to do this for me

Very truly Yours John H Newman

Mr Spearing St Giles's, Oxford

TO HENRY JAMES COLERIDGE

The Oratory Bm Decr 30/64

My dear F Coleridge

I thank you very much for a sight of the letter, which I return.¹ It is far more sadly circumstantial than the accounts that I heard from Pusey and Copeland — Pusey indeed slurred the whole matter over, and, in his way, would not allow to himself that it was paralysis. Of course, though he hid the matter, his words admitted of no other interpretation. Paralysis has this of awfulness, that it is so sudden — I wonder, when those anticipations came on Keble in past times, whether they were founded on symptoms, or antecedent probability; for I have long feared paralysis myself. I have asked medical men, and they have been unable to assign any necessary premonitory symptoms — nay, the very vigourousness and self possession, (as they seem) of mind and body, which ought to argue health, are often the proper precursors of an attack. This makes one suspicious of one's own freedom from ailments. Whately died of paralysis — so did Walter Scott — so (I think) Southey — and, though I cannot recollect, I have observed the like in other cases of literary men. Was not Swift's end of that nature? I wonder, in old time what people died of — We read 'After this, it was told Joseph that his father was sick —' 'And the days of David drew nigh that he should die —' What were they sick, what did they die of? And so of the great Fathers — St Athanasius died past 70 — was his a paralytic seizure? We cannot imitate the Martyrs in their death — but I sometimes feel it would be a comfort if we could associate ourselves with the great Confessor Saints in their illnesses and decline; Pope St Gregory had the gout, St Basil had a liver complaint — but St Gregory Nazianzen? St Ambrose? St Augustine & St Martin died of fevers, proper to old age. But my paper is out.

Yours most sincerely, John H Newman

¹ Coleridge sent Newman a letter he had just received from his father, giving an account of Keble's paralysis. Cf. next letter.

30 DECEMBER 1864

TO MISS HOLMES

The Oratory Bm Decr 30/64

My dear Miss Holmes,

Thank you for your affectionate letter. A blessed Christmas and a happy new year to you. I don't say 'merry' — that does well for children, who eat mince-pies and go to pantomines — though I don't mean to speak with scorn of children's pleasures. It is, as you say — as life goes on, one admires and extols, less and less — that is, we are thrown more upon the thought of God and His immutable perfection.

Do you know, dear Keble has had a stroke of paralysis? Do not talk of it, for those things get so exaggerated — but his friends are much alarmed. It is from doing too much — he was writing to the Times Newspaper on the great Anglican question of the day, when the attack came on him.¹ I have ever feared paralysis myself — not from any reason proper to myself, but because so many literary men thus end their days. However, it won't be from overwork. I thought it might be, when there was a talk of my founding an Oratory at Oxford — but that apparently is all at an end. My Bishop gave me the Mission, and I bought a (never-to-be-got-again) piece of freehold land in Oxford for £8400! Alas — I have to sell it again in prudence, though the turn-up of things is not quite certain. The Bishops last year wrote to Propaganda advising no interference; but, when it got known that I was going there, two or three people roused themselves — and the Cardinal got a letter from Rome, the effect of which will be (to all appearance) to hinder my scheme. My life seems to be a history of baulks and failures but I suppose, after all, in God's mercy, I shall have done something on the whole. All this is secret.

Ever Yours affectionately in Xt John H Newman of the Oratory
Miss Holmes

TO FANNY MARGARET TAYLOR

Dec 30/64

Dear Miss Taylor

Will you kindly send one or two numbers of the Month to Madame Pisani at Lucca, the authoress of the *Life of Pius ix.*

Her direction is 'Madame Pisani care of Colonel Haliday United Service Club London

Very truly Yours in Xt John H Newman

Miss Taylor
A Happy Xmas

¹ See letter of 13 Dec. to Pusey.

TO E. B. PUSEY

[Dec 31/64]

My dear Pusey

I will give you the refusal of my whole ground for £9000.¹ One point, however, I should like to ascertain — viz. how long it would be before the University would pay me — as one of my especial difficulties lies in providing the interest.¹

‘I hope you will understand my present offer is quite unconnected with my former. When I offered part of my ground, it was because I had never wished to have that part — I had bought the whole because I was not allowed to buy a part and with the intention from the first of selling all but a certain part. But since the beginning of December, the Episcopal Meeting has been held — which has altered the face of things and will prevent my undertaking the Oxford Mission. Consequently, I wish to get rid of the ground altogether, as being a mere unproductive investment of our money.’¹

The best blessings of the new year to you.

Certainly an indulgence is a remission of penance — but we go upon the principle ‘Sin is ever punished in this world or the next —’ and again ‘The later the punishment, the heavier.’ Purgatory then is the substitute or equivalent for present penance — and therefore to pardon is indirectly to remit the pains of purgatory. Suppose I was told by the Board of Guardians, of whom I bought my 5 acres, ‘you shall either pay £9000 down — or pay that sum with accumulations at compound interest 20 years hence.’ A friend who gave me the price *at once*, would indirectly save me (if I had not means of paying now) of the necessity of paying twice and more than twice the money 20 years hence. I am only explaining, not arguing

Ever Yrs affly John H Newman

TO THOMAS GAISFORD

The Oratory, Birmingham. January 3rd. 1865.

My dear Gaisford,

A happy New Year to you and yours. I regret to hear of Horace’s cold. He had not been unwell during term. I suspect the excitement and unsettlement of the last day or two of Term, and then the travelling, have a good deal to do with it.

Thank you very much for your liberal remittance. I have drawn out a receipt on the next page to this. I am glad there is to be some representation

¹ Pusey wrote in reply to Newman’s letter of 28 Dec., ‘With regard to the land, I think the University would give you £9000 for it . . . so will you give us the refusal of it, if you make up your mind to sell it, at £9000.’

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made at Rome on the part of some Catholic gentlemen.¹ Propaganda will be glad of information — but, if any letter goes, I hope you will manage to get a good many signatures. And titles, offices, etc., etc., must be written down at length and with great emphasis. 'This is not a world to hide virtues in' —² and in Italy they only understand 'Illustrissimos' etc., etc., I wish you could in some way bring in your volunteers, and your hounds. 'Master of the Hounds' is even a place in the Queen's Household — The Bishops of Durham used till the Reform Bill etc., — to have a pack of hounds — Therefore it must tell in the County of Sussex also.

Very sincerely yours, John H. Newman

Thomas Gaisford Esq.,

Birmingham, Jan. 3/65.

Received from Thomas Gaisford Esq., the sum of Two hundred pounds, towards the building of an Oratory Church at Oxford: to be repaid to him by me or by the Birmingham Oratory, if, at the end of four years from this date, the Church is not begun, and to be secured to him, as in the way of mortgage, by my ground in Oxford, on which the church is to be built.

John H. Newman

P.S. I find that Horace persuaded Mrs Wootten to let him leave off Cod liver oil.

TO AMBROSE ST JOHN

'The Oratory Bm Jan'y 3/65

My dear Ambrose

'A happy new year [[to you]]', and (if I may take the liberty to do so) I offer the same to all your party, with whom you are domesticated. I am very glad that you went to see your poor cousin — she will come all right, if you get her here.³

'Your letter of this morning was the pleasantest which has come to me for some time — and dressed my grave face in smiles.⁴ On Friday last two letters came to me — one from the Bishop, bowing me out of the mission — the

¹ Gaisford wrote on 1 Jan., 'I am glad to hear of a meeting of laity at Lord Castlerosse's on Saturday next to discuss the University question, I shall not however be able to attend it.' Oakeley wrote on 2 Jan. that the London laity were thinking of making a move in Rome about the matter.

² *Twelfth Night* I, iii, 142.

³ St John, who was staying with relatives in Brighton, had visited a cousin of his who had become a Catholic. He found her reading Bishop Colenso *On the Pentateuch*.

⁴ St John wrote on 1 Jan. of his visits to various parents of boys at the Oratory School. All were pleased with the school, and there was a widespread wish that provision should be made at Oxford for Catholics. St John reported, 'I said every where it was the laity's concern, you would not move. . . . We had never warmer friends than now.'

other from Pusey — saying he had little doubt that the University would give me £9000 for the five acres, and asking the refusal of them.¹ I sent William next hour to Oxford to secure 'Hanley's land opposite Ch Ch [Christ Church] — and managed to do so,¹ for £2000; it has houses etc on it, which bring in £100 a year.¹ *Now don't tell a soul of this purchase*, for it might hinder the University buying the five acres.

Then I wrote to Pusey to give him the refusal, if the University paid me without any great delay. Thus the matter stands.

There is to be a meeting at Lord Castlerosse's next Saturday — and a talk of a Letter to Propaganda. Now they cannot ask to be allowed to send their sons to Protestant Colleges — so this move points to a *Catholic* College and then where are *we*? Meanwhile, I think I am resolved on two things: — 1. not to take the *Mission* — but to say to the Bishop 'we will have an Oratory, or do nothing.' 2. (as I said before) to get a distinct recognition of us from Propaganda.¹

Clutton considers the new building, we talk of at the Oratory, would cost rising towards £2000 I think it will be a good job. My printer's bill is £850!²

Ever Yrs affly John H Newman

P.S. I take it for granted I need not write to the parents whom you have seen

TO E. B. PUSEY

The Oratory Jan 4/65

My dear Pusey

Confidential. (I do not wish to be covetous.³ I named £9000 because it had been *offered* for the ground — and because I *know* that a surveyor's report was given in to a prominent member of the University to the effect that to the University or to the Oratory it is worth £9000. Our expenses are considerable — the deed of sale, entered into with the Corporation, will be £40 or £50 — we have a Birmingham lawyer's bill to pay, which we rather dread to see. We had applied to an Architect for laying out the ground, and building a Church, and this involved several journeys etc. We have reckoned six or seven heads of expense, none of which we have ascertained or can yet ascertain as to their

¹ [[Hanley's ground . . . is to be had for £2000]] Newman was able to sell the *whole* of his Oxford site, since an alternative smaller one was available. See letters of 8 Jan. to St John, and 12 Jan. to Hanley.

² This was the bill from Gilbert and Rivington for the printing of *Apo*. The new building was for the Oratory School.

³ Pusey wrote on 3 Jan. that he had heard from the Vice Chancellor, and Newman's offer of his land would be brought before the Hebdomadal Council at Oxford on 29 Jan. Then, as soon as Convocation accepted, it would be responsible for the interest on the price, until Newman was paid. Pusey added, 'I suppose that the £9000 would indemnify you for all expenses, interest included. At least, report said, the land was sold for £8500; but even that would involve an interest of £35 a month, and report perhaps lied, as is its wont.'

extent. We are not sure that we could borrow the money for less than three months — and we are paying 6 per cent for interest. Therefore we really do not know what our gain by the transaction would be. But undoubtedly we should gain. If, however, the worth *is* £9000 (as I believe it to be) then if we take less, we are simply putting money into the University's pocket, which we think (of course) had better be in our own. However, the appearance of being screwy would be much worse than to take a hundred or two more or less.¹ One thing more I will add — viz. that the Catholic gentlemen are moving against this late act of the Cardinal's, about Oxford, and are very much annoyed at it, as they have a right to be. I believe they will address Propaganda, and of course they want me to hold the land over till an answer comes. This I can't do — for, if Propaganda gives it against them, where am I? money matters are always the greatest of fidgets to me, and I could not bear with equanimity the chances of embarrassment. When then you say that the University will buy it, I can't help taking the offer. However, it is plain that, if I am urged or have the opportunity, though I shall sell this land, I shall look out for other. I say this, lest the University should be actuated in part by the motive that, by buying the land, it is getting rid of Catholics.² Well then, I come to this — you may show what I have written to any one person — e.g. Hawkins (or the V.C.), if he is suitable — and whatever you and he consider suitable and becoming *for my credit and name*, as regards the price, that I ought to ask, that I will do.)³

It is very kind your wishing to hasten the decision, but do not dream of it. *Don't* press for a decision on the 29th. As to the transaction, what I *fear* is, the University having half a year's law before it pays the money. One little thing troubles me at this moment — some Catholic gentlemen are going to meet on Saturday as representative of others — now suppose they offered to buy land? I think it very unlikely, but how should I stand as to my offer to you? This morning I have had a letter from one of them (not a man of property or position) begging me to wait till they meet, and another zealous friend is coming down here to me from London to-morrow, upon the subject of the projected meeting.⁴

As to Indulgences, it is true they can be gained for the Dead⁵ — but how? Unless it were absurd to bring books to your notice, I would ask if you know

¹ Pusey replied, 'I have heard today from the Vice Chancellor. I told him that you had had an offer of £9000 for the site, and *that* puts an end to all question as to "screwing".' Pusey added that the transaction would probably come before Convocation on 9 Feb.

² Pusey wrote, 'No one could dream of your not being free to buy other land, if you should sell this.'

³ The Vice Chancellor, J. P. Lightfoot, told Pusey that the President of Corpus Christi College, who was Chairman of the Estates Delegacy of the University, wished to purchase the five acre site at almost any price.

⁴ These were Thompson and Wetherell. See the letters to them of 4 and 5 Jan. Pusey in reply suggested that perhaps Newman should not give the University the refusal of his land but this decision he would not change. See letter of 8 Jan. to Pusey.

⁵ Pusey wrote on 3 Jan., 'Thank you for your explanation about Indulgences. My doubt was, whether they were not applied to souls after death i.e. whether they *might* not be so. Else they, of course, involve nothing which is not involved in the doctrine of purgatory'

Amort's works? He was a friend of Benedict the xiv, and dedicates some of his works to him; (that especially de Indulgentiis, to Clement xii.) This gives great authority to his decisions. You indeed want the Church to decide what is de fide and what is not — but, pace tuâ, this seems unreasonable. It is to determine the work of all Councils till the end of time.¹ How e.g. was it to be expected that Perrone's *doctrine of Intention* (as opposed to that of Catharinus) should be *explicitly* declared by *St Paul* to be *not* de fide? No one on earth can draw the line between what is de fide or what is not, for it would be prophesying of questions which have [not] yet turned up. All we can say is that *so much* actually *is* de fide; and then allow a large margin of doctrine, which we accept as de fide implicitly, so far forth as God by His Church shall make it known. All one can say is, that till God illuminates the Church on a point, the children of the Church are obliged, and so are at liberty, to go by their best judgment — either way — e.g. St John Damascene (?) may speak of the Holy Ghost as proceeding only from the Father, till the fuller truth is made known through the divinely appointed channels of teaching. It seems to me unreasonable then to ask for more than *liberty* to hold what is, (though not defined,) contrary to the *general* belief of the faithful. You are not bound to believe that the Pope out of General Council is infallible, but I don't see how you can exact from us a dogmatic definition that it is not a point de fide. I don't know to what you were alluding in Manning's letter — was it his doctrine of invincible ignorance? If so, this *actually* is the Pope's doctrine, the present Pope's. I will quote a passage which perhaps you have not seen of his Epistola Encyclica ad Episcopos Italiæ Aug. 10. 1863. 'Reprehendere oportet gravissimum errorem in quo nonnulli Catholici miserè versantur, qui homines in erroribus viventes, et à verâ fide atque à catholicâ unitate alienos, ad æternam vitam pervenire posse opinantur, — quod quidem Catholicæ doctrinæ vel maximè adversatur.

Notum nobis vobisque est, eos, qui invincibili circa sanctissimam nostram religionem ignorantia laborant, quique naturalem legem ejusque præcepta in omnium cordibus à Deo insculpta sedulo servantes, ac Deo obedire parati, honestam rectamque vitam agunt, posse, divinæ lucis et gratiæ operante virtute, æternam consequi vitam; cùm Deus qui omnium mentes, animos, cogitationes, habitusque planè intuatur, scrutatur, et noscit, pro summâ suâ bonitate et clementiâ minimè patiatur quempiam æternis puniri suppliciiis, qui voluntariæ culpæ reatum non habeat.

Sed notissimum quoque est catholicum dogma, neminem scilicet extra Catholicam ecclesiam posse salvari, et contumaces adversus ejusdem Ecclesiæ auctoritatem, definitiones, et ab ipsius Ecclesiæ unitate atque a Petri Succes-

¹ Pusey had written on 24 Dec., 'if a Council of the Roman Church would say, such and such things are *not* de fide as well as what is de fide, the greatest difficulty in the way of the reunion of the two Churches would, I think, be gone. The Council of Trent seems to me to have drawn the line, 'as to the minimum which is to be believed; the English Articles seem to me (speaking generally) especially Article 22 to condemn a maximum, as not having to be believed. So we are at cross purposes. Only, while there is no explanation on the Roman side, what is the practical system here, in case of the reunion of the Churches.' For Pusey's further remarks see letter of 8 Jan to him.

sore Romano Pontifice, "cui vineæ custodia à Salvatore est commissa, pertinaciter divisos, æternam non posse obtinere salutem," etc etc.¹

But now at length as to Indulgences, I will quote one or two sentences out of Amort's various treatises.

'Docent novi expositores mentis apostolicæ Indulgentias pro defunctis habere effectum infallibilem per modum solutionis; ita ut Deus teneatur eos acceptare pro animâ defuncti

His illud Christi oggerandum sæpius, "Illa oportuit facere," ut crebro fideles ad subveniendum animabus per suffragia indulgentiarum animent, "sed hæc non omittere," ut monstrent, *quàm difficulter* indulgentiarum subsidia, et *quam ancipiti exitu*, pertingant ad defunctorum animas' etc etc Theol. Eclect. t. 3, p. 182.

. . . . 'Huic proin fundamento meam de Indulgentiis doctrinam superstruxi semper et superstruo; quòd eò alacrius exequor, quo majori solatio me perfudère SS. D.N. Benedicti xiv ad me datæ Litteræ, in quibus inter alia his me verbis recreat: "Nos te plurimi facimus, dilecte fili, et etiam occasione nonnullorum, quæ edidimus occasione currentis anni Jubilæi, te tuamque doctrinam de Indulgentiis sæpe nominavimus et laudavimus"' ibid.

'Notandum

1. Communem esse Theologorum sententiam, quòd Indulgentiæ pro defunctis non valeant per modum absolutionis; quia Summus Pontifex non habet jurisdictionem in Purgatorium etc.

2. Valde communem esse Theologorum sententiam quòd Indulgentiæ pro defunctis valeant per modum solutionis, inquantum Summus Pontifex ex thesauris Ecclesiæ solvit pro debito animarum purgantium.

3. Posse esse sententiam tertiam, etc ibid p 217.²

What that third view is, which is his own, is, that an Indulgence for the dead is solemn *deprecatio*, with a pleading before the Throne of the merits of Christ and the Saints — but that it does not involve the success of the *deprecatio*.

I believe this to be practically the common doctrine now. Thus Scavini says that they are given 'per modum *suffragii*,' 'Seu simplicis solutionis quatenus nempe *rogatur* Deus ut eis acceptare dignetur. *Quânam autem mensurâ* Deus acceptet, *ignoramus*. Putant plerique Indulgentias *plus minusve* prodesse defunctis, *prout* hi actibus suis *meruerunt* in vitâ illas sibi applicatum iri.' t.3 p. 189³

I dare say I have told you nothing that you don't know — but I take the chance of the contrary. *Spiritual books* will be found, I think, to take the above view which is thus held by writers on *dogma* and on *morals*. I cannot see the difficulty of believing that for the merits of Christ and the Saints Almighty

¹ Denzinger-Schönmetzer, 2865-7. Manning did not quote this passage in his *The Workings of the Holy Spirit in the Church of England*.

² Eusebius Amort, *Theologia Eclectica Moralis et Scholastica*, Bologna 1753, III, pp. 182 and 217.

³ Petrus Scavini, *Theologia Moralis Universa*, Brussels 1847, III, p. 189.

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God listens to our prayers for the dead. The doctrine of *preachers*, viz. about the uncertainty of the availableness of Indulgences will, I think, be found to be the same.

The only remaining question, I see, relates to the Pope's power of *opening* the treasures of the Church — which are two-fold (over and above the merits of Christ) the intercession of the Saints and the *gemitus columbæ*, i.e. the prayers of the Church Militant. Now, if the Pope be the head of the Church on earth, and is so acknowledged in Heaven, (and what he binds on earth etc) there seems nothing difficult in the doctrine that the King of Saints should have given him the power of using His and their merits for good or important purposes on earth, not infallibilter, but according to His will.

As to my Sermons and Number 90, you are very kind. Number 90, you may publish when you will. As to my Sermons, I doubt whether they will sell — and think it a waste of money, if they won't. A publisher undertaking them is the only guarantee that they are worth republishing¹

Ever Yrs affly John H Newman

TO T. F. WETHERELL

The Oy Bm Jan'y 4/65

My dear Mr Wetherell

I shall be very glad to see you here tomorrow (Thursday) as you propose — or Friday if it suits you better²

Very sincerely Yours John H Newman of the Oratory
T. F. Wetherell Esqr

THURSDAY 5 JANUARY 1865 Wetherell came from 'Town and returned

TO MISS HOLMES

The Oratory Bm Jan'y 5/65

My dear Miss Holmes

Thank you for your sadly interesting account of your brothers. What I now write about is, the past year being summed up, to be *sure* that your Masses

¹ Pusey wrote on 3 Jan., 'Could Tract 90 be republished without committing you? It is, of course, a considerable historical document. But its value in my eyes, is its theological value, in rolling off a mass of pseudo-traditional glosses which had encrusted over the articles. It cannot be reprinted, without your tacit consent . . .' Pusey also wanted to republish Newman's Anglican sermons.

² Wetherell wrote on 3 Jan. that he wanted to talk to Newman before the meeting of laymen at Lord Castlerosse's house which was to consider the question of Catholics at Oxford.

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were all said. Repeat to me then 1. your intention 2 the sum you sent in Postage stamps.

Ever Yrs affly in Xt John H Newman

Miss Holmes

TO J. SPENCER NORTHCOTE

The Oratory, Bm Jan'y 5/65

My dear Dr Northcote

We are prepared for your sad news — yet it is not right to call it sad.¹ All our thoughts of your dear boy here are pleasant, and, as you so kindly committed him to our care in the beginning of his school days, so we claim to take a special interest in him now. We shall not delay to say Mass for his soul.

May God comfort you, as He can, and He alone, in these great afflictions

Very sincerely Yours in Xt John H Newman of the Oratory

The Very Revd Dr Northcote

TO EDWARD HEALY THOMPSON

The Oratory, Bm Jan'y 5. 1865

My dear Thompson,

It is not at all a question of 'opposition directed against me,' but of £. s. d.² It is not pleasant to have to borrow money at 6 per cent, as the cheapest course. It is not pleasant to have so large a matter on one's hands as five acres in a city — for purchasers are not like blackberries. Now under these circumstances I have an offer made me of purchasing of me for £9000. It is impossible I should reject such an uncommon opportunity. It may not occur again — men do not remain in the same mood in matters of the market for a long while together, and, if I do not accept now, I may lose the offer altogether. I *have* accepted the offer — about a week ago. Whether I could get off it, I don't know — but you see, the only inducement which could avail with me is its being bought by Catholics at once. Now this I have been attempting to bring about since August last. My best friends, and best friends of the University cause, have given me little help and less encouragement. Is it likely that much will come of next Saturday? At the same time you may be quite sure, that, if any proposition is made to me, I will do my best to meet it.

¹ Edward Northcote, who came to the Oratory School in 1859, died on 4 Jan. 1865.

² Thompson wrote on 3 Jan. begging Newman not to get rid of his land until he saw the result of the effort the laymen were to make in regard to Oxford. Thompson hoped Newman would 'not allow a great opportunity to be lost because opposition seems to be directed against yourself'.

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Our only hope is, that such acts as the late ruse, as you call it, but which I should call by a worse name, should rouse and unite the laity.¹ If it does so, it will be the most fortunate thing that can have happened to us. It is impossible that such narrow views as are dominant can stand their ground against the laity, in *England*. Moreover, unless the laity have the true loyalty to rouse themselves and act, there will be the same miserable process set in which seems to have come to its maturity in Italy, a rotting of the connection of heart between the clergy and the laity. This would not imply unbelief; men might be still deeply attached to their religion, frequent with Sacraments, yet have no pride in their rulers and their cause. Look even at Ireland, where I am told the Catholic gentry of Dublin stand aloof from High Mass, Sermons, and Archiepiscopal displays, content with their confessor and early Mass.

Ever yours most sincerely John H Newman

TO LAVINIA WILSON

The Oratory, Birmingham. Jan. 5/65.

My dear Child,

I am glad you [are] in harbour, out of the storms. What you must do, is to get some good Catechism — e.g. 'Dr Doyle's abridgement of the Douay Catechism.' It is a sixpenny book, and to be got at 'Burns and Co., 17 Portman Street, Portman Square.' For the first step is to learn your religion. Then you should have conversation with some Priest, and I much fear that no Catholic Mission is near you. There are plenty in London, and I would write to one about you, if you wish. He would decide whether you were to be received upon the Espousals, and I don't suppose there would be any difficulty.²

It is strange that your friends have any difficulty in your being a guest at a Convent. You would then be among women who would sympathize with you and help you — one at least a Convert herself, perhaps more. And you would see your religion in practice, and learn it much more quickly. I should take care that you should not be hurried, and even if, (which God forbid) you should wish to leave before reception, you should be free to do so. And you would be from first to last a guest at the Convent, and would be as little bound to or connected with them as you would with the great Paddington Hotel, if you passed a night in it. And moreover, you would understand better what a Nun's life was, having opportunities of seeing it, without being committed, which otherwise you could not have.

I say Mass for you tomorrow morning, the Epiphany.

Yours most sincerely, John H. Newman.

¹ Thompson said 'that pretence — for such in reality it seems to have been — at sending about that array of arguments, miscalled questions, I have heard described as a kind of *ruse*'.

² See letter of 6 Dec. to Miss Wilson.

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TO A. J. HANMER

The Oratory Jan 6/65

My dear Hanmer

A happy new year to you, in all respects, in soul, body, estate, and work; by work, I mean mission, for you have a mission, though it lie in cotton. You must indeed have a most disturbing time, and you do not seem to know when it will be over.

Your letter to the Cardinal is a very good one, and I should be sorry it should be lost. At the same time, I do not think it will be of use to send it to him just now. The Bishops' letter has gone to Rome, and the Cardinal is ill, — some say, very ill. I saw him at the beginning of November, and was quite pained to see how he was changed. I had never seen him so pulled down before. Usually he has been so full of amusing talk that it has been impossible to get away — but on this occasion he sat with his arms between his legs and his head looking down at his knees, complaining of his eyes and the London fog, and hardly speaking of any thing else. Since that, he has been laid up on his sofa with seriously bad legs, and was so at the meeting of the Bishops — and has not been able to take his part in the Christmas Festival. It seems to me unfair both to your letter and to him, to send it him just now.

However, it is too good a letter to be lost, and I hope you will keep it by you, till the proper moment comes for using it¹

Ever Yours affly in Xt John H Newman of the Oratory

A. J. Hanmer Esqr

TO OCTAVIUS OGLE

The Oratory Bm Jany 6/65

My dear Octavius,

The best blessings of the New Year to you and yours. I write a line to satisfy what may be your curiosity to know about the Bishop of Oxford and me. I wrote him a letter, as kind as I could, to assure him that what he had said to you obliterated whatever he had said about me by the bye and episodically in the publication to which I referred.² I gave him the reference, and explained to him how I took the book up by accident when I was from home, and to my surprise read what he said of me. As the good Bishop has not answered me, — I wrote, as you know at the beginning of December, — I take it for granted that he pleads guilty; but, as I have said, what he has written to you about me quite undoes his little attack, which, I am pretty sure,

¹ This letter is not to be found.

² Letter of 5 Dec. 1864 to Samuel Wilberforce.

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both from my own memory, and the memory of others here, was not his only one. And I thank you for having made my relations with him so smooth and good.¹

As far as I can see, the notion of my having any thing to do with Oxford is at an end. There are persons who desire it, and still expect it, but I don't myself.²

Ever Yours affectionately John H Newman

The Revd O. Ogle

SATURDAY 7 JANUARY 1865 Meeting of Catholics at Lord Castlerosse's.

TO JOHN SPARROW

The Oratory, Bm Jan 7 1865

My dear Sir

The inclosed honor-paper for the Term will be the best account which I can give you of your boy. He is a very good boy and we are glad to have him. There is some fault in his grounding, which he is gradually getting over — but it does not hinder his distinguishing himself — and his conduct is excellent. I do not know what more I have to say than to wish you and Mrs Sparrow the best blessings of this sacred season, now almost past away and to subscribe myself

Very truly Yours John H. Newman of the Oratory

J. Sparrow Esqr

P.S. The Term begins on the 20th instant

TO E. B. PUSEY

The Oratory Bm Jan 8/65

My dear Pusey

Thank you for your generosity — but I feel you have taken so much trouble, and the Vice Chancellor too, that it would be a shame if I was not very patient. I consider February 9 a really early day for Convocation. I hope you will not hurry things, but let them take their course. Things are best done when they are done naturally. I should have said that the offer of £9000 was made some two months ago. Some one has been after the whole ground lately. I don't know who — I dare say you have heard the report of the Independents

¹ Ogle replied on 10 Jan., 'I am sorry the Bishop did not answer your letter to him, but not sorry that I wrote to him on the subject seeing that you write so kindly of my interference.'

² Ogle replied, 'I believe your being here would do more than any other thing to stay the progress of that dead irrational Rationalism which is spreading so sensibly in Oxford.'

He also said, 'What we ought to do, would be to restore you one of our Colleges, if you could prove to us that you could fill and work it. This seems more utopian than it is . . .'

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intending to have a large College in Oxford. It may be all unfounded — but I am told they are the richest dissenting body — many of them are Manchester men. Therefore let it be understood, I give you the refusal of the land absolutely. I have not heard about yesterday's meeting — but I don't expect any thing to come of it affecting my sale.

Do you know whether it is true, as I am told it is, that Indulgences are not in use in Germany, and never have been since Tetzel's time.¹ Again, you speak of Wake² — but of course you know (what I don't know) the correspondence of Bossuet and Leibnitz, in which Bossuet, I believe, proposes that the Augsburg Confession should be *explained* in accordance with the Canons of Trent. Also you know I suppose that the Decrees of Trent are not *de fide*, only the Canons. Also you know the *doctrine* of a book being condemned, does not imply that such wrong doctrine was in the *mind* of the writer. I am saying things at random, which I dare say you know — but which, if you don't, you should not trust, merely because I say them, for my memory is not trustworthy. As to the authority of books, I consider every thing is safe which is printed and published at Rome — and every thing which is dedicated by permission to a Pope. Also they say that nothing is ever condemned, which is deliberately held by any great authority; but I suppose this requires explanation

Ever Yours affly John H Newman

P.S. I shall have a real satisfaction in selling the ground to the University. I feared small houses.

TO AMBROSE ST JOHN

The Oratory Bm Jan 8/65

My dear Ambrose

I have not heard about the Meeting yet — but I don't think much of it. It was only a sort of clique that met — but it may lead to something more than

¹ There does not appear to be ground for so absolute a statement.

² About 5 Jan. Pusey wrote, 'I certainly did think that in a subject which had long been before the Church as Purgatory[,] the cultus of the Blessed Virgin [,] Indulgences, she might decide what is not *de fide*, as well as what is [.] Of course one must always trust God for the future. But, as you know, the practical difficulty of the Church of England is much more as to the things not defined to be *de fide*, than as to the letter of the Council of Trent. But then, supposing the Church of England to be willing to accept the Council of Trent *provided* the acceptance of it involved no more than its words go to, how would she escape accepting all the rest, against which the chief objection lies. I mean, supposing the Council of Trent could be authoritatively so explained, as Du Pin did to Wake, how could she avoid having the whole system contained in the "Glories of Mary" [by St Alphonsus] made her system? For by virtue of the authority, ascribed to the Pope, (although this, I suppose, is no where settled as *de fide*) he would appoint Bishops and they ordain Clergy, who would teach it And so the distinction between what is *de fide* and what is not, would come to nothing [.] I cannot imagine being in the Church of Rome, and then criticising or not receiving anything proposed to me. I cannot imagine how any faith could stand it.'

Between 1717 and 1720 William Wake, Archbishop of Canterbury engaged in discussion with the Gallican theologian Louis Dupin about plans to unite the Church of England and the French Church.

itself. Pusey has offered in his kindness to *guarantee* me £9000. He is quite sure that the University will buy. As to the other ground it is small — but the adjacent bits are purchasable. Hanley's is really a good investment. One of his houses is a lodging house for Ch Ch [Christ Church] men — I think it would be a good investment of Lady O. A.'s [Acheson] money.¹

I am glad you are seeing those Puseyites.² I suppose they will be asking you questions about the Encyclical.³ There are some very curious peculiarities about it, which make it [a] difficulty to speak about it, till one hears what theologians say. Condemned propositions are (as far as I know, or as Henry or Stanislas [Flanagan] know) propositions taken *out of some book*, the statements *libri cujusdam aut auctoris*. These are *not* such, nor do they pretend to be — they are *abstract propositions*. Again, the Pope in condemning propositions condemns the books or statements of *Catholics* — not of heathen or unbaptized, for what has he to do in judging 'those that are without'? Now these propositions are mostly the propositions of *A Catholics*. Moreover, it is rather a syllabus of passages from his former allocutions etc, than a syllabus of erroneous utterances. And accordingly he does not affix the epithets, *hæresi proximæ*, *scandalosæ* etc. but merely heads the list as a 'syllabus of errors.' Therefore it is difficult to know *what HE means* by his condemnation. The words 'myth,' 'non interference,' 'progress,' 'liberalism,' 'new civilization' are undefined — If taken from a book, the book interprets them, but what interpretation is there of popular slang terms? progress, e.g., is a slang term. Now you must not say all this to your good friends — but I think you will like to know what seems to be the state of the case. First, so much they ought to know, that we are bound to receive what the Pope says, and not to speak about it. Secondly, there is little that he says but would have been said by all high churchmen thirty years ago, or by the Record or by Keble now — These two points your friends ought to take and digest. For the rest, all I can say (*entre nous*) is that the advisers of the Holy Father seem determined to make our position in England as difficult as ever they can. I see *this* issue of the Encyclical — others I am not in a position to see. If, in addition to this, the matter and form of it are unprecedented, I do not know how we can rejoice in its publication.

I suppose you will see the Petres, Marshalls, etc.⁴ I saw the other day a letter of Judge Coleridge to his son about Keble's illness. He makes it a very serious matter. Pusey (*entre nous*) is answering Manning — and I dare say at great length. He wants to reprint Number 90, and offers to print my Sermons.

¹ For this see letter of 1 Dec. 1854 to St John.

² St John wrote from Brighton on 6 Jan., 'I feel more and more sure you are extremely wanted by the High Anglicans to come forward. I had one of Mr Wagner's Curates dining here 2 days ago. He and others look to you for everything, he says [.] Wagner and his friends quite despond of a succession. . . . The young ordinati are all broad Church.' Henry Michel Wagner was the High Church Vicar of Brighton.

³ The Encyclical *Quanta Cura* of 8 Dec. 1864, condemning 'modern errors', to which was annexed the *Syllabus of Errors*, was published in the middle of Dec. For what follows see *A Letter to the Duke of Norfolk*, *Diff.* II, pp. 262–98.

⁴ These were parents of boys at the Oratory School.

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I inclose a letter. Lord C. writes to me pleasantly about Charlie.¹ He *at once told* his father all that had happened; and it came out from his Father (*in confidence to me*) on my saying that 'he had got on well this term, but that there were things which made me anxious'

Ever Yrs affly John H Newman

P.S. *Why* don't you stop another week (till the 21st)? I am sure the weather is pleasant.

TO SIR JOHN SIMEON

Oratory Bm Jany 9 1865

My dear Sir John,

I am very glad to receive your hopeful letter on the subject of Saturday's meeting,² and have felt all along what you say, that the expression of opinion and the initiative in action must come directly from the Laity, who are immediately interested in Propaganda's decision.

At the same time it mortifies me to be obliged to tell you that the land is gone; — that is, I have given the refusal to purchase it to parties who have been for some time treating with me for it in private; and I cannot recede with honour.

I could not in prudence wait longer than I did. I got the land originally, *in order to* get rid of it. I have been seeking Catholic purchasers since August, but in vain; for £8000 or £9000 is a large sum to ask for, and I am not surprised at my failure. But what was difficult to any knot of Catholic gentlemen was impossible to me, and I could not sit still under so serious a liability.

However, I waited some months; in the course of which I found that I should *not* lose by selling it as a whole, that I *should* lose considerably by selling it piecemeal, and that Catholic contributions were not forthcoming sufficient to enable me to retain *even a portion* of it. There seemed to be less unwillingness to contribute towards the building of a Church, than towards the purchasing of land. And even the considerate offer which you make me on the part of some friends, to guarantee to me the interest of the purchase-money for six months, leaves me where I was as to the prospect of being able

¹ i.e. Lord Charles Thynne, concerning his son, who it was hoped would go to Oxford. The boy had heard that the Bishops might forbid it. Lord Charles also wrote at this time, 'It has occurred whether it might not be well to let Charlie have some idea of the way in which our religion is controverted by Protestants and how to meet their arguments. He has never known any thing else and would be startled *perhaps* to hear matters of Faith disputed and denied . . .'

² In his draft Newman first wrote 'on the subject of Catholic youths going to the Universities'. Simeon explained in a letter of 9 Jan. that he had called the meeting, 'which was purposely a small one in order to avoid diversity of opinion'. It 'consisted of Lord Castlerosse, Lord Norreys, Mr Weld Blundell, Scott Murray, Allies, John Pollen, Wetherell, Renouf and myself. In addition to these laymen, we had two priests Macmullen and Fr Roberts.' Gaisford, Towneley, Monsell and others had been unable to be present. A respectful Address to Propaganda was drawn up, for which signatures were now to be sought among the laity. It would be printed for general circulation as soon as the names of a few more old Catholics had been obtained. Meanwhile Simeon asked Newman not to sell his land, since success depended 'on the establishment at Oxford of a first rate mission under your charge and superintendence'.

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to get the land off my hands at the end of them. Only one course then has been open to me to pursue.

This is very sad, but unavoidable. However, I believe there is other ground to be got in Oxford, not so eligible indeed, but sufficient for our purpose. And I am doing my best to secure it.

Thank you for the copy of the Address, which says as much as it ought to say, and no more¹

Very sincerely Yours John H Newman

Sir John Simeon Bart

TUESDAY 10 JANUARY 1865 Scott Murray called to talk about the Oxford question
Henry went to Rednall

TO THOMAS GAISFORD

The Oratory. Bm Jan 10 1865

My dear Mr Gaisford,

I shall have perhaps to send you your £200 back. I am in treaty for new ground in Oxford, but I have sold the old. There was not a chance of my raising a sum sufficient for meeting the purchase money even of a *portion* of the land; and there was no prospect of selling the *rest*, except at a great depreciation. On the other hand, I had had for some time a distinct offer for buying the *whole* of me, at a price which would cover all my expenses. This all coincided with the original judgment of my surveyor, that, in parts, the ground was only worth £7500, but as a whole £9000. I had had experience for nearly 6 months of the state of the case, and it had testified to the same conclusions from first to last. There was nothing to lead me to believe that at the end of 3 months more, Catholics would buy the whole of it, or would join with the market in buying it on such terms piecemeal, that I should not lose by it. Legal etc expenses I expect to run up to near £200 — and at present, as the cheapest way I am borrowing money at 6 per cent. Parties have been in correspondence with me about the purchase since the beginning of December — or rather (for I think they were the same) since October. They wanted to purchase the whole, and I have given them the refusal.

¹ The draft of the Address in Simeon's hand ran: 'The undersigned, having heard that the Sacred Congregation of the Propaganda is about to consider the question, whether British Catholics shall be permitted to frequent the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge, venture respectfully to hope that the Sacred Congregation will not think its active interference necessary.'

Your petitioners do not wish to offer any opinion as to the tendency of the Universities in past times, nor as to any possible future contingencies.

Conscious however of the serious responsibility under which they lie as regards the Faith and Morals of their sons, they beg humbly to express their conviction that these all-important interests are not exposed to any such dangers in the case of English Catholics, as cannot be met by the safeguards which the Church provides.'

10 JANUARY 1865

However, I hope to buy some other ground, not so good, but available for our purposes.

I am glad the meeting on Saturday was so successful.

Very sincerely Yours John H. Newman Of the Oratory

T. Gaisford Esq.

TO T. F. WETHERELL

The Oratory, Birmingham Jan'y 10/65

My dear Wetherell

I don't know how far I distinctly told you on Thursday that I had given certain parties the refusal of the land. Sir John Simeon's handsome offer on the part of his friends and himself, to take the interest on themselves for six months, did not alter the state of things even had I been free — for where was my prospect of selling it at the end of that time, whether to Catholics or in the market? Men with £8000 or £9000 in their pockets are not to be found every day. If I did not avail myself of the opportunity now presented to me, I might look in vain for another. So I accepted it.

I hope to secure other land, not very first rate but sufficient. Thank you for your account of the meeting which I was very glad to have.

Very sincerely Yours John H Newman of the Oratory.

TO LADY CHATTERTON

The Oratory Bm Jan'y 11/65

My dear Lady Chatterton,

I thank you very much for your interesting letter.¹ You may be sure that I would recommend your work in any places where it was likely to receive a public notice or critique, though I am sorry to say it is not my lot to have any direct connexion or influence with any Review. I was very glad to read the extract you made from your correspondent's Letter. The character and effect of Periodical Literature just now are very alarming. I have that confidence in the steadiness of the English character that I think these excesses must have their limit and feel that tether which is our historical peculiarity — but at the time it is most disheartening.

I am an old man now, and never move unless I am obliged — otherwise it

¹ Lady Chatterton wrote on 9 Jan. to ask if Newman knew of any periodical which would notice her poem *Léonore*. Cf. letter of 21 Dec. 1864 to her. She complained that there was 'such a strong feeling in the public and particularly in the periodical press against all writing which tends to inculcate any good or high religious or even moral principles'. She quoted from a letter in the same sense which she had received from Anna Maria Hall, the Irish writer, who attacked *The Times* for praising Miss Braddon's novels.

12 JANUARY 1865

would be a great pleasure to me to comply with your kind wish for me to visit you in what I have always felt to be the brightest and best part of England.

Very truly Yours John H Newman

Lady Chatterton

TO D. HANLEY

The Oratory, Birmingham January 12. 1865.

(Copy)

Dear Mr Hanley,

(Private) I will tell you how I stand towards the Oxford purchase:

1. I expect to sell the whole of the land, which I bought from Mr Smith in one lot by the end of this month.

2. But I do not want this known.

3. Further, I do not want it known that I am treating with you for other ground; for there is the *chance*, if this were known that I should not be able to sell Mr Smith's land.

4. If you will undertake to keep the purchase secret, I will purchase your ground at once. In that case, I should (next week) send a surveyor (from London) for form sake, to look at the property, and to report to me upon it, and should purchase it of you without delay. As I consider you will have no difficulty here, I take it for granted that in the course of a week or two the transaction between us will be settled. I am at once to get my money paid me for Mr Smith's land, and I shall pay you at once the £2000 which is to be the price of your ground, houses etc.

5. Having said as much as this, my next point is to ask you to set about inquiries as to the chance of getting land *adjacent* to yours — as, for instance, the Corporation piece, and the stables at the back. Can you give me any idea what, in a round sum, you think these additions would come to? We shall have more money than the £2000 let loose by the sale of Mr Smith's land — and we should wish to invest it in the ground next yours. But you understand, yourself better than any one, that such inquiries must be made *quietly* and in your *own* name; and this is an additional reason why the transaction between you and me should not be known. It is a reason, in the drawing of the legal instruments, that an Oxford Lawyer should not be employed.

Our transaction with the Oxford Corporation is not yet concluded — through no fault of ours — the money is ready — but our lawyer has not yet got through his work. I suppose the Christmas Holidays have had something to do with the delay.

Very truly Yours John H. Newman of the Oratory

D Hanley Esqr.

12 JANUARY 1865

FROM WILLIAM MONSELL

Tervoe, Limerick. Jan 10 1865

My dear Father Newman,

I am just arrived from Paris — My sister in law is I think in no danger but she is very ill and Mrs Monsell has remained with her — Your letter came here during my absence — I am much pained at the news it contains — Cannot any thing be done at Rome? It may be almost hopeless to succeed, but still it seems to be a pity to let judgment go by default.

Manning started for Rome yesterday — Is there no one there who could explain to Cardinal Barnabo the real facts of the case — the self sufficiency of colleges and halls — their slight connection with the university — the certainty that Catholic parents will, some how or other, send their sons to Oxford and Cambridge — the danger of their being uncared for there? . . . No harm certainly and possibly some good might be done by such a representation.

I have not time to write more this evening but soon I hope to have a good letter from a very eminent French theologian upon the encyclical and then I will write to you again to ask you whether you think it would be useful to publish it in the Catholic papers and if possible in the Times — I fear that without some such explanations as this letter, I hope, will give [,] the encyclical may produce bad results on some already dissatisfied persons. Our Catholic papers and the Dublin review all seem to maintain that so new propositions are added to the creed — I wonder how they would have dealt with the issue of the bull *Unam sanctam* by Boniface the 8th and its withdrawal as regards France by Clement the 5th.¹

But what are we to do in Parliament when the encyclical is thrown in our faces? — our respect for the Pope must tie our tongues — I am told that several French and Belgian bishops will write to Rome to point out the difficulty in which they who have sworn to the constitution of their respective countries are now placed — Would it be possible to get any English or Irish bishops to do something of the same sort? The Bishop of Orleans is in despair — Wishing you every blessing for this New Year

I am Ever affect Yrs W Monsell

TO WILLIAM MONSELL

The Oratory Bm Jany 12/65

Private

My dear Monsell,

I have written so many letters lately, that I forget what I said to you in that letter which must have gone to you before Christmas day.²

We are certainly under a tyranny; one or two persons, such as Manning seem to do everything. It is clear that our Bishop was not in the secret. He offered me the Mission of Oxford, before I dreamed of such a thing; he brought me forward; he gave me a strong letter of recommendation for getting money for a Church; he allowed me to tell me [him] in strong terms a month before I bought the land that my sole reason for going to Oxford was the fact

¹ Monsell is referring to the Encyclical *Quanta Cura* and the 'Syllabus of Errors'. The Bull *Unam Sanctam* of 1302 claimed that not only the spiritual but also the 'temporal sword' was subject to the Holy See. Monsell's eminent French theologian was perhaps Felix Dupanloup himself, the Bishop of Orleans, whose pamphlet on the Encyclical and 'Syllabus' had a reassuring effect.

² Letter of 26 Dec.

that young Catholics were in the Colleges; and when, (to his surprise, I am sure, the order came for the Bishops to meet together) he allowed me to repeat distinctly that I went to Oxford for the Catholic youth there, and he assured me in writing that nothing that took place at the Episcopal meeting could interfere with the arrangement between him and meeting [sic]. That meeting, called so suddenly, and at so unusual a season, would not have been, I am sure, had I not bought the land and got the Mission.

But now where am I? with a property of £8000 or £9000 on my hand; and, if ever I were allowed to go on, (whereas the Bishop has already virtually taken the Oxford mission from me) how could I tell, that, before I have finished building my Church, but not before I had spent thousands on it, another letter would come from Propaganda, addressed perhaps to *me* to the effect of 'Pray, Fr Newman, why are you at Oxford? why are you not at Birmingham?' and how could I answer that my health would stand all these anxieties, pecuniary and ecclesiastical?

I must look out for myself — I have been left in the lurch many times — by the Cardinal in the Achilli matter — in my Dublin rectorship — in my Dublin church — in my translation of Scripture; and now I am left in the lurch again. I am selling, I hope I have sold, the land. This will give me some peace of mind, and a breathing time.

I cannot help saying, the English laity are in fault — they could do any thing, if they chose — but they do nothing. There was indeed a meeting last week at Lord Castlerosse's — it is well for a beginning. I shall rejoice if any thing really comes out of it. They ought to act on their own Bishops. I wish you could have been at the meeting, as well as have given your adhesion. Every thing must proceed from the laity — it is spoilt if priests interfere.

This is why I have not said, what I throw out to you as a private friend, that I think a (carefully weighed) pamphlet should be written by some prominent layman to state the *case* of the laity, in answer to the Dublin and other publications. It need not commit itself to a *plan*, but to stating the grievance. It is a multiform grievance — Why is there to be a prohibition, without any positive remedial measure to meet an acknowledged want? There was *once* a talk of an English Catholic University? Again, why is a privilege taken from Catholics which has not been *abused*? They have been allowed to go to Cambridge all along¹ — have the youths sent there become Protestants? Why is there to be a sudden restriction? Again — in Trinity College Dublin there have been apostasies to Protestantism among its Catholic members; and yet Catholics are allowed to go there — why are they to be prohibited Oxford, yet allowed Dublin? No one doubts, at least I don't, that the true normal condition of things would be a Catholic University for Catholic students — but in these matters you must go by what is practicable, and what you have not succeeded yet in doing for Ireland, a Catholic country, you cannot do in England,

¹ Subscription to the 39 Articles was required at Cambridge only before taking a degree, not as at Oxford on matriculation.

a Protestant. At least, the leave to go to Oxford and Cambridge should not be withdrawn, till an English Catholic University is actually provided. As to the question whether a Catholic college in Oxford or Catholics in Protestant Colleges, that is a point for subsequent consideration — but it is a strange act to forbid, yet not to compensate. Are Catholics to be worse educated than all other gentlemen in the country?

Of course my thoughts turned to you to write a pamphlet; but then comes the question whether you can establish your right to come forward. An Oxford man yourself you may well claim that your children should be there also. But I don't know whether your putting out this boldly, in detail and development, would not affect you in some ways which I do *not* know and you only *do*. How would it affect your political position in Ireland to quarrel with Dr Cullen and his Bishops? how could you thus pointedly abandon the Catholic University without explanations which would reflect upon it? I take it for granted that thus to come forward would not damage your local interests in your county at all. The pamphlet might of course contrast Catholic and quasi-Catholic Universities abroad with Oxford, to the advantage of Oxford. Also, it ought to draw special attention to the case of Bonn, where the Jesuits in the course of the last 20 years have done magnificently for Catholics there, what the Oratory might modestly hope to do in a measure for Catholics at Oxford. Baron Würzburg, a relation of the Norfolk (or rather Lyons) family, is my authority here.¹ He was here the other day, and his account is wonderful. Such a pamphlet ought to be addressed to some English peer, as Lord Herries.

As to the Encyclical and Syllabus, I don't understand its meaning or its worth. Condemned propositions, as I have hitherto understood them, are propositions taken from the writings of *Catholics*. But what jurisdiction has the Church over statements which are made by the external world? Again, statements in books are concrete statements with a context and a drift, but who is to determine the sense of abstract propositions, such as those in the syllabus? Again, words must be defined to be understood; Gregory xvi speaking of 'Indifferentism' spoke definitely of La Mennais's theories — and further he *defined* the word in his Bull of August 15/32 '*indifferentismum seu pravam illam opinionem, qualibet fidei professione aeternam posse animae salutem comparari* etc', but who has defined 'interventus,' 'liberalismus,' 'progressus,' 'recens civitas —' rather they are the newspaper cant of the day. — Now I wonder what a theologian, such as the Bishop of Orleans, would say on these points; for I am really perplexed *how* to view them. The only point of course which makes it interesting to *us*, is that the Encyclical is addressed to the whole Catholic world — there seems nothing else in it which looks like a theological decision — but, if it is urged against me as such, I should [be] obliged to fall back upon my liberty in opinion, *till* that liberty is *proved* to be taken away — and my liberty here is 'in possession,' for, even were it an

¹ The elder daughter of the first Lord Lyons married Philip Hartman Veit, Baron von Würzburg, Bavaria, the younger married the fourteenth Duke of Norfolk.

ex cathedrâ enunciation, (which for the reasons I have mentioned I cannot see) still the infallibility of the Pope is not an article of faith.

However, when we come to the *matter* of the propositions condemned, at first sight I see little which would not be condemned by Archdeacon Denison, or by Keble, or the great body of the Anglican Church thirty years ago. The Pope deals with an abstract theory, with a normal state of things — not with what is prudent or expedient. The word 'expedit' hardly occurs in the whole document. The high church theory of Church and State may be true, but may be virtually suspended and in fact superseded. Again, take the case of Liberals themselves. Every now and then I hear a Liberal say, 'If all were to come over again, I would not grant Emancipation, Catholics have behaved so ill.' And is it not quite clear that Liberals *would* exclude us, if they could? Why is it that at this minute we cannot have a College in Oxford, till the law is altered? And so, looking through the whole syllabus, I don't think there is much that is really obstructive, rather, it is the *animus* — that is so alarming.

I *rejoice* that you think of getting something into the Times from a French Ecclesiastic.

I cannot say I am sorry for the Encyclical. Every thing is good which brings matters to a crisis. It is not the *matter* of the document, but the *animus* of its authors, and their *mode* of doing it, which is so trying.

Will not the next century demand Popes who are not Italians?

Ever Yrs affly John H Newman

TO T. F. WETHERELL

The Oratory Bm 17 Jan'y 13. 1865

My dear Wetherell, 1

I think it prudent to be very silent about the new ground that I am buying. It is *small*, and I want to increase it, if I can get the money for it — but there will be no chance of this, if it is known that I am the purchaser.

As to the subject of your letter, 1 thank you for your anxiety for me. Sir John [Simeon], who spoke for himself and friends, did not make any proposal for *compensation* of my loss, should I sell the land under the cost price. I am not surprised that he did not — for the sum required was indefinite and sure to be considerable. I think myself lucky, should it turn out that my mere *expenses* are under £200 — and the difference between selling *piecemeal* and selling as a *whole* might be £1500 in favour of the latter. Now I have an opportunity of selling the whole now; but what certainty have I of selling it except piecemeal three or six months hence? The number of purchasers of it as a whole, possible, may be counted on the fingers of one hand. 1

Very sincerely Yours John H Newman of the Oratory
T. F. Wetherell Esqr

14 JANUARY 1865

‘P.S. I forget whether I urged, in conversation with you, another consideration. The *time* for selling with a view to building is the Spring; therefore, unless I sold it [[the ground]] now, I should not be able to sell it for a year.’

SATURDAY 14 JANUARY 1865 Ambrose returned

TO LAVINIA WILSON

The Oratory, Birmingham, Jan. 14th. 1865.

My dear Child,

I see no difficulty whatever on the side of duty of your waiting till Easter to be received, if there are (as there are) positive reasons for doing so. Of course it is a great pain to you to be so unsettled and (so to say) unlocated, but I account you, as being a catechumen, really under the shadow and shelter of the Church. It is remarkable that Father C. to whom I thought of sending you, had the same trial. While his friends had been actually received, he, from circumstances over which he had no control, was kept from reception from October till Christmas.¹

He would have felt for you, did I send you to him. But now *I don't*. You would have gone to him, if you had *not* come to me. But now you determine to come to Birmingham, it would be a mistake to go to anyone else. I would recommend you to get two other books — the Garden of the Soul and the Golden Manual — and to make yourself thoroughly acquainted with them. These three books (i.e. including the catechism) you must read in the spirit of faith, receiving what they say as true and right. It is no sin to feel it difficult to accommodate your mind to certain things, and it is better not, in the way of devotions, to force yourself at all — though if you found you *could* without discomfort use the Rosary (five decades) daily, it would be good. In that case (I would send you a blest Rosary)

It would be a good thing, if you made some notes of difficulties which you had, that, when I saw you, I might explain them.

And now take care of your health. Don't fast. You may on Friday omit meat, if it does not annoy your friends — but don't give them any annoyance. Don't talk about religion if you can help it. Get rid of the subject. In ministering to your Sister and your Aunt, you are doing God's service² — Be content with this, and very thankful for God's mercies to you. Even in Lent, I do not wish you to do more than omit meat on Friday. Now be cheerful and happy — God bless you,

Yours affectionately in Christ, John H. Newman.

¹ This must refer to R. A. Coffin, now a Redemptorist at Clapham. See end of letter of 9 Nov. 1845 to Dalgairns, and diary for Dec. 1, 2 and 3, 1845.

² Miss Wilson's sister Fanny also became a Catholic and a nun.

17 JANUARY 1865

SUNDAY 15 JANUARY 1865 Cardinal Wiseman had the last Sacraments

TO T. F. WETHERELL

The Oratory Birmingham Jany 17/65

My dear Wetherell

You should send the petition to Mr Ferdinand Eyston and his brother, of Overbury, Tewkesbury, who are good friends to the Oxford Church scheme¹

Yours very truly John H. Newman

THURSDAY 19 JANUARY 1865 Clutton came about the new School buildings and returned.

FRIDAY 20 JANUARY Term began

TO MARK PATTISON

The Oratory Birmingham Jany 20. 1865

My dear Rector,

I inclose a cheque for Mr Spearing, and thank you for the trouble you have taken in my matters. It seemed to me best to draw it in your favour, not in that of Mr Spearing.

Private The Papers have given you the outline of the course which the affair has taken. As I have reason to believe, Manning and W. G. Ward put up the Cardinal (who, they say, is dying) to oppose the Oxford scheme in every shape; and, when it became known that my Bishop had given me the Oxford Mission and that I had bought ground, a sudden and unusual meeting of the Bishops was called, which, without determining any thing, but remitting the matter to Propaganda, has availed to defeat *me*. In the conflict of opinion which has arisen, and the uncertainty of the issue, and the chance of a long suspense, I cannot succeed in raising the necessary funds for purchasing the land from Catholic gentlemen; and, as it is not possible to sell so large a property every day, I am committed to a heavy interest for borrowing money, and the probable eventual loss in the terms of the sale itself. Also, if things go well at Rome, still a second attempt might be made to change its decision, some time hence, perhaps when I have laid out money in buildings, and at my time of life I cannot run the risk of these superfluous anxieties. So I am making an attempt to sell the ground at once.

I am not complaining of those who take another view. They have a right to their opinion. On the other hand a great number of Catholic gentlemen, as

¹ Both brothers signed the lay petition or address to Propaganda.

21 JANUARY 1865

might be supposed, are fierce the other way. It is indeed marvellous that any-one should dream of enforcing a prohibition, when not one step is taken, nor hope held out, of any place of education for young Catholics *instead* of Oxford. I should not wonder if we attempted to get another plot of ground, small and manageable, for the chances of the future.¹

Yrs affly John H Newman

SATURDAY 21 JANUARY 1865 Mr Carr Glyn came into the House Henry returned from Rednall

TO T. W. ALLIES

The Oratory Bm Jan. 21./65.

My dear Allies,

As I remember, your matter stands thus:²

I wrote to John O'Hagan, and he answered in the letter you saw.

I said to you that I thought that letter was not in itself encouraging enough, and I thought you agreed.

But he said he would speak to Dr Dunne, who would write to me perhaps.

I waited some time for such a letter, and then wrote to you, that, if it came, I would send it to you.

No letter has ever come. I understood this to mean, and thought you were prepared to understand it to mean, that Dr Dunne did not encourage the notion.

I don't think I can suitably apply to John O'Hagan a second time. And, since Dr Dunne has been already applied to (by John O'H.) for me to write to him now, would I conceive, be applying to him directly, not indirectly.

I will *gladly write*, as from myself, either to Dr Dunne, or the Rector, if you wish it; but I am sorry to say that *indirect* application (except in the sense of coming from me, not from you) is from the nature of the case impossible. As I have already applied to two persons for indirect information, to apply to them again is asking them to put it before the Rector.³

Yours affectly in Xt John H Newman

¹ For Pattison's reply see letter of 27 Jan. to him.

² This refers to the question of Allies delivering lectures at the Catholic University. See letter of 27 Nov. 1864 to O'Hagan, and 30 Nov. 1864 to Allies.

³ Allies replied on 23 Jan., 'I was stupid not to draw the inference from Dr Dunne's silence.'

21 JANUARY 1865

TO WILLIAM MONSELL

The Oratory Birmingham Jan'y 21. 1865

My dear Monsell

The Petition is, I believe, in substance Mr Weld Blundell's. Also, it *was* much altered, and perhaps not easy to alter. And (tho' I know as little of the matter as you can do) it strikes me that, if you once open the door to alterations, you will never shut it.¹

Nor do I feel your difficulty. I think the sentence, as it stands, awkward; but what is the real difference between saying 'those interests *are* not exposed to any *such* danger *as cannot* be met by safeguards (e.g. a College, or an Oratory,) and 'those interests *need* not be exposed to any danger, *since* they *may* be met with safeguards etc'?²

Yours affectly John H Newman

The Rt Honble Wm Monsell M P

P.S. I wish in the first instance you will get your information about Bonn from Baron Wurzburg. It seems to me, it would be more telling to come from a young resident than from the Jesuits. We could write to him, if you have no better way.³

MONDAY 23 JANUARY 1865 Mr Carr Glyn went. Mr Drew came

TUESDAY 24 JANUARY Lloyd came

TO MESSRS ALLCOCK AND MILWARD⁴

Jan 24 or 25/65

Gentlemen

In answer to your letter of the 23rd addressed to Mr Caswall stating that Friday is the day fixed for completing at Oxford the purchase of the Oxford Workhouse site by me I beg to say I acquiesce in your judgment that one of our body should be present at that concluding act of the transaction.

Accordingly I have asked Mr Caswall to go with your Mr Allcock on that day. He will come to you at 10 o'clock. He will take with him the £1626 in

¹ Wetherell told Newman on 8 Jan. that Weld-Blundell had brought a draft of a petition for Propaganda to the meeting in London on 7 Jan. Since it was important to have his support, as an influential old Catholic, his draft, after some alteration, was accepted.

² See second note to letter of 9 Jan. to Simeon. Monsell, who still wanted a Catholic college at Oxford, thought that to say Catholic interests 'are not exposed' to danger seemed to acquiesce in the situation, in which Catholics were prevented by law from setting up a college of their own. He considered that many Catholics would be exposed to danger in the existing colleges.

³ See letter of 12 Jan. to Monsell.

⁴ Solicitors, 5 Union Street, Birmingham.

24 JANUARY 1865

cash which I provide out of my own resources, as well as a cheque for £6000 on the B.B.C. [Birmingham Banking Company] drawn as you wish in your favour which you will be able to cash before starting. These two sums together make up the £7626 which you will have to pay in my name as balance of the purchase money and interest thereon from the 1st of January until completion.

J H N

TO SIR JOHN SIMEON

The Oratory Bm Jany 24/65

(Private)

My dear Sir John,

I am told that the decision has already been made at Propaganda, and the letter sent off. If this is so, it really does seem as if such unusual haste was used to hinder the lay expression of opinion. If this be so, it will not hinder the possibility of the Lay Petition still being presented, and I hope the signing will go on. I say all this on the assumption that the decision is adverse¹

Very sincerely Yours John H Newman of the Oratory

Sir John Simeon Bart.

WEDNESDAY 25 JANUARY 1865 Lloyd went. Lord Feilding called

TO HENRY NUTCOMBE OXENHAM

Jany 25/65

My dear Mr Oxenham,

It is to be recollected that the Pope speaks, not for England only, but for the whole world, and for the future.² It would be most rash in me to pronounce, that, looking back in the year 2000 at the recent Syllabus of errors condemned in 1864, an impartial posterity will not pronounce it to be a wise, bold, and necessary manifesto. And this seems to me clear, that it condemns

¹ A decision was made by Propaganda, but not yet approved by Pius IX. Bellasis, who was in Rome, protested and asked for a postponement, on the ground that a lay memorial was being prepared in England. See letter of 29 Jan. to Allies.

² Oxenham wrote on 23 Jan., very upset by the Encyclical *Quanta cura* and the 'Syllabus of Errors'. 'What I fear must be considered the dominant party in the Church (certainly in this country) is straining every nerve to prove that such utterances are "infallible," and binding on our faith. . . . the fact of such claims being put forward, and strenuously advocated (e.g. in the 'Dublin') place those who cannot accept them in a very difficult position . . .' After referring to the Oxford question, Oxenham concluded, 'It seems to me that error of every kind — and above all infidelity, are the sole gainers by the dominant line of policy.'

In July 1864 Oxenham wrote several letters to Newman, asking advice as to what vocation he should follow.

little which would not have been condemned by all Anglican High Church men thirty years ago. Therefore it is no trouble to me to acquiesce in its denunciations.

But, if you ask me what I think of its bearings in England at this moment, I certainly am deeply pained at the publication of a document, which, however necessary and wise it may be on the whole, is a great disadvantage and discouragement to us English Catholics. And using my own lights, I wish it never had been issued. And I think, whether in my time or not, there will be on certain parts a re-action in the Church, as there has been so often in the course of its history.

As to the binding force of its denunciations on the faithful, it is safe and sufficient to hold what Tourneley lays down: 'Leges et Decreta Pontificis Romani in causis fidei et morum ad omnes et singulas Ecclesias pertinere, ac Christianos omnes in conscientia teneri ipsis obtemperare. Quamquam enim infallibilis non supponatur Romanus Pontifex, provisorie tamen ipsius Decretis, quæ apud omnes bonos maximi ponderis et momenti essent, obsequendum est, saltem ad non dogmatisandum contrarium, quando ecclesia non reclamat nec contradicit.' And Bellarmine: 'Pontificem solum, vel cum suo particulari Concilio aliquid in re dubia statuentem, sive errare possit sive non, esse ab omnibus fidelibus obedienter audiendum.'¹

J H N

TO EDWARD BELLASIS

My dear Bellasis

The Oratory Jany 26/65

I am sure you will let me introduce to you a recent convert, Mr Carr Glyn of the Temple. As he is a lawyer as well as yourself, and is not likely to come across you as a rival in that great profession, there seems to be some fitness in asking Lucius Crassus to be civil to some young C. Cotta or P. Sulpicius.²

Ever Yours affectly John H Newman of the Oratory

Mr Serjeant Bellasis

TO ROBERT MONTEITH

My dear Mr Monteith

The Oratory Bm Jany 26/65

I hope to keep some of the ground, though I am not certain of it. Your £100 will be very useful to this end. If I do not succeed, you shall have it back.

¹ Tourneley, *De Ecclesia* V, ii; Bellarmine, *De Romano Pontifice*, IV, ii. Oxenham replied on 27 Jan. that he repudiated as an Anglican as strongly as he now did as a Catholic 'the principle of religious persecution, which seems so emphatically endorsed in parts of the Syllabus'. He also thought that the feeling against it was not confined to Englishmen or to Protestants.

² Cicero, *De Oratore*, I, vii.

26 JANUARY 1865

It may be sent to my account ('*Oxford* account') with the Birmingham Banking Co, Birmingham, whose London agents are Glyn and Co¹

Thank you for your kindness. I hope you will have a happy time in Italy. Thank you for your offer, but I do not think we can avail ourselves of it. Our love to Joseph. I was sorry to hear that the fever had kept him from Beaumont Lodge²

Ever Yours most sincerely in Xt John H Newman of the Oratory
R. J. Monteith Esqr

TO JOHN HUNGERFORD POLLEN

The Oratory Jan 26th/65

My dear Pollen

Let me hereby introduce you to Mr Carr Glyn of the Temple, lately received. I know you will do what you can for him both for his sake and for my own

Ever yours affly John H. Newman of the Oratory

J. H. Pollen Esq

TO T. F. WETHERELL

The Oratory Jany 26/65

My dear Wetherell,

Will you let me introduce to you a very recent convert Mr Carr Glyn of the Temple. As he is a University College man, it is natural that I should wish to make you known to each other

Yours most truly John H Newman of the Oratory

T. F. Wetherell Esqr

TO MARK PATTISON

The Oratory Bm Jany 27/65

My dear Rector

I have received the receipt duly. Thank you for your invitation, which I gladly shall avail myself of, if I am brought to Oxford, which is not likely.³

¹ See letter of 29 Dec. to Gaisford.

² Monteith wrote on 25 Jan. offering to undertake any small commission in Paris or Rome. His son Joseph, who had been at the Oratory School from 1862 until July 1864, was now at the Jesuit Beaumont College.

³ Pattison on 21 Jan. sent a receipt for the sum of five guineas. See letter of 20 Jan. He wrote, 'Can I be of any assistance to you in disposing of the ground? . . . Should it be necessary for you to come to Oxford in the matter, will you make any use of the [Rector's] Lodgings here that may be convenient.'

28 JANUARY 1865

Thank you too for your offer to assist me in finding openings for disposing of the ground. I have several offers made me for taking the whole of me. It seems easier to sell the whole than a part of it just now, — and I shall do so, if I can. I do not wish it mentioned, because it concerns other besides myself; but so it is that just now several members of the Council are thinking of it for the University. Of course it will please me more to sell it to the University than to any one else.

We are expecting daily the letter from Propaganda.¹ We hear that the decision was to be made last Monday week. The speed is a surprise; there is a petition getting up among our Laity to Propaganda, begging that things should be left as they are. So quick a decision looks as if it was wished to anticipate this; but, even if this be so, it cannot be conjectured what the character of the decision will be. When you speak of the prejudice which our authorities have against an Oxford residence, you must recollect how many of the Oxford converts are strong against it. It is impossible that this should not have great weight with Propaganda. Such are Manning, Ward, Neave, Ryder, Wilberforce, Northcote etc

Yours affectly John H Newman

The Revd The Rector of Lincoln

TO GEORGE WILLIAM COX

Jany 28/65

My dear Mr Cox

I am not up with the questions of the day; nor have I time to read; and just one part of one side of a question, and one part of the other side of another, are brought before me now and then. Of one thing I am sure, viz that we have not got to the bottom of the large and solemn inquiry which is in so many ways in progress. Christianity is on its trial; I have never seen any thing which made me fancy that the argument was going against it. For I have not had any objection brought home to my mind, such, that I could not fancy either that a fuller investigation would countermine it, or that the original mine when sprung would end in an abortive explosion, abortive, either because it did not duly run under the citadel, or, because, as in the case of the Yankee powder ship, the effects of the discharge were miscalculated.² And I am confirmed in

¹ Pattison wrote on 21 Jan., 'I regret most deeply the opposition to your scheme. It is only a part of the general policy of the Church, on which however I do not know how far you would think criticism allowable.

I may say that the loss to us is great in many ways — to myself in particular. I was really looking forward to many a long talk with you, and had conned over many questions to ask you'

² During the American Civil War, on the night of 23 Dec. 1864, a gun-boat was exploded near Fort Fisher at the mouth of Cape Fear River, in a fruitless attempt to destroy the Fort and its defenders. Fort Fisher, which protected the entry to Wilmington, the sole Confederate port still open to the blockade runners, was captured on 15 Jan. 1865.

my anticipation both by the [,] in so many instances which have come before me [,] wonderfully shallow reasonings and the arrogant tone of the objectors. Without denying at all that there may be a residuum of truth in what they say, it seems to me that the greater part of it will vanish before long like the froth and spray of the breakers on a coast.

Now as to your two questions:¹ — I have no time as I have said, to get up the question of the Pentateuch, and I cannot form for myself any satisfactory theory about it; but forty years ago, when I read Genesis in the Hebrew, it became to me quite clear that it was the work of various authors, nor have I had any reason to change my opinion since. As to Deuteronomy, I do not deny that much may be said against its strict genuineness, yet even supposing it is not strictly genuine, I observe that a correspondent of mine, of very free opinions, wrote to me the other day, to say that he could not believe it a forgery, as Colenso said, though he did [not] believe it to be immediately written by Moses.² He considered that Moses had written a book, and that being lost it was preserved by oral tradition and then at a later age put into writing in its present form. He said that nothing was more remarkable in the East than the extraordinary care in which ancient works are preserved and handed on from generation to generation. Some of the Brahmans of the Deccan at this day can repeat with the utmost accuracy 25000 lines of Sanscrit verse on philosophy, ancient law etc. This theory receives some corroboration from what we know of the Jewish phylacteries and the traditionary and varying editions of Psalms, as contained in Scripture. It is remarkable too that the 10 Commandments are quoted in varying order in the New Testament, and differently from the Old, and the Augustinian division of them is different from that of St Jerome. However I mention this only to illustrate what I mean by saying that we have not yet got to the bottom of the inquiry.

As to your second question,³ which I consider you to put not as a Scriptural one, but simply as a theistical, I will assume what you say about the roots of words to be true — by which I mean first that I feel I could not, unless I were a scientific man, venture to rule it one way or the other, and next that, if the School of Science establishes and holds it as it holds the motion of the earth round the sun, I believe it too, and thirdly that I never should be *surprised* if it turned out to be true.

Nor do I see it collides with Theism. For myself, as my writings show, I

¹ Cox, who was a supporter and defender of Bishop Colenso, wrote on 23 Jan. His first question was, 'Whether you think that the evidence adduced by recent writers suffices to prove that the five books of the Pentateuch were not written by one person — that parts of them were not written at the time of the events they profess to relate . . . ?'

² Newman is using a letter of 1 Dec. from William Wordsworth. Cf. letter of 22 Oct. to Wordsworth.

³ 'The Science of Language has shown that the roots into which all our speech is resolvable expressed originally nothing more than mere bodily or material sensations or impressions, and that the arrival at any higher conceptions was the result of an indefinitely long process. Hence as Max Müller puts it, the first consciousness of the idea of God marks a comparatively late period in the history of man. . . . I shall be grateful for the expression of your judgment on the worth of this conclusion as being a conclusion based on fact . . .'

have never based the belief in a God on any argument from merely external nature, but simply as implied in the fact and deducible from the existence of conscience, nor do I see any difficulty in the notion of the existence of a being endowed with reason (at least in its lower degrees) yet without a conscience. The other day there was an interesting account in the *Times* of the Asylum for the Homicidal Insane; and the writer mentioned that of the worst man there the physicians said that he was not properly mad, but only had no sort of perception of the difference between right and wrong.¹ If such a being had in a former age of the world developed human faculties, his existence would be horrible; but, if not so, he might be a sort of semi-idiot or fool, clever, cunning, wayward, selfish, something like Undine² or Frankenstein, who are described as being more than an organism, as having a spirit, yet not a soul. *Because* he had no conscience, he would have no idea of a God. Again, certainly I think, as far as [I] have a right to an opinion that all the mental faculties are but latent, till elicited by external means, as invisible ink is brought out by heat. If so, man had not a conscience, and so not a natural knowledge of God, till he had a revelation. And the pre-adamite man would not know him. I do not therefore feel with you the extreme gravity of the linguistic fact you mention, supposing it to be a fact.³

J H N

TO CHARLES FRANCIS RIDDELL

The Oratory, Birmingham January 28. 1865

My dear Mr Riddell,

I thank you for your very kind letter, and hope it has been caused more by your great consideration than by any want of consideration of my own.⁴ However, if I seem to you to have written abruptly, I hope you will pardon it. I really did and do think with you, that such an expense in print is unreasonable, and should not have been. And I had been vexed about the books at the time the change occurred.

I tore off a portion of your letter, which related to your boy's studies, and gave it to Fr St John, who intends to write to you about it. This will account for my not having answered it, though I meant to have told you this; but it went out of my head.

I am, My dear Mr Riddell Most sincerely Yours in Xt

John H. Newman of the Oratory

¹ This account has not been traced in *The Times*. Newman perhaps read it elsewhere.

² Undine was a water spirit in the novel of that name by Frederick Fouqué, published in 1811.

³ For Cox's reply see letter of 4 Feb. to him.

⁴ Riddell had complained about the number of school books his son had to buy. On 26 Jan. he wrote, 'I hope you have not deemed my remarks offensive,' and said he did not wish to be repaid for books.

29 JANUARY 1865

TO T. W. ALLIES

The Oratory Jan. 29./65

My dear Allies,

Thank you for the sight of Bellasis's letter, which I return. I am very glad that in so difficult a matter the Sacred Congregation has postponed its decision.¹

It has struck me that at Dublin things are in a different state from what they were two months ago. Dr Dunne, I believe, is very anxious to get English students to Dublin, who might otherwise go to Oxford; and I have half a mind to write to him on your matter, if I can do so without involving you.²

Yours affectly in Xt John H Newman

TO SIR JOHN SIMEON

The Oratory Bm Jan'y 29/65

My dear Sir John

I was very glad to have your letter.³ That the decision was postponed, is so far so good. Till the last day or two, I have not known that Neve was against innovating on the liberty of Catholics at the Universities. I was told that he agreed with Manning. He was a pupil of mine at Oriel. I have never known him well, but I know him to be a very worthy fellow. What his influence at Rome is, I mean his personal influence I don't know. His influence from his position must be great. He is somewhat of a John Bull — and I should doubt if he spoke the languages fluently — but I may be wrong here. At first sight he seems to be the best man for your Procurator; but I wish I knew more about it. I cannot give you any information about Mr Walpole.⁴

Manning's influence with Cardinal Barnabò is a serious matter — and Barnabò etc are already greatly prejudiced against the very shadow of mixed education. Then Dr Cullen has great influence with Propaganda, and has used

¹ See letters of 24 and 29 Jan. to Simeon.

² See letter of 26 Feb. to Allies.

³ Simeon in a letter of 28 Jan., a copy of which has been preserved, gave a summary of the information Bellasis had sent to Allies: 'Bellasis first went to Mgr. Talbot, who told him that the English Clergy generally objected to Oxford, but that the Laity were in favour of it.

Moreover, that if the Laity meant to make any representation they must do it at once, as the Cardinals had already met on the subject, and were to see the Pope about it on Saturday.

Thereupon Bellasis sent to Cardinal Barnabò, whom he twice endeavoured to see without effect, a letter praying the Propaganda not to decide on the question before receiving the address which was in preparation, and to that he had had no reply when he wrote.

Bellasis had seen Dr. Neave of the English College who told him in confidence that Manning was the mover of the whole thing, and had got entire possession of Barnabò's ear.'

⁴ The laity were looking for a representative in Rome, and Bellasis suggested Neve as being in favour of Oxford education and having frequently spoken to Barnabò on the subject. As an alternative Simeon asked whether Newman knew anything about 'Walpole, who married a Saldanha in Rome last year'. This was Frederick Goulburn Walpole (1829-1901) who on 15 Jan. 1864 married Amalie Haughton Trafford Binns, daughter of the Duchess de Saldanha.

30 JANUARY 1865

it. At the same time they will be much struck with a good body of lay signatures. I hope signers will put their titles, handles etc to their names — D.L's [Deputy Lieutenant], etc etc. for the list ought to be made imposing. Whether the attempt succeeds or not, it will be a greater thing to have brought together so many persons. Our only hope is in the laity knowing their own strength and exerting themselves. If the first attempt does not succeed, I hope they will try again. I think there were repeated attempts in the case of the Queen's Colleges in Ireland.

I read the Article in the *Tablet* hastily but the tone seemed to me this — 'You are very wrong to make all this row, for we don't mean to do any thing after all,' It is very likely that the petitioners will be blamed and be protested against, but will do their work¹

Ever Yours very sincerely John H Newman of the Oratory

Sir John Simeon Bart

TO WILLIAM FROUDE

The Oratory Bm Jan'y 30/65

My dear William

I am truly glad to have your letter. We have been in a maze at the various letters which have come to us, not knowing whether the subject of them was a great matter or a little, and what were the rights of it, and who could help us. Your letter then has been a relief. for it is impossible that we can judge, and you can.²

Accordingly I shall send off your inclosure by this post.

We have had a wonderful snow, and now have a wonderful thaw. I hear a report about Eddie, and indeed myself noticed his cold, and wrote to your wife about it.³ The Hope Scotts and Ornsby, with the Duke of Norfolk, are at Hyeres The W.Ws. [Wilberforce] are (still, I suppose) at Cannes, which they describe as wonderfully mild. Last year at Hyères, the Hope Scotts, I think, had very bad weather. I suppose at those places, it is possible to get English comforts — Ornsby complains of the brick floors at Hyères. To be stationary in one place is, I suppose, a condition of getting good.

Ever Yours affectly John H. Newman

W. Froude Esq

¹ The *Tablet*, (28 Jan. 1865), p. 57, printed the address to Propaganda and a list of those who had signed it, but questioned their knowledge. They were interfering and would defeat their own purpose by strengthening the hand of those who wanted a prohibition, although in fact there would be no change.

² Froude's son, Robert Edmund, made a note on the copy that he did not know to what this paragraph referred.

³ R. E. Froude was about to go abroad for his health, and was thus prevented from going to Oxford.

30 JANUARY 1865

TO LAVINIA WILSON

The Oratory, Birmingham, Jan. 30th 65

My dear Child,

Till you are actually received into the Church, you cannot obtain indulgences — but that is no reason why you should not use any devotions to which you feel drawn.

I hope to send the Rosary by this Post. It was either blessed by the Pope, or I got it at Loretto, I am not sure which. I have been so busy that I have not been able to write to you before.

Yours affectionately in Christ, John H. Newman, Of the Oratory.

Sister Lavinia.

P.S. As to a penance for Lent you might say some prayers every day for the conversion of your friends. You should not display your Rosary (or Cross) if it gives offence.

TUESDAY 31 JANUARY 1865 Mr Drew went, or yesterday

TO E. B. PUSEY

The Oratory Birmingham Jany 31/65

My dear Pusey

Thank you for your great zeal and kindness.¹ And I have to thank the Vice Chancellor for the punctuality with which the matter has been brought forward — and indeed all the Council, for your account implies kindness to me personally in their proceedings. I understand the £9000 to include all expenses whatever, legal or other — so that every bill is to be sent to me, should any be incurred. I may rely on your kindness to make this quite secure.

I know well how capricious Convocation is — but I consider the Council to represent most of the Colleges and interests of the University — and in this lies its superiority to the old Hebdomadal, the Heads of Houses having so separated themselves from their own Societies as to have ceased to be representative.

As to Number 90, as far as I recollect the 1st Edition is better and truer than the second. The second Edition was altered to meet the views of liberals who objected that I *was not definite*, and therefore shuffling — whereas I did not *mean* nor *could* be definite — for I was introducing a mode of interpretation, not settling its application, or its limits.²

¹ Pusey wrote on 30 Jan. that the recently reformed Hebdomadal Council, had agreed to propose to Convocation on 9 Feb. that the University should purchase Newman's land. Pusey warned that Convocation was 'a capricious body'.

² See next letter.

2 FEBRUARY 1865

Since I wrote to you, I have received a second letter from Mr Giles which I inclose. It is odd that he so preserves what may be called his incognito.¹

Ever Yours affly John H Newman

The Revd Dr Pusey

WEDNESDAY 1 FEBRUARY 1865 Edward and Wm [William] went to Oxford Mr Fortescue came with Mr Alcock to conclude purchase of land.

THURSDAY 2 FEBRUARY Sang High Mass etc. Mr Fortescue went. Audit

TO E. B. PUSEY

The Oratory Bm Feby 2/65

My dear Pusey

Pray don't alter any thing that you have done for me. If the 2nd Edition approves itself most to you take it.²

Please, don't mention any thing about the lawyer's expenses etc. *without call*. We have, I am quite sure, a serious bill here — and I really can fancy that, before the ground becomes the University's, the University too will have expenses. Property is never transferred without expense. All I mean is, that, if there is expense (as I think) I consider it mine

Ever Yrs affly John H Newman

The Revd Dr Pusey

TO T. F. WETHERELL

The Oratory Birmingham Feb 2/65

My dear Wetherell

Thank you for your list of names. Some one says that Lord Stafford is at home for a few days.³

¹ See letter of 28 Dec. 1864 to Pusey, who wrote on 1 Feb., 'Mr. John Giles is a lay man, I find, a friend of Mr Richmonds.'

² Pusey wrote on 1 Feb. that he wanted to write an historical preface to *Tract XC*, explaining why it had been misunderstood. He added, 'I thought that the second edition of *Tract 90* comprised in fact the first; i.e. that omitting what was within the brackets, you had the first edition. It is a valuable historical document as showing how ready you were to explain. For it was edition 2 which was aimed at by the censures which the Heads of houses proposed . . .' Pusey offered to stop the printing until he heard further from Newman.

In fact Pusey reprinted *Tract XC* from the stereotypes of the fourth edition. Besides his long preface, he printed at the end, Keble's 'Catholic Subscription to the XXXIX Articles considered in reference to *Tract XC*.'

³ Wetherell sent Newman the names of thirteen more laymen who had signed the memorial to Propaganda. Lord Stafford never gave his name.

3 FEBRUARY 1865

Your notice of Cardinal Reisach, Sir John Acton, Mr Russell and the Jesuits is a profound puzzle to me. I cannot understand it in any degree.¹

The English of the Petition is certainly very abrupt — and it is not so in language only but in construction — *for* there is no mention of being ready to yield to authority — nor is I suppose everyone in fact ready.²

I cannot turn it into Latin. One of our Fathers here has turned it into Italian. *You* will judge whether it will help you. I inclose it.

Yours very sincerely John H Newman

P.S. I will send the translation by next post.³

TO E. B. PUSEY

The Oy Bm Feby 3/65

My dear Pusey

I forgot yesterday to answer your question about Mary the Queen of Purgatory.⁴

I believe this is the whole of it. 'The Blessed Virgin is the great pattern of prayers, especially intercessory. And in this age especially she (and the Saints too and the Church too) is the *witness* against the prevailing theories, such as Mr Buckle's that all things go on by fixed laws which cannot be broken; thus introducing a practical atheism.'⁵

If she is the Intercessor, and the effectual intercessor, she is so as regards

¹ Just as he was leaving Rome on 28 Jan., Bellasis wrote to St John that he had had a long interview about the Oxford matter with Cardinal Reisach, who listened with great courtesy. Bellasis had put the case strongly, both from the point of view of Catholic education, and that of the importance of an Oratory at Oxford in the then state of the Anglican Church. Wetherell wrote to Newman on 1 Feb., in a letter of which a copy is preserved, 'You will already have received an account of Serjeant Bellasis's interview with Cardinal Reisach: Acton [who was in Rome], after telling me of it adds:— "I sounded Russell last night (i.e. on the 23rd) about the course to be adopted in similar emergencies and I believe there is nothing to be done (i.e. more than has been done) unless the Jesuits can be won. He means to try and intervene with his friends at the Gesù. . . . He is zealous enough himself.'" Wetherell explained on 4 Feb. that Acton, after hearing about the Reisach interview, had sounded Odo Russell about the best way of working, and the latter was going to try to win the Jesuits at the Gesù to the cause. Acton thought that all that could be done in Rome, pending the arrival of the Memorial, had been done, except the winning of the Jesuits.

² Wetherell had asked for a latin translation of the Memorial to Propaganda. He replied to Newman on 4 Feb. that, when the Memorial was being drawn up, he had opposed a proposal to express readiness to abide by the decision, on the ground that 'putting aside the right or wrong of the position — we should mislead Propaganda as to the state of opinion and feeling if we said anything of that kind.'

³ The Italian translation is in St John's hand.

⁴ Pusey asked on 1 Feb., 'How far is it a received opinion that the Blessed Virgin is Queen of Purgatory, and what does it mean? Faber, I see, spoke of it as a certain fact. He spoke of "the lovely troop of the flock of Mary; the moonlight of Mary's throne lighting up their land of pain" "We shall never learn how we really love Mary, till we look up to her out of those deeps, those vales of dread mysterious fire." Yet he says "some writers say that our Blessed Lady cannot help them (souls there) because she is no longer able to make satisfaction."' [F. W. Faber, *All for Jesus*, first edition, London 1853, pp. 355-6, 368 and 375]. Cf. Pusey's *Eirenicon*, p. 196.

⁵ Thomas Henry Buckle, in his *History of Civilization in England*.

earth, as regards Purgatory, as regards the whole created Universe. But more than this general view, I believe to be a matter of devotion. Spiritual books say a great deal in detail. And divines, as Renaud, pursue a line of argument into its minute ramifications.¹ I don't know Faber's writings — and therefore I cannot speak of the passage to which you refer — but, though they have had a great circulation here and in America, I believe judicious people think them crude and young, perhaps extravagant. He was a poet.

Ever Yours affly John H Newman

The Revd E B Pusey D D

TO GEORGE WILLIAM COX

Febry 4/65

My dear Sir²

I have no objection to your showing my last letter privately, as you propose, to one or two persons as you wish; but it should not be done without your also showing what I am now writing, for I must not be taken to have implied what I did not express.

When I spoke of 'Christianity,' I used the word in no vague sense, such as you say Dr Milman has adopted.³ For myself, I think Christianity an historical fact, and to view it as disengaged from its historical characteristics, e.g. its principle of dogma and its actual dogmas, its sacramental ritualism, and its polity, is (in itself, not in those who do it) a dishonesty. Christianity is an individual phenomenon, and can as little be split into parts as an individual man. When then I said, as I think I said, that no objections had ever been brought home to me as being of a nature dangerous to Christianity, I mean to the Christianity of St Ignatius, St Cyprian, St Augustine, St Gregory, St Thomas, Cardinal Fisher, Suarez, Bossuet, Benedict xiv; to their Christianity in its substance, whatever be its accidental dress or its subordinate varieties, or its open questions. And I consider that in time to come a parallel apology will be needed for Dr Milman as Dr Colenso I suppose makes for the priests in the time of Josias.⁴

And next in what I said on your first question, I was not stating any thing about the book of Deuteronomy in which I definitely acquiesced myself,

¹ Presumably the *Marialia* of the Jesuit Theophilus Raynaud (1583–1663) is meant.

² Newman first wrote 'Mr Cox'.

³ When thanking on 31 Jan. for Newman's letter of 28 Jan., Cox remarked 'My conviction is unmoved that "Christianity" will not be shaken by the stirrings of the present time: but I dare not withhold the admission that I give the word the meaning assigned to it by Dean Milman in the concluding sentences of his great history: and therefore I must further confess that "Christianity" is for the present an ambiguous term.' Milman at the end of his *History of Christianity to the Abolition of Paganism*, London 1840, III, p. 548, spoke of it as 'the great conservative principle of religion, knowledge, humanity . . .'

⁴ Colenso maintained that they were responsible for *Deuteronomy*.

because I think the inquiry is at present but in progress, but what I thought met the objections just now urged, without imputing (an innocent) forgery to the supposed writer of it.¹

And, as to your second question, I did not attempt to reconcile the linguistic difficulty with Scripture; but I think it is reconcilable. Here again I am speaking only hypothetically; that on the hypothesis that it is a proved fact that the human race, as a race of beings with undeveloped reason and dormant conscience, existed before the Adam of Scripture, still Adam may have been raised into a supernatural state by a revelation within and without, and have fallen from that state into a state, not the same with, but cognate to that out of which he was taken. You will recollect that it is the Catholic, though not the Protestant, doctrine that Adam till the fall was *not in a state of nature*, but *above nature* from a definite gratuitous gift of grace; and that one school of theologians teaches not only (as all Catholics hold) that original sin *consists* in the removal of this grace, but moreover that that removal has involved no deterioration at all of his original nature.²

J H N

TO A. J. HANMER

The Oy Bm Febr'y 4/65

My dear Hanmer,

I write a hasty answer to your question.³ Your name will, I am sure, be considered an addition. The letter with the signatures, I am told, goes to Rome on Tuesday evening. You had better write at once to 'F. T. Wetherell Esqr, 4 St James Street, Pall Mall, London S W.'

I am sorry you are still in such anxiety about your Manchester affairs.⁴

The Cardinal is sinking — besides diabetes, he has erisypilas, [sic] and his eye is affected — and he has something like mortification in the extremities. This is what I understand. I can't tell whether he is in pain — or in possession of his mind. He needs all our prayers

Ever Yrs affly John H Newman of the Oratory

A. J Hanmer Esqr

¹ Cox urged that Colenso did not 'impute forgery to writers in whom any sense of literary property seems to be wanting'.

² Cox wrote on 31 Jan., 'while the nature of words leaves the Personality of God who is our Merciful Father and our Righteous Judge entirely untouched, I confess that it seems to me to cut at the very root of the hypothesis of a Fall: it seems to me to leave no room for any great aboriginal catastrophe . . .'

³ Hanmer wrote on 3 Feb., anxious to sign the memorial to Propaganda.

⁴ Hanmer's mill was affected by the cotton famine caused by the American Civil War.

SUNDAY 5 FEBRUARY 1865 Bishop called¹

TO WILLIAM MONSELL

The Oratory Bm Febr 5/65

Private

My dear Monsell

I am very sorry there should be any hitch. Of course I am only a *witness*—but I can quite *understand* there may be those who go further than we do. But nothing has brought home to me that there *are* such men.²

The meeting in which the Address was drawn up was on January 7. It was sent to me by the London post of the 8th. I inclose it. You will see there is no '*petition*' in it at all. Compare it with yours, which came to you on February 2. and which I send you back. Please, let me have mine back.

Between ourselves, I think no one can like the Memorial. But it was drawn up by Mr Weld Blundell *before* he came to the meeting, and, considering the value of his name, they were obliged to take it, and could only alter it.

Another difficulty was that they could not say that they would abide by the decision of Propaganda. For important persons, I suspect, do not like to *pledge* themselves to do so. And one person, I know, has refused to sign, because there is a pledge of some sort in the very idea of memorializing [sic].

The other day *we* were applied to to make a Latin version, which from the characteristics of the Latin tongue, would be less downright than the Anglo-saxon. We sent up a translation into Italian, which softens a good deal the English, and which will come before the meeting next week. It used the word '*Supplica*.' Whether this will be cut out or no, or whether any part of it will pass, of course I cannot tell. I think it is a misfortune, tho' it can't be helped,

¹ Newman noted:

'Febr 13. 1865

The Bishop called here yesterday week (the 5th) and said among other things: that, immediately after the episcopal meeting in December, Dr Clifford had written to Propaganda to advise leaving the Oxford matter to Dr Ullathorne as a matter between him and me; — and that he himself (Dr U.) had written a short letter to Propaganda to beg them to be cautious in believing what was said about me at Rome: and that also he had written to Dr Grant to get him too to write to Rome, and he had written a long letter of 8 or 10 pages, mentioning, 1. my services, 2. my trials — and ending by cautioning Propaganda against believing what was said of me.

I think the Bishop took it for granted that I was right in thinking that the episcopal meeting would not have been called, had I not bought the land.

J H N'

See letter of 17 Feb. to Ullathorne.

² Monsell wrote on 3 Feb. from Tervoe, Limerick, about the text of the appeal to Propaganda, 'You will observe they have left out every thing that gives to the memorial the form of a petition.' He added, 'I am so much afraid that some of the men engaged in the memorial would not be very sorry for a row with Rome.' Monsell complained that the memorialists did not call themselves 'petitioners' in the final draft, although that word had been in his copy. See second note to letter of 9 Jan. to Simeon.

that you are not in London. The meeting, I hear this morning, is on *Wednesday*.

The Bishop of Bm [Birmingham] wrote me word yesterday that the decision of Propaganda has been *made*, and came before the Pope, as the final step, this day week January 29. I should wonder it had not yet come to England, but for a second fact — viz that Bellasis went to Cardinal Reisach and begged him to exert his influence to hold the decision back *till* the arrival of the Lay Address to Propaganda. It was very doubtful whether this would be done.

I do not think I agree with you, that any reason should be given beyond that which is (clumsily) implied in it — viz that no privilege ought to be taken away without a proved abuse. This is meant, I conceive, in the words '*still* permitted to frequent.' If you attempt a series of reasons, you will have innumerable shades of opinion, and consequent dissensions. Catholic gentlemen are not one body — there is no principle of authority, no head, no one to defer to. They live in various places, they are each supreme in his place. The shorter the form of Address, (so that necessary proprieties are observed) the better. The *fact* of Petitioning is the great point. Reasons should accompany it, but be distinct. This is why I wanted a Pamphlet written.

I speak under correction, but in a matter of this kind it seems to me that 'delays are dangerous.' However, it will never do for them not to carry you with them.

Since writing the above, I have found another copy of the original Address, in which certainly the word 'Petitioners' occurs. I should hope and think that the insertion of the word in your copy and not in that which I inclose, was a mere accident — as *will* occur when things are done to save time.

You may be sure there are persons at Rome driving on a decision. If you could get Cardinal Barnabò to hold his hand, that would be *one* reason for delaying the Address. But not (as *I* think) a good one. If I *agreed* with Manning, and wished to play a crafty part, I should *give* a longer time, and then in England sow dissensions among the subscribers.

I think it a great misfortune that you have not been in London. At a critical moment it is very difficult to give to absent persons that consideration which they ought both in justice and policy to receive¹

Ever Yrs affly John H Newman of the Oratory

The Rt Honble Wm Monsell M P

P.S. Perhaps the reason they neglected to write to you has been that they have no secretary, who has time at his disposal.

Thank you for the Newspaper²

¹ Monsell complained that 'on a mere general authority to use my name in preliminary movements' it had been affixed to the memorial, and that there had been no haste to send him a copy.

² Monsell sent an article he had contributed to *Le Correspondant*, and a lecture he had delivered.

5 FEBRUARY 1865

TO T. F. WETHERELL

The Oratory Bm Feby 5/65

My dear Wetherell

I hear that the decision of Propaganda went to the Pope last Sunday. Is this later than Bellasis's interview with Cardinal Reisach? I fear it is — but Cardinal R. may have gone to the Pope, and stopped his act of approbation.¹

It pains me to hear that Monsell is not satisfied with the Address. His name is a very important one, and he is known in Rome. He says that in the Copy which came to him the word 'Petitioners' occurred. So it did in the copy which Sir John Simeon sent to me. I am told the word 'Supplica' occurs in the Italian which I sent you up. It is plain that, those who are hostile to your movement would be gladly [sic] to fix on any omission of respect in order to get the Address rejected. This feeling indeed dictated your wish to have a translation.²

It is important that every one should give his titles. If you apply to A. J. Hanmer Esqr, '152 Cheetham Hill Road, Manchester', a Cambridge man, and relation to Sir John Hanmer's, he will give you his name, I think.

Very sincerely Yours John H Newman of the Oratory

T. F. Wetherell Esqr

TUESDAY 7 FEBRUARY 1865 Mr Drew returned to work in School.

TO MISS HOLMES

The Oratory Bm Feby 7/65

My dear Miss Holmes,

Antony Froude was never a friend of mine — but I was civil to him as an Undergraduate for his brother's sake. Of course he knew more of me, a Don, than I did of him. I think after my conversion, he wrote a Tale in which he introduced me. That is all I know against him. I am surprised you did not know that he was Editor of Frazer — which under his direction is ultra-liberal, as might be supposed. I agree with him that you write capitally, when

¹ The decision of Propaganda on Sunday 29 Jan. was later than Bellasis's interview of about 24 Jan. with Reisach.

² Wetherell replied on 6 Feb. that many would object to call themselves 'Petitioners' in the memorial. He intended to prefix to it the usual form of address to Propaganda, which he supposed would entitle it 'the most humble petition of certain laymen in Great Britain'. Wetherell added, 'For every complaint of our disrespect that comes to us, there come three or four of our obsequiousness.'

you describe what you know; but fail when you attempt what you do not know.¹

As to Oxford and Cambridge, it is quite plain that the Church *ought* to have Schools <(Universities)> of her own. She can in Ireland — she can't in England, a Protestant country. How are you to prepare young Catholics for taking part in life, in filling station, in a Protestant country as England, without going to the English Universities? Impossible. Either then refuse to let Catholics avail themselves of these privileges, of going into Parliament, of taking their seat in the House of Lords, of becoming Lawyers, Commissioners etc etc. *or* let them go *there, where alone* they will be able to put themselves in a par with Protestants. Argument the 1st.

2. They will get more harm in London life than at Oxford or Cambridge. A boy of 19 goes to some London office, with no restraint — he goes at that age to Oxford or Cambridge, and is at least under *some* restraint.

3. Why are you not consistent, and forbid him to go into the Army? Why don't you forbid him to go to such an 'Academy' at Woolwich? He may get at Woolwich as much harm in his faith and morals as at the Universities. Why not forbid him to go to Trinity College, Dublin?

4. There are *two* sets at Oxford. What Fr B. says of the good set being *small*, is bosh.² At least I have a right to know better than he. What can he know about my means of knowledge? I was Tutor (in a very rowing College, and was one of those who changed its character.) I was Dean of discipline — I was Pro-proctor. The good set was not a small set — though it varied in number in different colleges. You have anticipated most of these arguments. I quite agree with what you say about Catholic Education

Yours affly in Xt John H Newman

P.S. I have received two of A. Froude's nephews into a Church [sic] — the sons of William F. [Froude]

TO MICHAEL O'SULLIVAN

The Oratory, Birr Feb. 7/1865

My dear Mr O'Sullivan

I think your speech a capital one. It always puzzles me how people can speak impromptu. It is another thing, if one has time. One can say such clever

¹ Miss Holmes, who was living with the Blounts at Mapledurham, had evidently offered an article to *Fraser's Magazine*, which James Anthony Froude edited from 1860 to 1871 and from 1873-4. Froude introduced Newman by name into *Shadows of the Clouds*, 1847, which he published under the pseudonym of Zeta, and of which his father the Archdeacon destroyed many copies. Newman is thinking of *The Nemesis of Faith*, 1849, in which he figures as Mr Mornington.

² Miss Holmes on 5 Feb. quoted from a letter she had received from John Barrow, a convert of the previous year, who was now becoming a Jesuit. He approved of what had been written in *D R* about the dangers of Oxford, and discounted Newman's witness, on the ground that he had belonged to the small group of virtuous men there and had not mixed in general society.

things, so I feel it, next day. Making you speak for all denominations was a good dodge, and difficult to meet, but you met it very happily. Was it that, which annoyed Mr Lawrence? though it ought not to concern him. As your speech is reported, his attack must have been simply unprovoked. Your remarks about Liberalism were very good, and must have told. I am sure you must be doing a good deal of good in Stafford in behalf of the Catholic cause.¹

I am always glad to hear from and of you and am

Yours affectly in Xt John H. Newman of the Oratory.

P.S. Sibthorp comes here at the end of the week.²

WEDNESDAY 8 FEBRUARY 1865 News of the decision of Propaganda about the University question³

TO THE BISHOP AND CLERGY OF HOBART TOWN⁴

Febr. 9. 1865

I have received with the most lively pleasure and gratitude the Address which you have been kind enough to send to me on occasion of my recent publication.

If it is a special gratification to receive such a token of approval from those among whom one lives, so on the other hand there is a gratification, of a very peculiar and singular kind, in having gained the praise and the sympathy of parties, who from their distance and the stress of their own local duties, could not be expected to interest themselves in matters personal to one who is a stranger to them.

But you have shown me, my Rt Revd Very Revd and Revd friends, how Catholicism makes us citizens of the whole world, and how there is nothing which befalls a priest in one country, but arrests the charitable solicitude of his brethren even in the Antipodes.

¹ Michael O'Sullivan, the priest at Stafford, was again involved in local controversy. Cf. letter of 21 Jan. 1864 to him.

² Richard Waldo Sibthorp, an Anglican clergyman, became a Catholic in 1841 and a priest, but in 1843 returned to the Church of England. He had now been received back into the Catholic Church and said Mass again in Wiseman's private chapel on 25 Jan. 1865. He wrote on 6 Feb. to ask if he might visit Newman, and came on the 10th.

³ Wetherell wrote on 7 Feb. that he had had a telegram from Neve in Rome 'Question already decided.' Wetherell proposed to continue with the memorial until letters arrived with more information. The decision of Propaganda confirmed the resolution of the Bishops in Dec. against establishing Catholic colleges at the Universities, and ordered them to make known to the clergy that Catholic parents were to be dissuaded from sending their sons to Protestant universities. Cf. Memorandum of 19 Dec. 1864 and second note to letter of 31 March to Emily Bowles.

⁴ This is Newman's own heading to his draft. He was replying to the congratulations of Robert William Willson, Bishop of Hobart Town, and his clergy, on the *Apologia*, which had reached them in Oct. 1864. Their address of congratulations, dated 22 Nov. 1864, is printed in *Apo.* pp. 378-9.

I am now arrived at a time of life when I may prudently consider my course to be finished, except as regards those routine duties which attach to me as a member of a community, and I acknowledge it, as a special mercy, that I am allowed to retire from the public eye with such testimonies in my favour as are supplied by the Addresses which you and other bodies of the Catholic clergy have condescended to send to me. Those friendly addresses are virtually prayers in my behalf; and I thank you most of all because in the condescension of your letter you have expressly permitted me so to interpret your sympathy.

J H N

TO MISS HOLMES

The Oratory Bm Febr'y 9/65

My dear Miss Holmes

As to writing about what one knows and what one does not, as e.g. I have written in *Loss and Gain* of persons and things that I knew — but, if I were to attempt a fashionable novel, I should make a fool of myself, because I do not know men of fashion, and should have to draw on imagination or on books. As to yourself I would not trust you, if you attempted to describe a Common Room, or a Seminary, or the Chinese court at Pekin; but I think you capital in the sketches of persons and things which from time to time you have written to me, according to the place you have been in. It is not to the purpose whether they are correct or not, as representations of fact, (about which I can know nothing) but they are clear, consistent, and persuasive, as pictures. Not at all knowing, I should think this is what Mr Froude means. And in your *experience* of fact, I include, not only what you have seen yourself, but what you hear on good authority (as that of your Father) or what you read in books, *if* you take the books *as* facts, not as informants — thus the *language* of a book of a certain date is a fact, and you rely, not on its *evidence* or testimony, but on what is before your eyes. I heartily wish you would set about a series of stories; but I don't think you would comfortably write a *long* one — you would have so many interruptions.

As to the University Question, what I said, though simply what I hold, is only *one side* of it. If Catholic youths are sent to Oxford *without Catholic superintendence* there would be a risk for them, not greater indeed than in London, but a risk I should not like to be responsible for. This has made me find it so difficult to make up my mind on the question, and I never have professed a clear opinion. *When our Bishop gave me the Mission* of Oxford, I thought the difficulty in great measure removed, because I thought the Oratory at Oxford could *cope* with the difficulty. I should say so, if the *Jesuits* were there, also; or if *any* strong body of priests. At present the chance is that the Oratory will be *prevented* going there, and the young men *not*! Indeed, I hear from Rome that the difficulty felt among some influential persons, is *not*

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because *youths* go, but because *I* was going. They wish to keep me out. English converts, I believe, are at the bottom of it. *You must not tell this*, but you *may* say, that, *provided* there was a strong ecclesiastical (Catholic) establishment at Oxford, I should not fear youths going there.¹

Yours affly J H N

FRIDAY 10 FEBRUARY 1865 Sibthorp came²

TO E. B. PUSEY

The Oy Bm Febr'y 10/65

My dear Pusey

I am very glad to have got rid of the land, and thank you very much for your zeal in my behalf.³

For myself, I never thought to do more than to buy a fair sized plot of ground (when the 5 acres were offered me) for a College or Oratory at some future day; but to my surprise my Bishop wished me to undertake the mission of Oxford, and, when (in consequence of Mr A. Smith's death) it became a question of buying all or none, my friends here would not let me hesitate as to the alternative.

Then came, on the news of these steps, to my surprise the Episcopal meeting in December, gained by Manning, Ward and others acting on the Cardinal, and through him on Propaganda; and now a strong Address is on the point of being presented to Propaganda by an important body of Laity, indignant at their disappointment. In spite of the great influence of the Cardinal's entourage (the poor Cardinal is dying every day, and there is a great idea that Manning will succeed him, which I can't believe) they have got at least 150 names, most of them good names, such as Weld Blundell, Sir J. Gerard, Towneley, Throckmorton, Charlton, Scrope, Blount, Eyston, Cary,

¹ In a letter of 23 Jan. to St John (preserved in a copy), Bellasis wrote from Rome, 'Wherever I go I hear Manning's name as the prime mover in the proposal to interfere . . . and I can see plain enough that he is in great estimation, and I was told yesterday by a Monsignor that his frequent visits to Rome and the great attention he pays to all those in authority have given him great influence.'

. . . I am half afraid to say what I am going to say, but my impression is that there is some one or other who is more interested in preventing the Father [Newman] from going to Oxford than in preventing the young men.'

On 28 Jan. Bellasis wrote again from Rome to St John, 'Manning is not yet arrived. I find his article in the Dublin some time back was translated into Italian, probably for circulation here.' i.e. 'The Work and Wants of the Catholic Church in England,' *DR* (July 1863), against Catholics being allowed to go to the Universities.

² On 25 Feb. Sibthorp wrote to Bloxam that after arrival, 'Dr. Newman came, and most kindly and heartily welcomed me. He is looking well — decidedly so, though thin and showing progress of years; but less than I had expected. The photographs do not at all do him justice.' J. Fowler, *Richard Waldo Sibthorp*, London 1880, p. 169.

³ Pusey wrote on 9 Feb. that Convocation had agreed to purchase Newman's land at Oxford for £9000.

de Trafford, de Lisle, and Howard of Corby, and the Master of Lovat. A great number of gentlemen keep aloof, as not liking to commit themselves; but very few are distinctly hostile to the object.

For myself, of course, they rely on my still going to Oxford, but I don't think it will come to pass. The truth is, since the year 1855, influential converts have spread unfavourable reports about me at Rome;¹ and I am told at this very time, that there would not be this unwillingness there to allow young Catholics to go to Oxford, if I were not mixed up in the plan. My own Bishop, and other Bishops, are doing what they can to set this right; but of course I, for my part, should take higher ground, if I were asked again, than I have hitherto taken; nor shall I deem it consistent with my duty or my sense of propriety to go to Oxford without the express and direct sanction of Propaganda, and this I don't think there is a chance of my receiving²

Ever Yours affectly John H Newman

The Revd Dr Pusey

P.S. I am puzzled to guess how Neate could have brought in *religion*, unless he said that you were buying me out, which you expressly said you were not doing, and would have been able to tell him.³

TO SIR JOHN SIMEON

The Oratory Bm Feby 10/65

My dear Sir John,

From a letter we have had from Bellasis, I understand this, viz that what is decided does not interfere with fresh applications from England, e.g. from the gentlemen who are about to memorialize. Of course there are those who urge Propaganda with the plea, 'delays are dangerous' and they have so far succeeded as to advance the matter one stage in their own favour — but still the question is open.

What I anticipate to be decided is this, — that 'there will be no prohibition, but a dehoration on the part (not of Rome, but) of our Bishops.' Taking such a decision, as an hypothesis, it is clear how little it commits Propaganda — for, not only may a dehoration be weak or strong, not only may it be left to each bishop, to make it the one or the other according to his own view, but it

¹ See note to diary for 28 Dec. 1855, Volume XVII, p. 103.

² Pusey replied, 'It is a strange lot, but a great token of God's love, that you should be hidden and misunderstood now, as you were when here.'

³ Pusey wrote that the motion to purchase Newman's land was carried by 85 votes to 6, and added 'Neate was happily in the House of Commons, else he meant to have brought in the religious aspect of the question.' Charles Neate (1806–79), Fellow of Oriel from 1828 until he died, was Member of Parliament for the City of Oxford, 1857 and 1863–8.

Pusey replied that Neate appeared to have 'some notion that the laity were misused, and that the University had no business to be a party to buy land, which, although the Clergy objected to it the laity wished to make use of'

admits of being suspended. The lay Memorial may have the effect of eliciting a second direction from Propaganda to 'defer action for the present' — and at length it may be deferred ad Græcas calendas.

It is to be considered too whether the hypothesis I have made will not account for such variations, as you say are reported about the Bishops' statements as to their proceedings and conclusions at the late Meeting.¹ I don't think many of them have any strong view themselves — and, as where men hold contrary views strongly, they colour very variously their report of one and the same fact, so, when they have not, they may, as is obvious, vary about and be inconsistent with themselves in their own account of it, from not having a firm hold of what they have done and are saying. However, I do not know to what you allude.

It must be considered that a great point has been gained by the Memorial, even though at the moment it shall turn out to fail in its object. 1. It lays the *foundation* of a success which, in one shape or other, *must come* eventually. 2. it is a first step towards Catholic gentlemen acting together. I wish there was a chance of its issuing in a weekly Newspaper, such as the Saturday Review.

I believe Monsell is as eager as any one for the success of the Memorial — but is nervous about the mode of doing it and the chance of failure

Very sincerely Yours John H Newman

TO BISHOP ULLATHORNE

The Oratory, Bm Feby 10/65

My dear Lord

I return the two letters with many thanks.²

Did you not say something of your having had an Exposition in the Cathedral on the subject of the Cardinal's health? If so, may we have one for 12 hours next Sunday? I have no special wish myself on the subject; only I should be sorry to do less than I ought. For myself, I have for several days been saying Mass for the Cardinal.

This morning I have received the news that I have succeeded in selling the Oxford land to the University. I expect to gain by the transaction, though not to the extent which the report in the Times states.³ I found I could not sell a portion of it, except at a considerable loss; — this is what our Surveyor had told us from the first. I had first offered the University a portion of it, but they would not take it.

The land being sold, I believe your Lordship considers the arrangement

¹ Simeon wrote on 10 Feb. that English bishops appeared to give very varying accounts of what they had decided at their meeting on 13 Dec. 1864.

² One of these was an account of Wiseman's illness, which Ullathorne sent on 3 Feb. and the other most probably a similar letter a few days later.

³ *The Times* (10 Feb. 1865), p. 9, reported that the Oxford site would probably be purchased by the University.

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for the Oratory to take the Oxford Mission as at an end. I certainly so consider myself. I have no wish to submit a second time to the inconvenience of Propaganda suddenly interfering with your Lordship's act in your own Diocese in our behalf, and of risking 1000s of pounds.¹

Begging your Lordship's blessing I am, Yr affte friend & Servt in Xt

John H Newman of the Oratory

The Rt Revd The Bp of Birmingham

TO T. F. WETHERELL

The Oratory Bm Febr 10/65

My dear Wetherell,

I inclose an envelope not a letter which I should be much obliged by your giving to Father Rossi of the Chiesa Nuova. Thus it will escape, I hope Dogana and Police.²

Your Statement is very good indeed, and I have nothing to remark upon it.³

1. Bellasis *seemed* to say to us, that, though the Pope *had* approved of the Decision of Propaganda, the Lay Memorial might be presented.

2. Be on your guard against Manning's getting any thing out of you. He is a desperate hand at pumping And avoid all confidential and candid talks with him. And have no confidants, except such as Manning cannot pump.⁴

3. I doubt the prudence of the allusion to myself at the end of your Statement.⁵ Not the least argument at Rome against the Oxford scheme is that

¹ Ullathorne replied on 11 Feb., 'Of course you do not mean that there was any actual or definite interference with the plan from Rome or elsewhere.'

² Wetherell wrote on 9 Feb. that the meeting of laymen the previous day had decided on 'a presentation of the memorial under all circumstances short of the actual *promulgation* of the Pope's decision beforehand. Even then the memorial would be sent to Propaganda for its *information*.' He was to go to Rome and find Bellasis or someone else to act for the laymen.

Newman gave Wetherell a message for Carlo Rossi, who had been novice master of the English Oratorians there in 1847, and was now Superior of the Roman Oratory.

³ This was an outline, drawn up by Wetherell, of the course of argument to be put before Propaganda. It was printed on pp. 13-18 of the private pamphlet *A Statement of Facts connected with the Memorial recently presented, by certain Laymen, to the Sacred Congregation of Propaganda, relative to the Education of Catholics at the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge*, London, 29 June 1865.

⁴ See Ullathorne's remark at the end of Newman's Memorandum of 19 Dec. 1864.

⁵ This passage ran: 'The memorialists believe that in order to apply adequately those safeguards which the Church has in her possession for the protection of the faith and morals of Catholic students at Oxford, it is necessary that there should be a strong Catholic mission there. They understand that before the present difficulty arose the Bishop of the Diocese had made the most completely satisfactory provision on this point which it is possible to imagine; and they presume that should the Sacred Congregation allow that difficulty to pass away, the arrangements contemplated would be carried out. Should this be the case, the status of Catholicism at Oxford would be secured and Catholic students could at any moment obtain advice and spiritual direction grounded on the most intimate acquaintance with the facts and bearings of their position.'

Some stylistic changes were later made in this paragraph, but it was not otherwise altered nor was it weakened.

I am connected with it. The paragraph might be worded vaguely. Moreover, *I* would not subject myself to being so rudely pulled up a second time — and would not have any thing to do with Oxford without the *direct sanction* of Propaganda, which I don't expect ever to get.

4. Submitting to the judgment of others, I doubt if French is not a better language than Italian to use with the Pope and Propaganda as being so perspicuous; I mean for your *Statement*.

5. I have succeeded in selling the land to the University, and well. I first offered them only a part of it — but in vain. Nor could I elsewhere get an offer for a part only. This corresponded with what the Surveyor said from the first. It was, he said, worth far more as a whole, than as in parts. It has been an anxious matter — and I won't risk a penny again. So after Catholic gentlemen have secured their point at Propaganda, they must buy land for themselves. I shall secure a bit, but, if they want it, they will have to buy it.

Wishing and praying for your full success in your Mission, I am,

Very sincerely Yours in Xt John H Newman

T. F. Wetherell Esqr

TO JOHN B. SPEARING

The Oratory Bm Feby 11. 1865

Dr Newman has to inform Mr Spearing that he has parted with the land to the University.

In consequence of what Mr Spearing had originally said to him, he felt that, unless he sold it as a whole, he should be obliged to sell it at a loss.

Soon after Mr Spearing's suggestion that he should put it up to auction, an influential member of the University made overtures to him to propose the purchase of the whole to the University. He accepted the offer, and yesterday morning he received intelligence that Convocation had decided on buying it.

He feels much obliged by the zeal and ability which Mr Spearing has shown in his behalf, and he wishes him to be so good as to send him the account of what he is indebted to him for his services.¹

Mr Spearing. St Giles's

MONDAY 13 FEBRUARY 1865 Sibthorp went Lady Londonderry called with Fr Eyre.²

¹ Newman sent fifteen guineas:—

'The Oratory Bm Feby 15/65.

Dr Newman incloses a cheque for the amount of Mr Spearing's account, received this morning — and will be glad of a receipt'

² William Neville made a memorandum at the Oratory on 17 Feb., 'Fr Eyre thinks it necessary to apologise to him in consequence of Manning being very much against him (Dr N.) Saying he hopes Dr N will not consider him (Fr E) in any way implicated in Manning's hostility, for that he (Fr E) is only theological censor of the Dublin has no influence over it no power of his own to hinder any-thing being said but merely to say whether any-thing that touches upon theology can or cannot be said.'

William Eyre was one of the leading Jesuits at Farm Street, and received many converts.

TO AMBROSE PHILLIPPS DE LISLE

The Oratory, Bm Feby 13, 1865

My dear Mr de Lisle

I have never forgotten that I owed you a letter of thanks for your most kind and welcome letter of September 22, for which I felt very grateful,¹ but at that time I thought I should have soon to write to you on the subject of our Oxford plan, then getting into shape — but, scarcely was I prepared to enter upon it, when the opposition to it commenced, which has ended in my selling the land which I had bought. I could not do otherwise. It was impossible I should provide between £8000 and £9000 myself — and, though I made the attempt I had (naturally) no encouragement that I could raise it from the Catholic public. For some months I have been trying to sell a portion, and keep a portion — but without any success. Moreover, from the peculiarities of the site, I found quite true what our Surveyor told us from the first, that, unless I sold it as a whole, I must lose considerably by it; that is if I sold it in lots, I should lose £1000. I had offered the University a part of it, but it would not buy. Then a member of the Oxford Council said to me that the University would take the *whole*. Such offers do not come every day. I was not likely to have such an offer again; the University, I believe, would not have offered it me six months later. It was now or never. Looking then at the state of things at Rome, considering too the little success I had had in my attempts to raise the money from Catholic gentlemen in the course of six months, only one course was open to me — and it is to me personally a great relief that I have got it off my hands.

I feel quite as you do on the Oxford question and the other questions you introduce, but it is one's duty to submit.² For myself, I did not see my way to belong to the Union Association — but I think its members have been treated cruelly. As to the Encyclical, without looking at it doctrinally, it is but stating a *fact* to say that it is a heavy blow and a great discouragement to us in England. There must be a re-action sooner or later — and we must pray God to bring it about in His good time — and meanwhile to give us patience.

I have above spoken only of the money question as regards Oxford, but I will add, (if you please, in strict confidence) that I have reason to believe that

¹ This was de Lisle's letter of thanks for Newman's letter of 18 Sept. De Lisle spoke of Newman having been chosen for the 'greatest work that could be undertaken in this world, the reconquest of England to Catholic Unity', and he thought *Apo.* had 'done much to retrieve the lamentable blunders of others, who by their injudiciousness and narrowmindedness had greatly compromised the Catholic cause'.

² In a letter of 11 Feb., preserved in a copy, de Lisle wrote that in the plan for an Oratory at Oxford, Newman had 'been forced to yield to that imperious and inexorable despotism that crushes all free action even in defence of the Faith — the same overwhelming force has compelled me to withdraw my name from the Association for the Promotion of the Unity of Christendom . . . What the end of all this, and of the Encyclical proclaiming the duty of State Persecution at a moment when Catholicism itself lives everywhere only on the Tolerance of its opponents, will be — it is hard to say. . . .'

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there would not be that opposition at Rome to the idea of a Catholic College there, unless *I* had had to do with the plan. What offences I have committed, I do not know — but there is, I think, little doubt that there would have been no meeting of Bishops in December, unless I had bought the ground. Perhaps then my selling it may tend to the adoption of some kind of College plan at Oxford — at all events, it becomes me not to put myself forward.

With sincere thanks for your letter and every kind wish and prayer for you

I am, My dear Mr de Lisle, Sincerely Yours in Xt

John H Newman of the Oratory

A. L. P. de Lisle Esqr

TO JOHN HUNGERFORD POLLEN

The Oratory Bm Febr 13/65

My very dear Pollen

I hear you are in extreme trouble. I said Masses for you last week, with but a dim notion of the subject of it.

This morning news comes which pierces me. Please God, I shall say Mass for you and your intention to morrow morning¹

Ever Yrs affly John H Newman

P.S. William was saying Mass for you last week. I know not how many.

TO D. HANLEY

Febr 14/65

Dear Mr Hanley,

As you must know, I have sold the land to the University. I said I would take your land and houses for £2000.² This I am willing to do; — but I wish you to consider the following points, which I don't suppose will present any difficulty to you

1. My surveyor says that some repairs are necessary to the houses. (1) the stucco of the larger house is out of order. (2) the bricks on the side of the smaller house are soft and decayed, and require being made sound and then cemented over. These repairs I suppose you will consent to make, before I buy.

2. I buy the premises for an Oratory Church and House or for a College or Hall; and not necessarily for the Mission

3 It is very desirable you should keep the purchase secret, since it would

¹ Pollen's mother had just died, and his wife was gravely ill.

² This refers to the property in St Aldate's, Oxford. See letter of 3 Jan. to St John.

17 FEBRUARY 1865

be difficult to buy the adjacent property, if it were known that I was the intended purchaser. 'I suppose no one in Oxford need know it. You might consent too that the rents should be paid to you, and so over to me.'

4. I have no more money to buy land with at present. But I throw out to you whether it would be worth *your* while, with the money you get from the property that I buy of you, to buy the Corporation houses and Mr Mallam's etc etc. on the speculation of selling them some time hence to me or to my successors, priests or laymen, who may wish to increase the site necessary for an Oratory or College.¹

J H N

WEDNESDAY 15 FEBRUARY 1865 Cardinal Wiseman died

TO MARK PATTISON

The Oratory Bm Feby 17. 1865

Private

My dear Rector

Mr Drewe, a B A of Alban Hall, has become a Catholic. In consequence he has received the inclosed Letter, which, please, return.

Can you in confidence tell me whether the Principal can act thus summarily? i.e. whether he can *without reason given* of a *legal* nature, take off the name of one of his Bachelors from the books of his Hall²

Yours affectly John H Newman of the Oratory

The Revd The Rector of Lincoln

TO BISHOP ULLATHORNE

The Oratory Feby 17. 1865

My dear Lord

I thank you for your letter, and beg to offer my especial acknowledgements to your Lordship and the Bishop of Southwark, for the very kind acts in my

¹ Hanley replied on 18 Feb. approving of Newman's decision to purchase, and offering to pay him a rent of £100 a year for the adjacent properties.

² Pattison replied on 18 Feb. that the Head of a Hall was not responsible to anyone, but that an injured party could appeal to the Visitor. If a man's name was removed from the books of his Hall or College, he ceased to be a member of the University, unless he entered another Hall or College. For this, however, a certificate from the Head of the House he had left was necessary, and could be refused, with again no redress except an appeal to the Visitor. Drew does not appear to have been reinstated.

18 FEBRUARY 1865

behalf which have elicited the words which you send me from Cardinal Barnabo.¹

I feel his Eminence's condescension; and I shall account it a great favour, if when your Lordship writes to him, you will say from me that I reverently Kiss the sacred Purple, and thank him for his gracious message.²

I am, My dear Lord, Yr Lordship's affte Servt in Xt

John H Newman

The Rt Revd The Bp of Birmingham

TO J. WALKER OF SCARBOROUGH

The Oratory Bm Febr'y 18. 1865

My dear Canon Walker,

Thank you for your warning; but, tho' I have looked out for it every post, I have received no request to preach; and now of course I shall have none. Indeed, I should not have time to prepare for so great an occasion now, did the request come.³

I should not have hesitated one moment in accepting it, had it come as you expected, It would have been an arduous matter, but I should have under-

¹ Ullathorne wrote on 16 Feb., 'Along with the Circular addressed by the Sacred Congregation of Propaganda to the Bishops in common, I have received a special letter addressed to myself in which occurs the passage of which I enclose a copy. I presume it refers to the allusions which I and another Bishop made in our letters, to the trials to which we thought you had been subject, in sundry things as I have thought, without necessity.' See note to diary for 5 Feb. The extract from Barnabò's letter ran:

'Ad P. vero Newman quod spectat, cum noverim non semel illi ingratum accidisse quod suscepta ab eo consilia executioni mandari minimè potuerint, vellem equidem ut illius animum erigendum curares, quando quidem ejusdem pietas atque animarum zelus haud vocentur in dubium, ipsiusque studium Catholicae fidei promovendae dignum apud Deum praeium sit habiturum.' See also second note to letter of 21 April to St John.

Ullathorne wrote to Propaganda on 5 Jan. to explain that Newman was selling as a result of the Bishops' decision, the land intended for an Oratory, and spoke of the sacrifice he was making, in view of strong wishes of his friends that he should go to Oxford. On 13 Jan. Grant wrote at length to Barnabò, recounting Newman's trials, and adding high praise for his goodness and his orthodoxy. Grant was anxious that any prohibition concerning Oxford should not be regarded as a reflection on Newman. Archives of Propaganda, *S.R.C. Anglia*, XVII, 1864-66, ff 462-3 and 468-71.

² Ullathorne's letter to Newman continued: 'It is left to the Bishops to consider whether anything addressed to them on the University question be made publici juris or not. I can only say at present that the course adopted by the Holy See concurs with the views taken by the Episcopal body.

Manning writes that he was with Cardinal Wiseman for his three last days, that he recognized him once . . .'

For the action of the English bishops see second note to letter of 31 March to Emily Bowles.

³ Walker wrote on 14 Feb. begging Newman to preach at Wiseman's funeral, if invited. Walker wrote again on 15 Feb. saying that he had been asked from London, no doubt by the Westminster Chapter, to suggest who should preach, and had replied, Newman, Russell (of Maynooth), and Manning, in that order. 'In the meantime the Chapter was informed that, at Cardinal Wiseman's express wish, Dr. Manning was to preach the funeral oration.' *Purcell* p. 195.

Newman was not invited to the funeral. See letter of 2 March to Russell.

20 FEBRUARY 1865

taken it with all my heart. What would have tried me most, would have been the going to London in this weather

Yours very sincerely in Xt John H Newman of the Oratory
The Very Revd John Canon Walker

MONDAY 20 FEBRUARY 1865 Bellasis came, (from Rome)

FROM WILLIAM PALMER (OF WORCESTER COLLEGE)

Whitchurch Bridport February 16. 1865

My dear Newman

More than twenty years have passed since we met; and separated as we have been by circumstances which I must ever regret I know not how far that separation might have extended — but having lately seen your 'Apologia,' I feel so far assured of your unchanged feelings towards those who once had the pleasure and the privilege of co-operating with you in maintenance of objects still sacred and dear to me, that I cannot refrain from assuring you of the affectionate remembrance with which I cherish the thoughts of times long past, and not without the hope, shared by yourself, that God in His own good time and way will reunite those who have been so sadly severed. You know that I can never forget much that has passed between us.

I am grateful for what you have said of me.¹

The 'Apologia' will place your character in its true light to those who do not know you — To those who do know you, such an explanation was needless as a vindication, though deeply interesting in its details — the accuracy of which, I own, surprises me.

That every blessing and happiness may be yours in Time and Eternity is my dear Newman the fervent prayer of

Your affe & old friend Wm Palmer

Rev J. H. Newman

TO WILLIAM PALMER (OF WORCESTER COLLEGE)

Febr 20/65

My dear Palmer

I have had many pleasant letters from old friends in consequence of my recent volume, but none has been more gratifying and welcome to me than yours. It is written with the affectionate warmth of old times on which I look back with so tender though sad an interest. It is not so long since, that I was reading the letter which you wrote to me on the publication of my 'Arians.' It is one of which I have ever been proud — and when you and I are gone, it will be a record of the friendship that existed between us, and of your generous

¹ Newman wrote in *Apo.*, p. 40, 'Mr Palmer had many conditions of authority and influence. He was the only really learned man among us. . . . He was as decided in his religious views, as he was cautious and even subtle in their expression, and gentle in their enforcement. But he was deficient in depth . . .' Cf. also p. 160.

21 FEBRUARY 1865

enthusiasm towards a contemporary aspirant in literature, whom you loved.¹
Ah how time goes; tomorrow I am 64. I wish I wrote so firm a hand as you.

Ever Yrs My dear Palmer affectly J H N

TUESDAY 21 FEBRUARY 1865 Bellasis left.

TO ELEANOR BRETHERTON

The Oratory, Birmingham. February 21. 65.

My dear Child,

Thanks for your congratulations. I return my thanks in the form of postage stamps. Everything kind to Mama and the 'children' — but you are child yourself — what are you else?

Ever yours affectionately, John H. Newman of the Oratory.

TO W. J. COPELAND

The Oratory Bm Feby 21/65

My dear Copeland

Your letter has just come. I thank you for all your kindness.

Your being startled at Jeremiah, has made me refer; and I find I am out by a year.² It was written in 1830; and I think I may say that it is printed pretty much as it was originally written. I have a *direct* memorandum about it in a book which I have mislaid. My evidence for what I have said above, is this: In my Memorandum of October 1842, when the 5th Volume of Plain Sermons was published, I have put down against each set of six, the particular '*Number*' of each of the Sermons in it. Jeremiah is the third Sermon of the 5th set of six — and I have against it '3. *Number* 258.' I turn to my Memorandum book for 1830 and I read as follows — 'September 1830, Saturday 11th began Number 258. 12th Sunday, finished Number 258 — preached Number 258.'

How I came to think it written in 1829 happened, because I began a set of Sermons on the Old Testament characters, Abraham etc Balaam, Saul, David etc in 1829, and I had fancied that I *finished* it in the same year. There's a rigmarole!

As to your work, I think you must take care not to waste your life in

¹ Palmer read *The Arians of the Fourth Century* in manuscript. Cf. *Moz.* I, pp. 261 and 267, where part of Palmer's letter of 18 July 1832 is printed, 'I cannot tell you with what interest and satisfaction I look forward to a perusal of the results,' of the publication of *Ari*. This would appear to be the letter to which Newman is referring. If so the original is not to be found and it survives only in the extracts Newman copied from it.

² See letter of 23 Dec. 1864 to Copeland, who was collecting material for a history of the Oxford Movement.

collecting. You will never begin to *write*, if you don't look sharp. Write a sketch, and then *enlarge* and *perfect* it by what you get additional in the way of materials.

You will be glad to hear, that I had a most affectionate letter yesterday from Wm Palmer of Worcester, apropos of my Apologia.

As to Oxford, people, i.e. my friends, seem to think that the chance of going there is looking up. There have been strong representations made at Rome — moreover, it is thought that Catholic parents *certainly* will send their sons to Oxford, unless there were an *actual* prohibition — and *that* there certainly will not be. *Then* my friends think that I shall be needed for Oxford, whoever there be does not wish it. But I suspect I shall be very stiff myself on the point. I am well out of a most delicate job — and it is not a light pressure which would involve me again.

I half expected, from a hint I had, that I should be called to London just at this time, to preach the poor Cardinal's Sermon — but I have not been asked. What was my letter to Pusey in February or January 1836 about? that Keble would perhaps be Professor?¹ I rejoice at what you tell me about him

Ever Yrs affly John H Newman

WEDNESDAY 22 FEBRUARY 1865 The snow which had been much and deep for a month suddenly went²

THURSDAY 23 FEBRUARY The Cardinal's funeral

FRIDAY 24 FEBRUARY Fr Gallwey came

SATURDAY 25 FEBRUARY Fr Gallwey went. Lord C. Thynne at the Plough and Harrow

TO T. W. ALLIES

Feb. 26/65.

My dear Allies

I am very glad to see your book and thank you for it. It is the beginning and first instalment of an important work, which I hope I shall live to see you finish.³

With it came the inclosed letter from Dr Dunne. I wrote to him about the

¹ Copeland asked on 20 Feb., 'I wonder whether you remember a letter you wrote to Pusey in January 1836 — when he was downhearted at Burton's death and before the appointment of Hampden [as Regius Professor of Divinity at Oxford]. I have been much struck by it.' This is evidently the letter of 24 Jan. 1836, partly printed in Liddon's *Pusey*, I, pp. 368–9, in which Newman urged that 'as error is brought out . . . the good will be propagated by the agitation.' Cf. also *Moz*, II, pp. 160–2.

² On this day Newman made a long entry in his Journal about the change in his position in the course of two years. *A.W.*, pp. 260–3.

³ On 24 Feb. Allies sent his *The Formation of Christendom*, Part First, London 1865.

time that I last wrote to you, as I said I should.¹ I cannot make out clearly from it, whether O'Hagan had already sounded him on the subject of your Lectures, but you will see how grudging or timid Dr Woodlock's tone is. I said nothing about your receiving any *pay*. What I said was that you have shown me portions of a work you were publishing on and within the subject-matter of your Professorship — that I had urged you, for the sake of the University, to read it in Dublin, as Professor, and that you had said you did not like the expense of going over. Somehow he seems to have thought that my name was not to be mentioned, and hence the awkward effect, which I wrote especially to avoid, as if the inquiry came from you. Still it is not very unnatural, when you had written a Professorial work, that you should wish to deliver it from your chair.²

Dr Dunne adds, you will see, some University news.³

Ever yours affectly in Xt John H Newman of the Oratory

P.S. I had a very kind letter from M. Abbé yesterday. He has been unwell.⁴

TO PETER GALLWEY

Febry 26. 1865.⁵

My dear Fr Gallwey,

In answer to your question whether there is an opening for a Catholic periodical, say a Monthly Magazine or again a want of one, I would first of all say, that, as to whether there is a call for one, you, as seeing so many persons, have much more ample means of answering the question than any one else. In such matters supply must go before and create the demand — and such supply as your Society can furnish, considering the number of your able and learned men in the English and Irish provinces, must, I think, create the demand, considering the work will be carried on with the discretion and tact which everyone admires in the Society of Jesus.

Putting aside this part of the subject then, I would rather speak of the need of such a publication. Here I would say that as secular power, rank and wealth are great human means of promoting Catholicism, so especially in this democratic age is intellect. Without dreaming of denying the influence of the

¹ See letter of 29 Jan. 1865 to Allies. Dunne wrote on 24 Feb. that Woodlock was worried about the expense of inviting Allies to lecture at the Catholic University, and talked of waiting until the finance meeting of the Episcopal Board in May. Already on 27 Nov. 1864 Newman had asked O'Hagan to make inquiries.

² See letter of 9 March to Allies.

³ Dunne sighed for a revival of Newman's St Mary's House in Dublin, 'any Irishman, familiar with old times, could not desire greater good for our University than to see a house filled with some 18 or 20 youths like the men of St Mary's in 1855-7.'

⁴ This was Pierre Labbé, the French priest friend of Allies.

⁵ There is neither an address nor a formal conclusion to this letter. See first note to letter of 8 May to Coleridge.

three first named instruments of success, still I think the influence arising from repute for ability and cultivation of mind, in this age, is greater than any one of them. The Catholic body in England is despised by Protestants from their (unjust) idea of our deficiency in education, and in that power which education gives of bringing out and bringing to bear natural talent, which Catholics have as others. They have an idea that few Catholics can think justly or express themselves suitably. A first rate journal then, of which the staple was science, art, literature, politics etc would be worth more to the Catholic cause, than half a dozen noblemen, or even than a millionaire. [sic]

Next, I think that Protestants are accustomed to look on Catholics as an un-English body, taking no interest in English questions, and indeed not being able to do so, useless and hostile to the nation, and the mere instruments of a foreign power. A magazine then which, without effort or pretence, in a natural way, took part in all the questions of the day, not hiding that it was Catholic to the back-bone, but showing a real good will towards the institutions of the country, so far forth as they did not oppose Catholic truths or interests, showing that it understood them and could sympathize with them, and showing all this in the medium of good English, would create in the public mind a feeling of respect and deference for the opinion of the Catholic body which at present does not exist.

3. As to the direct inculcation of Catholic truth, as such, in such a periodical, I should dread its effect. I conceive the Magazine would be useless (for those purposes which alone I contemplate) if once it came to be generally considered as an 'Ultramontane organ.' It seems to me that what is to be aimed at, is to lay a Catholic *foundation* of thought — and *no* foundation is above ground. And next, to lay it with Protestant bricks: I mean to use as far as possible, Protestant parties and schools in doing so, as St Paul at Athens appealed to the Altar of 'the Unknown God.'

4. Then as to the good such a magazine would do to Catholic readers, I should consider it to consist in making them what it is itself, in creating in them that enlargement and refinement of mind, that innocent and religious sympathy in national objects, that faculty of intercourse with Protestants, and that power of aiding them in lawful temporal objects, which would ultimately be a means, more than any human means, of bringing converts to the Church from all classes of the community.

J.H.N.

MONDAY 27 FEBRUARY 1865 cold and snow came on again

I MARCH 1865

TO EDMUND S. FFOULKES

The Oratory Bm March 1. 1865

My dear Mr Ffoulkes,

I thank you for your Advertisement of the work which you are about to publish, which I shall read with much interest.¹

The Cardinal has done a great work and has gone to his reward. Alas! that his last act has been to extinguish a hope of a great future and an opening for a wide field of religious action. I could not keep the land on my hands longer without incurring the risk of never selling it, except at a great loss. And the meeting of Bishops of December 13 and the consequent reference of the matter to Propaganda paralyzed all action, so that no one would offer to take the land of me. As then I did not think it right at my age to have such large liabilities upon me, I sold the ground to the University, which I could. It will not be difficult to get land again, if wanted; but never such a piece.

It seems as if things would be worse before they are better; but there must be a re-action, whether in my day or afterwards

Very sincerely yours in Xt John H Newman of the Oratory
E S Ffoulkes Esqr

TO WILLIAM E. WILCOX

The Oratory Birmingham March 1. 1865

Dear Sir

Mr Ransford² was received into the Catholic Church about four years ago in London.

He was a Master in our School here for about a year.

Then he went to Oscott, where he is now. He is employed, there also, in Tuition, and either is, or is to be, in Holy Orders.

His direction is 'St Mary's College, Oscott, Birmingham.'

I am, Dear Sir Yours faithfully John H Newman
William E Wilcox Esqr

P.S. If a letter came here for him, it certainly was forwarded to Oscott.

¹ This was evidently *Christendom's Divisions: being a philosophical sketch of the divisions of the Christian family in East and West*, two parts, London 1865-7.

² The name has been erased, but can be guessed.

2 MARCH 1865

TO MRS WILLIAM FROUDE

The Oratory Bm March 2/65

My dear Mrs Froude

I hoped to have thanked you for your letters before now, so kind to me, and so anxious as regards Eddie.¹ I had looked with great suspicion at the weather, though I knew it would be better with you than here — but I was not prepared to think it would have affected him so much. It is too late now for me to speak as regards his *journey* — but Serjeant Bellasis, who was here a few days ago, on his return from Rome, speaks more strongly of the dampness of his sheets, wherever he found himself. Abroad, they only dry in the open air, so that in winter there is always extreme danger. It would be as well that you gave Isy a hint on the subject. Bellasis said that their pretence of a warming pan in the shape of an arm chair, does not answer. He actually took an English warming pan with him — and when the sheets steamed visibly, as they did, he took them off and put them before the fire. Of course, when your children are returning, the weather will be dry; but still at Mentone care may be required just now.

I trust the bad weather must have gone in that latitude even now. I am saying Mass for Eddie once a week. What makes me most down hearted, is, that he is so very good. Yet can I wish him not very good? How lonely you must have been in the house on the 21st!

Thank you for your affectionate wishes for me. My remaining so long here proves that *I* am not very good — for what but this keeps me? It is not as if I were doing any great work. I am doing next to nothing, though I feel I could do much. The Cardinal has done a great work — alas! I wish he had not done his last act — he lived just long enough to put an extinguisher on the Oxford scheme — quite inconsistently too with what he had wished and said in former years²

God bless you and support in all anxieties and sorrows.

Ever Yrs affly in Xt John H. Newman of the Oratory

Mrs Froude

TO CHARLES RUSSELL

The Oratory Bm March 2/65

My dear Dr Russell,

It is very kind of you to have proposed calling here — and I should have rejoiced to see you — but, as you don't mean to forget your purpose, it is

¹ Mrs Froude wrote on 21 Feb. that her son Robert Edmund had left Devon that day, with his sister Isy, to stay at Mentone. It was feared that he had the consumptive weakness of his family.

² R. E. Froude, who was responsible for the copying of this letter, made a note that a passage was being omitted at this point.

pleasant to consider that your visit now will be made in a more genial time of the year.

The Cardinal has done a great work — and I think has finished it. It is not often this can be said of a man. Personally I have not much to thank him for, since I was a Catholic. He always meant kindly, but his impulses, kind as they were, were evanescent, and he was naturally influenced by those who got around him and occupied his ear. In passing through London last St Charles's day, quite providentially (for I call it so) I called on him. He was then very ill — but he saw me for a ten minutes.¹ I have not seen him above 6 or 7 times in the last 13 years. It was considerate in the parties, whoever they were, concerned in his funeral arrangements, that I was not asked to attend. I really should not have been able without risk, yet it would have been painful to refuse. What a wonderful fact is the reception given to his funeral by the Population of London! And the Newspapers remark that the son of that Lord Campbell, who talked of trampling on his Cardinal's Hat 14 years ago, was present at the Requiem Mass.²

I have not forgotten that I have to send back to you the letters which you so kindly lent me. I have kept them to consult once more for my second edition — which will soon be out.³

I am, My dear Dr Russell, Ever affectionately Yours in Xt

John H Newman of the Oratory

The Very Revd Dr Russell

TO SIR JUSTIN SHEIL

The Oratory Birmingham March 2. 1865

My dear Sir Justin

In reply to your Communication, (for it is not a letter,) of this morning. I beg to inform you that I answered your letter of a month back in the best possible way, viz *by acting upon* it. Once, twice, thrice I spoke about your Son's writing, to the Masters concerned, and *ordered* that he should have additional lessons in penmanship. *That* is the best way of answering a letter, which was simply a direction given to me. On board a vessel the man on the cross gallery, (I forget what it is called) is answered, word for word, by the man at the helm — but *I* don't mean to do the like, because I can't. As it is, I am overwhelmed with correspondence — not an evening passes without my sending a lot of letters — sometimes they mount up to a dozen. If I had to

¹ See letter of 5 Nov. 1864 to St John.

² According to the *Tablet* (4 March 1865), p. 140, the second Lord Campbell was among those at Wiseman's funeral. Lord Campbell's speech was made at the Lord Mayor's banquet in Nov. 1850. He was also the judge in the Achilli Trial.

³ See letters of 3 May and 24 June 1864 to Russell.

3 MARCH 1865

answer all the questions, (*not* questions, but mere *directions*) which sixty or seventy parents sent me day by day, where should I be? It is quite enough that I should attend to their suggestions — and I don't mean to do more.

I don't know *when* your son told you that his writing lessons had not begun — but, if you knew enough about the conduct of a School, you would understand that the directions of 60 or 70 parents cannot be carried out at once, and all at once, as a footman answers his master's bell.

I hope you will be more merciful in future, and am,

My dear Sir Justin, Faithfully Yours John H Newman

Sir Justin Shiel K C B

P.S. Fr St John, *in my presence* gave the writing master the directions about your son's lessons.

TO JOHN EDWARD BOWDEN

The Oratory Bm March 3/65

My Dear John

I have written to your friend to say that I shall be glad of his proposed visit.¹

I am publishing a second edition of my *Apologia*. Would you and your Mother wish that I should still speak of your dear Father without his name, or that I should insert it?²

Charles, I trust, has got out of his disagreeable business. I have said various Masses for him³

Ever Yours affly John H Newman

The Revd Fr J. Bowden

TO W. J. COPELAND

The Oratory Bm March 3/65

My dear Copeland

I much desire to see you — but take care what you are doing. The week after next our Bishop makes his formal visitation to this Church — and, if you don't look sharp, he may absorb you. Let me know your day definitely⁴

Ever Yrs affly John H Newman

¹ See diary for 14 March.

² Bowden replied on 5 March that he had spoken to his mother, and she preferred that J. W. Bowden's name should not be inserted where his death is mentioned, *Apo.* pp. 225–7.

³ During the first part of 1865 the newspapers contained frequent reports of the case of Eliza McDermott, a girl of sixteen, who had been seduced, and had taken refuge in a home conducted by nuns, on the advice of Charles Bowden. Her mother accused him of abduction. One London magistrate sent the girl back to the home, and another said that Charles Bowden had nothing to do with the case. It was raised in the House of Commons on 3 March, in support of a motion for the appointment of a select committee to enquire into convents, which was rejected.

⁴ Copeland replied on 6 March, postponing his visit, and adding, 'I have a natural horror of being absorbed.'

7 MARCH 1865

SATURDAY 4 MARCH 1865 Hurrell Froude came

SUNDAY 5 MARCH Wingfield and his wife called

MONDAY 6 MARCH Hurrell Froude went

TO SIR JUSTIN SHEIL

The Oratory, Bm March 7, 1865

My dear Sir Justin,

Thank you for your very kind letter. I don't at all wonder at your being anxious about your boy's penmanship. We too have been anxious about it for some time. A year ago we had an extra writing master for some backward boys, and yours was one of them. And then, I must say, we found him *shirk*, and, as the time set apart was the play time, of course he had opportunities of getting out of the way, and often had excuses which a boy finds it easier to frame than a master to expose and refute.

Since then, he has become a better boy — and has really worked — but now we have found that to send him back to his writing lessons is to take him from Latin and other subjects of study. In truth he has lost the time, in which he ought to have improved in writing, and it can only be made up in play hours. But, naturally, work in play hours is unpopular with masters as well as boys. This is why we had an extra master — but we found him so serious an expense, that we could not keep him on for the sake of a few boys.

The present delay in his writing lessons is thus accounted for. It was most difficult to know whether to give up other lectures or to have him write in play time — or how to manage it. There was forgetfulness on no hand — and, as I make out the dates, his lessons in writing had begun before you wrote

Very truly Yours John H Newman

Sir Justin Shiel, K B C [sic]

THURSDAY 9 MARCH 1865 Monsell came

TO T. W. ALLIES

The Oratory Birmingham March 9. 1865

My dear Allies

I return Dr W.'s letter.¹ The truth is, I suppose, that they have no view what to do, — that they are spending a great deal of money and have many

¹ Cf. letter of 26 Feb. to Allies, who sent Newman on 2 March a letter from Woodlock. Allies commented, 'Dr Woodlock's regret that he did not hear of the question as to my delivering the lectures combined with the non-expression of his wish that I should deliver any future ones is touching.'

13 MARCH 1865

misgivings whether any thing does or will come of the expenditure. And thus they are indisposed towards any proposal of any kind.

Ever yours affectly John H Newman

SATURDAY 11 MARCH 1865 Monsell went

SUNDAY 12 MARCH Bishop's visitation began Mass coram episcopo

MONDAY 13 MARCH Bishop's visitation ended at night — He preached at 7½ and gave Benediction

TO JOHN SPARROW

The Oratory Birmingham March 13 1865

My dear Sir

I have heard with great concern of the affliction with which the good Hand of God has visited you.¹ It is not however to intrude upon you any expression of my regret that I write to you at such a moment — but to say that I hope, please God, to say Mass for the repose of her soul on Wednesday next. Fathers St John and Bittleston have already said Mass with the same intention.

Yours very truly in Xt John H. Newman of the Oratory
J. Sparrow Esqr.

TUESDAY 14 MARCH 1865 Mr Harrison came² sleet, snow — and more in London

WEDNESDAY 15 MARCH Stanislas took leave as going today for Ireland for good³ two Oxford men to dinner

THURSDAY 16 MARCH Mr Harrison went?

TO GEORGE BERNARD SMITH

The Oratory, Birmingham March 17. 1865.

Dear Mr Smith

Messrs Allcock and Milward have sent me a copy of a letter which Mr Hazel has addressed to them, to the effect that, as I have sold the 5 acres at a

¹ A married daughter of Sparrow had just died.

² W. J. R. Harrison, a friend of J. E. Bowden, came to talk over his vocation to the priesthood, at a time of great trial to himself. A year later he wrote from Bath to say that he was about to marry, and to thank Newman for his kindness at a difficult moment.

³ Through the influence of Lord Dunraven he became parish priest of Adare.

19 MARCH 1865

greater price than that for which I bought it of your Father's representatives, it is but fair that part of the profit should be made over to them, though they have no legal claim to it.¹

I do not wonder at their making this representation, and I assure you I would listen to it at once, supposing as Mr Hazel thinks, I was going to appropriate the profit to myself; but I have no such intention.

In fact, I do not mean to take one penny of it to myself. Your Father's purpose shall be carried out to the letter. He wished it, as Mr Hazel says, to be used for Catholic purposes, and for Catholic purposes, and no private purpose of my own, it shall be used. I will spend the whole of it for those Catholic purposes in Oxford, which your Father had in view when he bought the land, and when he came to me about it, and when I bought it. Every now and then land is purchasable in Oxford. You lately apprised us of a small property in St Giles's. We should have bought it if it had been large enough. Some where or other in Oxford I will lay the money out in land, and that for an Oratory Church or other ecclesiastical purpose; though at present, as you know, there are great obstacles, not of my making, to the carrying out of such a purpose.

I hope and think this will satisfy you and am, My dear Mr Smith,

Very truly Yours, John H Newman²

G. B. Smith Esqre.

TO MARY JOSEPHINE PORTER

March 19. 1865

Copy

My dear Madam

You seem to ask me in your most kind letter, whether, during the twenty years for which I have been a Catholic, I have been duly mindful of the strong impression which I had upon my mind in 1833 that Almighty God had a work for me in England, that work of course being, as the event shows, the conversion of Protestants.³

¹ Edward Hazel, the solicitor of the Smith family at Oxford, argued that the five acre site Newman had bought, could have been sold more profitably by Ambrose Smith, if he had not reserved it for Catholic purposes.

² See letter of 23 March to Smith.

³ Mary Josephine Porter wrote on 16 March from Stoke Newington, saying she had 'neither name, position, talent, or any thing to excuse the liberty'. She had been struck by Newman's remark, in *Apo.* p. 34, that he had a work to do in England. 'You little know, dear Father, the wonderful hold you still have on the affections and sympathies of those whom you once led . . . and not only they but their descendants also . . . would be right glad to follow your bidding even from the enemy's camp if only you gave them the order of march! Why do I think this? Because I look upon it as a sort of miracle, that after you have been (virtually) *dead and buried* for twenty years, you have but to arise and shake yourself like Samson of old in order to find that you are strong as ever . . . and . . . to find that you are as *tenderly beloved*, and as *eagerly*

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Now, if there is one idea more than another, one prayer more than another, which I have had continually in my mind, one object more than another for which I have ever said Mass, it has had reference to this work; but then, as you know well, a Catholic cannot expect to be prospered in any line of action which is not done under obedience.

Since I have been a Catholic, I have ever wished to follow the call of God, and considered that He calls us through those whom He puts over us. I have ever looked out for his call according [to] my words in the *Lyra Apostolica* written more than 30 years ago.

‘hush then, and seek
With thoughts in prayer and watchful eyes
My seasons sent for thee to speak,
And use them, as they rise.’¹

When Dr Wiseman the Vicar Apostolic in whose district Oxford lay, called me to Oscott on my conversion, I gave up Littlemore and went. When he sent me to Rome, I went. When he placed me in Birmingham, I obeyed him. Some years afterwards, when the Holy Father wished me to bring into existence the Catholic University of Ireland, I did that work diligently. Later still, when the Synod of Oscott, placed in my hands the charge of making a new translation of Scripture, I undertook it without a word.

Last summer my Bishop gave me the Mission of Oxford, and I complied with his wish at once, and began without any delay to buy ground and collect subscriptions for a Church there. There was no work which could promise better than this for the fulfilment of that object to which you would call me; but the will of Providence was otherwise. The plan was stopped by persons who did not wish it done, if I was to be the doer of it.

I am old now; but, did Providence open a way for any important work, which I felt I could prudently pursue, I hope I should not shrink from it. Begging your good prayers for me,

I am Very truly Yrs John H Newman

Mrs Porter
Miss Porter

TO FANNY MARGARET TAYLOR

March 19/65

My dear Miss Taylor

I have not forgotten the ‘Sayings’ — and have made an effort to prepare

looked up to as a champion as you were in the days of your greatest popularity! Is this the natural course of events? surely no . . . Then why is the case reversed in your regard alone, except on the hypothesis that ‘you have a work to do in England’.

¹ *Lyra Apostolica* LXXIV, Vv., p. 87, ‘A Word in Season,’ last verse.

19 MARCH 1865

them — but I am hard at the 2nd Edition of my *Apologia*, and therefore had better beg off this month¹

Very truly Yrs John H Newman

Miss Taylor

TO AN UNKNOWN CORRESPONDENT²

March 19. 1865

My dear Sir,

I would gladly say any thing in my power which was calculated to allay the anxieties which you feel; but to do so properly would be (as you yourself anticipate) to write a volume, and, in the part of my *Apologia* to which you refer, I have given reasons why, having often thought of doing so, I have considered after all it prudent to put the thought aside.³

Thus much I will say on your question, hoping you will excuse me for not saying more: 1. viz. that the sense of Scripture does not lie *in the bare letter*, but is that sense which the Sacred writer of each passage *intended* to be the sense. Thus it is that St Stephen 'fell asleep;' now this must not be interpreted in the letter, but in the sense which St Luke meant when he used the words; and he meant 'died,' or 'resigned his soul and body into our Lord's hands.' And so, when our Lord bids us 'hate' our parents, we have to ask His *sense*, and are not at liberty to put our own sense upon it. And so, when upon our Lord's ascension we are told that 'two *men* stood by the Apostles in white garments,' the question is what did St Luke mean to express by the word 'men'? And when we are told that 'a star appeared to the Wise men,' it has to be determined whether by a star St Matthew meant a real star or a meteor. And when he says that at the passion there was darkness 'over the universal earth,' we have to determine whether by this expression he meant the whole globe or Judea only.

2. Now to answer this question 'What did the sacred writers mean?' the answer always is they meant *that*, which the Church says that they meant.

3. Holy Church has not been divinely prompted to put forth a *general* comment on the *whole* of Scripture. This, I say, she has *not* done, though she has the gift enabling her to do it.

4. What she *has* done is this; — according to the circumstances of the time, or the emergencies of controversy, she has declared what was the sense which the sacred writers meant in *this passage* of Scripture or *that*.

¹ This refers to the '*Sayings of the Saints of the Desert*' in the Month. See second note to letter of 5 Aug. 1864 to Monsell.

² This correspondent appears to be a Catholic, and if so, it cannot be G. W. Cox, as suggested by J. Seynaeve in *Cardinal Newman's Doctrine on Holy Scripture*, p. 146.*

³ Cf. *Apo.* p. 264.

5. I repeat, though she has the gift of being able to declare the sense which in every part of Scripture was intended or was not intended by its writer, yet she has not declared it. She has only given the sense of certain portions of Scripture, and we do not know the times and seasons when she will be guided to interpret other parts. Consequently a great deal of Scripture is left more or less to the judgment of divines, which is not, strictly speaking, infallible, even when it is unanimous, or again to the private judgment of individuals.

6. And individuals in consequence, especially if they are learned and have the proper gifts of mind, have often a permission, or even a call, to interpret Scripture by their private judgment, provided they use the best lights which they can get, and ever profess themselves ready to submit all they may say in the way of interpretation to the judgment of the Church, should it ever be given.

7. This is the state of the case, and I think it immediately applies to most of the difficulties which you enumerate. I am not aware that the Infallible Church has ever told us what the Evangelists or other sacred writers *meant* in the passages of Scripture to which you refer. Therefore we must form our judgment on the matter as best we can, consulting commentators and divines, and making use of the sciences of History, Archæology, Criticism and the like.

8. I cannot go through all your instances; but will take one. You say that St Matthew has not *given a perfect genealogy* in his first chapter. But the question is, Did he *mean* to give a perfect genealogy? I don't think he did. What he *meant* to do was to give the principal persons of our Lord's ancestry that there might be no mistake about it, and he arranged it by fourteens that it might be symmetrical and easily remembered. He says that Joram begat Ozias, whereas Ozias was not the son but the great-great-grandson, I think, of Joram. But the [St] Matthew never meant any thing else; he meant just this and no more; and in thus meaning, he did nothing strange or unusual. Scripture elsewhere speaks of 'the children of Israel,' when it means the *descendants*. Abraham calls Sarai his sister, when he means his niece. St Mark speaks of 'Jesus, the brother of James, and Joseph, and Jude, and Simon;' and of his 'Sisters,' when he means His *cousins*.

The great question then always is, What did the sacred writer *mean*? *not*, what does the bare letter say? and in order to solve this, what does the Infallible Church *say* that the sacred writer *meant*?

Lastly, as to such questions as how many generations did the sacred writer intentionally leave out in various catalogues, I don't think that the Church has determined the point. And in like manner, I think, the Church has not determined whether or not the sacred writer meant to say that the Deluge was universal. In such cases we may modestly exercise our own judgment, provided we are ever ready to submit, when the Church speaks

J H N

19 MARCH 1865

TO ROBERT WHITTY

The Oratory Birmingham March 19. 1865

My dear Fr Whitty

I thank you very much for your most kind letter; and thank you heartily for your prayers, which I value very much. It is very kind in you to be anxious about me, but, thank God, you have no need. Of course it is a constant source of sadness to me that I have done so little for Him during a long twenty years — but then I think, and with some comfort, that I have ever tried to act, as *others* told me — and if I have not done more, it has been because I have not been put to do more, or have been stopped when I attempted more.¹

The Cardinal brought me from Littlemore to Oscott — he sent me to Rome — he stationed and left me in Birmingham. When the Holy Father wished me to begin the Dublin Catholic University, I did so at once. When the Synod of Oscott gave me to do the new translation of Scripture, I began it without a word. When the Cardinal asked me to interfere in the matter of the Rambler, I took on myself, to my sore disgust, a great trouble and trial. Lately, when my Bishop, *proprio motu*, asked me to undertake the Mission of Oxford, I at once committed myself to a very expensive purchase of land and began, as he wished me, to collect money for a Church. In all these matters I think (in spite of many incidental mistakes) I should, on the whole, have done a work, had I been allowed or aided to go on with them — but it has been God's Blessed Will that I should have been stopped.

If I could get out of my mind the notion, that I *could* do some thing and am *not* doing it, nothing could be happier, more peaceful, or more to my taste, than the life I lead.²

Though I have left the notice of the Catechism to the end of the letter, be sure I value it in itself and as coming from you. Mr Pope will be very glad to hear the Author of it.³

Ever Yrs affly in Xt John H Newman

The Revd Fr Whitty

¹ Whitty wrote affectionately on 14 March, hoping that Newman's labours would 'bring forth much fruit not only now but hereafter'. He added, 'I used sometimes to console poor Cardinal Wiseman in his trials by saying that people would make much of him when he was dead. . . . I will not offer to comfort *you* even in this odd fashion — for whatever your trials you cannot but know that many — who can tell how many — are grateful and love you dearly tho' they have no means of showing it.'

² Whitty sent this letter to Manning, among whose papers at Bayswater it is to be found. Cf. *Purcell* II, p. 501.

³ Whitty sent Newman 'a copy of the little Catechism on which I consulted you'. It was compiled by John George Macleod, a Jesuit who had formerly been Thomas Alder Pope's curate at Stoke Newington.

21 MARCH 1865

TO SIR JOHN SIMEON

Oratory Bm March 21/65

My dear Sir John

Thank you for letting me see Wetherell's letter.¹ I am glad he so well knows what to do; and agree with you that the Address itself is an important fact. From what I hear, old Catholics are coming round — and, if it were not for Manning and one or two others, every thing would go well.

It gave me much concern to hear you had been ill. This is bad weather to recruit in, if London is as cold just now as we are here

I return the letter

Very sincerely yours John H Newman of the Oratory

Sir John Simeon Bart

TO SIR JOHN SIMEON

The Oratory Bm March 22/65

My dear Sir John

I return the letter with thanks to you and Lord Castlerosse.²

It amuses me very much — I know Cardinal Barnabò. Ten years ago he did something atrocious towards our Oratory here without my knowing any thing about it. Our Fathers sent me to him, and I had the kind of scene which Wetherell describes. He began 'Why do you come here? The Holy Father will be much annoyed. He has done it all for you without you.' Well, that was the fact. For when Mgr Barnabò went to the Pope with his precious arrangement for signature, the Pope simply said 'Has Fr Newman been consulted?' and Barnabò had his orders to write to me.³ However, it was all the good in the

¹ This was a letter of 4 March, from Wetherell in Rome, about his plan for presenting to Propaganda the laymen's Memorial about University education. It was being argued that the Memorial was superfluous since Propaganda had already sent instructions to the English bishops. See second note to letter of 31 March to Emily Bowles.

Newman copied a sentence from Simeon's letter sent him on 20 March, 'I have had a telegram saying that the memorial had been presented and graciously received.'

² This was a letter of 11 March to Lord Castlerosse in which Wetherell described his interview with Barnabò after he had presented the Memorial. 'He talked incessantly giving me very few opportunities of saying anything. Nor was I *once* able to make a remark except by expressly interrupting the flow of his discourse to get it in. He said he did not want any explanations; he knew all about it; he had letters from everybody; the whole question was settled; the bishops had reported, and the sacred Congregation had submitted its conclusion to the Pope, and the Pope had confirmed it: there was no place for the memorial. . . .' Barnabò, who kept quoting things Mgr Talbot had told him, insisted that there was nothing to be alarmed about and that the Memorial had no function to fulfil. There would be no prohibition. Wetherell replied that he wished it to remain in the archives of Propaganda, 'as an enduring record of our sentiments. I said this as significantly as I could: and he instantly adopted a less *jabbering manner* . . .' The conclusion was that Barnabò, 'persistently refused all information: but he was perfectly civil: and I think on the whole we have got as much as we could expect.'

³ See beginning of letter of 20 Jan. 1856 to Caswall and that of 19 May 1863 to Emily Bowles.

world my going. For we have been let alone ever since. And so in this case, depend upon it, they will be very slow at Rome, very slow in England, to treat Catholic laity so cavalierly [sic] a second time — What you have to fear is soft and sly ways on the part of some persons in England. Cardinal Barnabò is a good religious man, but he is too much of a brisk man of business to be a suitable Prefect of so great a Congregation.

I am not at all sure that you have *practically* won your battle — because of the clever manoeuvres which may be carried out in England — but I *am* sure that you have gained a real step in showing that the laity can, in a case that concerns them, express an opinion.

As to the Encyclical, it is to me a proof how powerless an ultra party in the Church is, to do what they wish to do. Dogmatic documents are so burdened with jealous forms and exceptions, that, when zealots would do their worst, they *cannot* commit the Church. A Bishop of Orleans gets up and says, 'You have tried with all your might and done nothing.' An Encyclical is a legal document — and though drawn up with far more care and skill than the Act of Parliament through which O'Connell was to drive his coach and four, yet it cannot, from the necessary respect it must pay (tho' it seems not to pay) to the traditions and doctors of the Church, it cannot say all that an Ultra party would wish it to say. So far on the question of *doctrine*. As to the question of *practice*, I don't think that M. Latour d'Auvergne could *enforce* his sense of it.¹

I am glad you talk of coming down here

Very sincerely Yours John H Newman

THURSDAY 23 MARCH 1865 The Brethertons called Meeting of the Bishops about the new election for Westminster Ambrose and I dined with the Bishop to meet them

TO H. SHERSTON BAKER

[March 23/65]

My dear Mr Baker

We will gladly take George into the House — but he must pay a Pension at the rate of £120 a year.²

Also, when George goes, of course Robert will pay the full pension of 80 guineas. I am sorry to say, we cannot help this

Very sincerely Yours John H Newman

¹ Simeon in his letter of 21 March was still worried by the Encyclical *Quanta Cura* and the 'Syllabus,' in spite of Dupanloup's liberal interpretation of it, which Pius IX had accepted. He feared that the ultramontane Archbishop of Bourges, La Tour d'Auvergne might give it a very different meaning.

² H. Sherston Baker asked on 22 March if his son, who was leaving the Oratory School, might stay for one more term, but in the Oratory itself, and continue his studies with one of the masters.

23 MARCH 1865

TO GEORGE BERNARD SMITH

The Oratory, Birmingham March 23. 1865.

Dear Sir,

I do not see any reason for departing from what I said in my former letter, as regards the request which your family has made to me:¹ — on the contrary, I see reason, in consequence of your reply, for saying it more decidedly; and that, because in that reply, which came yesterday, you speak of my purpose to devote my profit, my own money, to Catholic purposes at Oxford, in the following terms:— ‘We think it is *asking our* family to give a great deal *more than their share* towards a new Church in Oxford.’ I am obliged to answer that the money is mine, and not ‘your family’s.’

I observe then as follows:—

1. For three months, from August 6th to the end of October last year, first Mr Smith, and then his family, urgently pressed me to buy the whole land, while I steadily refused.

2. At length, at your earnest desire, I bought it all, sorely against my will.

3. You would not at that time have had an offer from other parties for a larger sum than I gave, unless I had been in the field.

4. I had a great reason for being unwilling to buy it, for my Surveyor informed me that a person like myself ran the risk of losing £900 by it, if I attempted to sell it again; and I fully believe him.

5. Had I lost any money by selling it, your family would not have made up to me a penny of the loss.

6. You gained £400 by your purchase and sale of it, and I (after my expenses) shall gain about £400 by my purchase and sale of it.

7. I did not make my £400 out of you; but you did make your £400 out of me.

8. And now you ask me to share my gain.

I never heard of such a request.

Accordingly, though it is my full intention to devote all my gain to those purposes which your Father and I had in view, I hereby positively decline to make any engagement to you to that effect, and withdraw anything that I may have said in that sense in my foregoing letter.

And now I have nothing more to say

Very truly Yours John H Newman.²

G. B. Smith Esqre

SATURDAY 25 MARCH 1865 snow very cold and howling

¹ That of 17 March, to which Smith replied on 22 March by again asking for a share of the profit on the sale of the Oxford site.

² Smith replied sharply on 27 March. Eventually Newman gave him £100, all that was left of profit, after architects', lawyers', and surveyors' fees had been paid.

27 MARCH 1865

SUNDAY 26 MARCH snow

MONDAY 27 MARCH snow showers too cold to come down

TO MARIANNE BOWDEN

The Oratory Bm March 27/65

My dear Child

If all is well, I will say Mass for the soul of your good Sister Norris on the 29th.¹

I hope you are quite well but do not like what you have said of yourself lately. For myself, God is very good in carrying me down the vale of years quite gently.

I saw Fr Norris in 1845-6, at Stonyhurst when he was Provincial. He had a great name for religious observance and sanctity.

Was your community once at Acton? I recollect the wall of the Convent quite well — and so at that time Sister Aloysia was within it. It was not far from where I was at school.

Pray for me & believe me Affectly yours in Xt
John H Newman of the Oratory

Sister M. Dominica

TO THE PARENTS OF BOYS AT THE ORATORY SCHOOL

The Oratory, Birmingham, March 27. 1865

(Circular)

My dear Madam

In case you should wish your son at home for holidays at Easter, for which we have no wish ourselves, I have to ask the favour of your not naming an earlier day than Holy Saturday, that the whole school may be present at the Solemnities of the season. The day for return is fixed in the Prospectus for Low Monday.

Will you also let me notice the irregularity which occurs in the return of the boys after the vacations? Not above half a dozen came punctually at the fixed day at the beginning of this term. With a view of making punctuality easier, by assigning a fixed day of the week, and not of the month, I propose to name the *Tuesday after* January 20th and the *Tuesday after* September 10th

¹ Marianne Bowden wrote on 18 March 1865 to ask Newman's prayers for a lay sister at the Visitation Convent, Westbury-on-Trym, Mary Aloysia Norris, who had just died. She had been present when the Convent was founded in 1804, at Acton, where it remained until 1810. The nuns came from France and she was the first lay sister. Richard Norris (1792-1846), the English Jesuit Provincial, 1832-8, was her brother. He was Rector of Stonyhurst during the last year of his life, when Newman met him.

28 MARCH 1865

as the day of return. In the old public schools boys are punished who are unpunctual without leave from the authorities.

While I am writing I add the request, that you will be so kind as to put into our care the jams, sweetmeats etc if any come for your son. Our Medical Adviser speaks seriously of the evil of such miscellaneous eating upon the health of the boys: and, if it has no other effect, at least it takes away their appetite for the wholesome food which is set before them at their regular meals.

I am, My dear Madam, Sincerely Yours John H Newman

TUESDAY 28 MARCH 1865 sung Lady O. A's [Acheson] black mass snow showers
too cold to come down

TO W. J. COPELAND

The Oratory Bm March 28/65

My very dear Copeland

I am grieved deeply at what you tell you [sic] about Isaac.¹ Till Easter comes, my various work here won't let me move — Then, I will gladly run down to him. But I have a cruel difficulty. How heartless, it is to be with him and not speak on religion! yet how is it possible to do so without getting into controversy? I cannot conceive how I am to get out of this

Ever Yours affly John H Newman

The Revd W J Copeland

WEDNESDAY 29 MARCH 1865 heavy snow Wind SW

TO EMILY BOWLES

The Oy Bm March 31/65

Confidential

My dear Child

I was going to write a long answer to your dear enthusiastic letter — but it is far too large and too delicate a subject to write about. If I ever had an hour with you, I could tell you a great deal. No — you do not know facts — and

¹ Copeland wrote on 25 March that he had just visited Isaac Williams at Stinchcombe, near Cheltenham, and found him very weak, 'and quite pining for old friends'.

know partially or incorrectly those which you know.¹ You say what you would do in my case, if you were a man; and I should rather say what I would do in my case, if I were a woman — for it was St Catharine who advised a Pope, and succeeded — but St Thomas of Canterbury and St Edmund tried and failed. I am too much of a philosopher too to have the keen energy necessary for the work on which you put me — Yet observe, Lacordaire, with whom I so much sympathize, was a fiery orator and a restless originator — yet he failed, as I have failed.

Look at the whole course of this Oxford matter. The Bishops have just brought out their sweeping decision, unanimously.² Unanimously, because Propaganda orders it — who directs Propaganda? What pains did they (the Cardinal) take in England to get opinions? As for myself, no one in authority has ever asked me. I never saw the questions (till afterwards) — few did — and what questions! leading questions and worse — arguments, not questions.³ The laity told nothing about it. The laity go to Propaganda. Cardinal Barnabò talks by the half hour, not letting any one else speak, and saying he knows all about it already, and wants no information, for Mgr Talbot has told him all about it.⁴ What chance should I have with broken Italian (they don't, can't talk Latin.)? I *know* what chance. I had to go to him nine years ago — he treated me in the same way — scolded me, before he knew what I had come about; and I went on a most grave matter, sorely against my will. No — we are in a transition time — and must wait patiently — though of course the tempest will last through our day

Ever Yours affly J H N

P.S. I forget what I said in my former letter.⁵

¹ Emily Bowles wrote on 26 March, 'If I had been . . . a man with a name known wherever English is known . . . I would have gone to Rome and opened people's eyes . . . They think because you keep aloof and lead a silent hidden life you are dissatisfied . . . I want you *now* to go to Rome. If Italian is strange to you, Latin is your own tongue . . . If I were you, I would trample on all failures and believe in myself, and go to plead the cause at Rome.

...
Certainly I deeply regret that you stayed at Birmingham and did not come to London. You would have worked *with* the Cardinal and not have opposed and annoyed him as the London Oratory did.'

² On 24 March Ullathorne sent to his clergy a copy of the decision of the English bishops the previous day: 'The Bishops are unanimous in their disapproval of the establishing a Catholic College at any of the Protestant Universities. And they are further of opinion that Parents ought to be in every way dissuaded from sending their children to pursue their studies at such Universities.'

This judgment was expressed by the Bishops and by our lamented Cardinal Archbishop, in the last meeting over which he presided, and in forming it they were guided by those principles which the Church has ever maintained in the matter of education.'

³ See the letters of 14 and 16 Dec. 1864, and Appendix 2.

⁴ See notes to letter of 22 March to Sir John Simeon.

⁵ Emily Bowles's letter of 26 March was in reply to one of Newman's that is not to be found.

31 MARCH 1865

TO JOHN HUNGERFORD POLLEN

The Oratory, Birmm March 31/65

My dear Pollen,

Have you seen the sweeping sentence of the Bishops on the Oxford matter? I consider that Propaganda has ordered the Bishops to be of one mind, and they have not been able to help it — and that Manning has persuaded Propaganda.

It is to be observed that they do not *order* their clergy to dissuade parents — but give their judgment for the *guidance* of the Clergy. This I interpret to mean 1. that each case of going to Oxford is to be taken by itself. 2. that leave is to be asked by parents in the *Confessional*.

But so far is clear, unless Wetherell brings some modification from Rome (which I don't think he will) no School, as ourselves, can educate with a professed view to Oxford. The decision includes the London University, and Trinity College Dublin.

It seems as if they wanted to put down the whole matter at once. And I suppose they will follow it up by some attempted organisation of English Education generally. I never should be surprised if our School was directly or indirectly attacked. I think I told you that Manning pointedly left it out in his enumeration of English places of education in the Dublin Review.¹

I trust your wife progresses; this cold season must try every one.

Ever Yrs affly John H Newman of the Oratory

J. H. Pollen Esq

TO ISAAC WILLIAMS

The Oratory, Birmingham March 31. 1865

My dearest Isaac,

All last summer I was trying to get to you — but really I am tied by the leg here. In November I got away to the Sussex coast for a week — else, I was here almost the whole year. Copeland's account has saddened me very much — and I had been anxious before it. I don't forget, but remember with much gratitude, how for twenty years you are perhaps the only one of my old friends who has never lost sight of me — but by letters, or messages, or inquiries, have ever kept up the memory of past and happy days. How mysterious it is that the holiest ties are snapped and cast to the winds by the holiest promptings — and that they who would fain live together in a covenant of gospel peace, hear each of them a voice and a contrary voice, calling on them to break

¹ See letter of 15 Aug. 1863 to St John, and end of Memorandum of 19 Dec. 1864. For Pollen's reply see letter of 5 April to him.

3 APRIL 1865

it! I cannot stir till Easter — but then I should like of all things to run down to you.

Ever Yours most affectionately, John H. Newman

The Rev. Isaac Williams

TO WILLIAM MONSELL

The Oratory Bm April 3. 1865

My dear Monsell

Dr Cullen will keep to his point, but will accept, with grumbling indeed, but with satisfaction, whatever you gain for Catholics, be it more, or be it less. It is impossible you can change your ground.¹

I am amused at my Most Revd and Rt Revd Lords. When they want to carry their point against Oxford, then the Laity are absolutely nothing at all, though it is a matter as close to them as the future of their sons; but, when the Laity have to do a thing for them in Parliament, then all at once they are of such great consequence and calibre, that their acts commit Pope, Cardinals, Apostolic Delegates, and whatever else is sacred and infallible in Holy Church. I think you ought to tell his Grace, that a poor layman and homuncio, such as a Privy Councillor and Member for a county, cannot, by any conceivable stretch of imagination, be touching, in what he does, the Non Possumus of the Episcopate, and that they may look on with serene compassion at your untheological gambollings.

The common sense of mankind will decide, that you will have gained for Catholics, not all you wished to gain, but all you could; though, if my memory is correct, it is as much as Dr Moriarty even *could wish*, for, in his Maynooth examination, he said that the Pope's power, in countries not his own, was, not power properly, but influence.²

¹ On 21 March Monsell had introduced in Parliament a Catholic Oaths Bill, which would make them hardly different from those taken by Protestants. It was intended to remove an invidious distinction. In the Catholic oath it would no longer be necessary to swear not to murder a sovereign excommunicated by the Pope, but the rejection of his temporal power over rulers remained. One of the condemned propositions in the 'Syllabus' said that the Pope was to have no temporal power at all.

Monsell wrote on 1 April to Newman, 'I trust that Dr Cullen will keep quiet — an assertion of the temporal power of the Pope in this Kingdom where Bishops, Priests and students of Maynooth have been swearing, for the last seventy years he has none, would certainly have any thing but pleasant results. My bill has been accepted with great favour. I am told it is likely to be carried. It is the same bill that has twice before been introduced and never protested against by any Catholic. How could I withdraw it?'

See letter of 28 May to Monsell.

² When giving evidence before the Maynooth Commission, on 17 Oct. 1853, Moriarty replied as follows to a question concerning the Pope's power in temporal matters: 'In questions of a purely temporal nature, he has no power or authority outside his own dominions, but in spiritual questions or questions of moral duty, whether they regard temporal matters or not, we consider the Pope our safest guide on earth.' *Report of Her Majesty's Commissioners appointed to Inquire into the Management and Government of the College of Maynooth*, Dublin 1855, p. 131.

3 APRIL 1865

I forget whether I told you of the printed notice we have had from our Bishop against any Oxford plan. I inclose a copy of it. It seems to me 1. to make a father's sending his son to Oxford depend on the *particular case*, one by one. 2. determined in the Confessional.

Ever Yrs affly John H Newman

The Rt Honble Wm Monsell M P.

TO BISHOP ULLATHORNE

April 8/65

My dear Lord

We get on so well with Mr Drew, that we wish to keep him with us with the chance of his ultimately becoming one of us. But, as your Lordship has already been kind enough to take an interest in him, we do not like to do so, nor indeed does he, without first mentioning it to you. Accordingly I have made him the bearer of this note to you and am

J H N¹

WEDNESDAY 5 APRIL 1865 school examinations began.

TO JOHN HUNGERFORD POLLEN

The Oratory, Birmm April 5/65

My dear Pollen,

Your letter is valuable, as corroborating and increasing the view of things which I had formed from the testimony of others — valuable, though sad, and perplexing, for I cannot understand the extreme suspicion in which I am held.² Why has Dr Grant thus visited me ever since the school began! it is

¹ Ullathorne replied the same day, 'I have told Mr Drew I shall be very glad if he succeeds in becoming an Oratorian . . .'

Newman sent another note by a bearer, on 4 April, 'Dr Newman will be obliged by being informed by bearer, what the balance on his Oxford account is at present.' The reply was £2650. 13. 2.

² To Newman's letter of 31 March Pollen replied on 1 April (in a letter misdated by the copyist 6 April): 'I am greatly concerned at this move as I think our Catholic society, I mean Society in its broad sense, will permanently suffer.'

I only get hold of news at second and third hand, but what I do hear relative to yourself tend to the same conclusion as that which your own letter leads to. It is said (private this) that great pains were taken to get something said against you or your work and that this effort failed signally. Also to M. [Manning] are attributed strong words against the book. [*Apo.*] The Jesuits as you know have pronounced decidedly and loudly in its favour. One way or another I think you (that is the [Oratory] School) were definitely brought forward as ground for the present resolutions, and your Oxford purchase ignited the powder.

As regards existing Colleges at Oxford I think the worst thing in the move is the asking leave in the confessional.' Pollen thought this would send people to the more broad-minded priests and cause another split among Catholics.

As to Manning's article in *DR*, Pollen wrote, 'If he did not aim at you in the omission you mention — and it struck me, immediately, at the time, I do not know what he *could* mean.'

7 APRIL 1865

marvellous — and though of course the whole matter is unpleasant, I think the only real annoyance I feel lies in its *mysteriousness*. Quid feci? Now for 20 years all of us here have been labouring in the service of the Church without any earthly reward or desire for one, and the return made us on the part of all authorities (all, i.e. without appreciable exceptions, with only infinitesimal exceptions) is suspicion, Quid fecimus?

I misled you in what I said about the Episcopal Letter — and that is the reason of my writing again to you.

I inclose a copy of it. What I said about the confessional, was my own *inference* — but still I do so infer¹

Ever Yrs affly John H. Newman of the Oratory

J. H. Pollen Esq

THURSDAY 6 APRIL 1865 Mr Powell and Mr Bradley (Drew's friends) came?

TO LAVINIA WILSON

The Oratory, Birmingham. April 7/65.

My dear Child,

You shall be met and taken to Handsworth on Tuesday — but you must not go to Handsworth — but get *out of the train at Birmingham*. You must tell me whether you go by the Paddington line or by the Euston Square — else, I shall not know when to expect you. I cannot understand how you can be *six hours* (from 12 to 6.15) in getting from London to Birmingham. If I do not hear from you, I shall go by your letter of this morning — i.e. expect you by the Paddington line in Birmingham at 6. 15.

I said Mass for you this morning, I thank God you are getting through your troubles. We have a retreat from Monday and Wednesday and then come the three days of functions and great solemnities. So I hardly know when I shall be able to get to Handsworth — but the Nuns quite expect you, and will make you comfortable.

Yours affectionately in Christ, John H. Newman Of the Oratory.
Sister Lavinia.

SATURDAY 8 APRIL 1865 Sir J. Acton in Bm. [Birmingham] Mr F. Ward in our house

¹ See letter of 31 March to Emily Bowles for the Episcopal letter. Pollen replied on 8 April, 'I am certain of one thing, that is, that the Priests are all on the other side (on yours) on all the general question. . . .

I know that Manning speaks strongly against Oxford everywhere.' When Pollen pressed Catholics as to what they had against Newman, it was only what they supposed others to say and was 'shifty and vague'.

11 APRIL 1865

SUNDAY 9 APRIL I sang High Mass Fr Eyre came for the retreat Mr F Ward went Sir J. Acton went

MONDAY 10 APRIL School retreat began Mr Bradley went

TUESDAY 11 APRIL went with Ambrose to Rednall and slept (not since Octr. 19) Miss Wilson came to the Handsworth convent

TO H. ALGAR

[11? April 1865]

Dear Sir

I thank you for your offer to send me an 'explanation' of the doctrine of the Holy Trinity; but, as somehow I consider that the Catholic doctrine in its very idea is inexplicable, and that I understand you to wish to make me abandon it; which I have no intention of doing

I therefore beg to decline your offer & am

J H N¹

TO LAVINIA WILSON

The Oratory, Tuesday April 11th. 65.

My dear Child,

I send the bearer of this to conduct you to the Convent. If possible I will call on you tomorrow or Thursday.

Yours affectionately in Christ, John H. Newman Of the Oratory.
Sister Lavinia.

WEDNESDAY 12 APRIL 1865 returned from Rednall. called on Miss Wilson

THURSDAY 13 APRIL 1865 took the functions of the week Fr Eyre went

TO T. F. WETHERELL

The Oratory, Bm April 13/65

My dear Wetherell

I am glad you are back, and hope from what Sir J. A. [Acton] says that on the whole you have not suffered from your exertions. I was much interested in your letters, which duly came to me.²

¹ H. Algar, curate of Barnardiston, near Sudbury, Suffolk, on 9 April offered to send Newman an explanation of the doctrine of the Trinity, 'which in your late Book you say you do not understand.'

On 6 March Algar sent Newman a short commentary he had written on *Romans* 4 and 5, and exclaimed 'What your Sermons might be — if you could only read the Greek Testament!'

² i.e. those to Simeon and Lord Castlerosse. See letters of 21 and 22 March to Simeon.

GOOD FRIDAY 1865

But I can't ask you to come on Saturday tho' I wish very much to hear what you have to tell me. It is our busiest day in the year. A four hour function in the early part of it — and confessions at the end. And on Monday I am going away. I hope you will be able to come, as you throw out, at the end of the fortnight

Very sincerely Yours John H Newman

T. F. Wetherell Esqr

FRIDAY 14 APRIL 1865 Good Friday received (at Oratory) Miss Wilson (President Lincoln assassinated)

TO BISHOP ULLATHORNE

The Oratory Good Friday 1865

My dear Lord

Fr St John has shown me your Lordship's letter of this morning, and I am very much concerned at the omission we have made in not asking for Faculties for Fr Eyre. What makes it worse, this is the fourth year we have committed it, twice in the case of a Dominican Father, twice in the case of a Jesuit. I suppose I thought they had special faculties for such cases, and they thought I had got them faculties. Fr Eyre went yesterday afternoon.¹ I am thinking if any one has preached here without special faculties from your Lordship. In February 1861 Dr Manning preached in our Church. I do not recollect any one else — and whether I asked leave for him, I really cannot recollect.

I hope such a mistake will not occur again — and, begging your Lordship's blessing at this sacred season, I am,

Your affte & faithful Servt in Xt
John H Newman of the Oratory

The Rt Revd The Bp of Birmingham

TO LAVINIA WILSON

Good Friday [1865]

My dear Child

The bearer will take you to an old friend of Dr Pusey's close to us.² She will bring you to my confessional at 3. And will at 4 come again to be with you on the conditional baptism

Yrs affly J H N

¹ Faculties to hear confessions had not been obtained from the bishop for the visiting priests who gave the annual retreat to the boys at the Oratory School. Ullathorne replied on 16 April about these confessors, 'as they were *bona fide*, I consider they would have the *titulus coloratus* under which the Church would supply the defect of jurisdiction.'

² i.e. Mrs Wootten, the matron of the Oratory School.

19 APRIL 1865

SATURDAY 15 APRIL 1865 Mr Powell went, and received at Oxford¹

TO LAVINIA WILSON

Holy Saturday [1865]

My dear Child,

I rejoice in what you tell me and thank God — but I am too busy at the minute to answer your questions.

I expect to call on you to-morrow between 2 and 4

Ever Yrs affly J H N

All best wishes of the season to you and your Hosts.

SUNDAY 16 APRIL 1865 Easter Day

MONDAY 17 APRIL went to Rednall

TO CHARLES RUSSELL

Rednall April 19/65

My dear Dr Russell

Thank you for your hint about the Letter which is in the possession of Mr Monsell. He has already sent it to me, and I have inserted it in the proper place.²

Any remark of yours upon 'The General Answer to Mr K. [Kingsley]' would be valuable.³ I have altered some things, and perhaps, as you say, have thereby anticipated your criticisms. But I have altered only with the purpose of expressing my own meaning more exactly. This is all I have to aim at; because I have reason to know, that, after a severe, not to say hostile scrutiny, I have been found to be without matter of legitimate offence.⁴ In a day like this, in which such serious efforts are made to narrow that liberty of thought and speech which is open to a Catholic, I am indisposed to suppress my own

¹ This was Edward Powell, a Demy of Magdalen College, Oxford, who now became a Catholic, and transferred to Lincoln College.

² Russell, having seen the advertisement of a revised edition of *Apo.*, wrote to Newman on 16 April about this letter, saying it was 'exceedingly important as showing your position towards the Roman Church while still an Anglican'.

The letter was one of 6 March 1842 to a layman, Thomas Kirkpatrick. Newman now inserted part of it in *Apo.* pp. 177–8. It is printed in full in *K.C.*, pp. 185–8.

³ Russell went on to speak of 'a few things in the "General Answer to Mr Kingsley," which . . . I should like to see somewhat modified', but without specifying. See letter of 5 May to Russell.

⁴ Father Gallwey informed Newman that *Apo.* had been examined and passed by the Jesuit theologians. This St John repeated on 13 April 1865 in a conversation with Ullathorne, who expressed his agreement with the Jesuits.

20 APRIL 1865

judgment in order to satisfy objectors. Among such persons of course I do not include *you*; but, using the same frankness which you so kindly claim in writing to me, I will express my belief, that you are tender towards others, in the remarks which you ask [me] to make, rather than actually displeased with me yourself.

Yours ever affectly in Xt John H Newman of the Oratory
The Very Revd Dr Russell &c &c.

THURSDAY 20 APRIL 1865 was to have gone to Stinchcombe, but the fog hindered me

TO ISAAC WILLIAMS

Rednall Bromsgrove April 20/65

My dear Isaac

I did not dare set out on a morning like this — and I don't think you can be expecting me. Tho' very well, I am old, and cannot take liberties with myself — and only wish, (as I had intended to do,) that I had said so in my letter to you. The truth is, the season is too early — and I must wait for more settled weather. I know your country is very beautiful — and, though I want to see you and yours, yet we are all of us so far sons of Adam still, that the earth is our Mother, and some sort of paradise our congenial habitat. The medieval painters surrounded their figures, even though they were the figures of Saints and Angels, with birds and flowers, therefore it is no want of love towards you and your home, that I wish to see you in the light of day, and not in a fog.

It is in this way that I reconcile myself to the delay of my coming — but the real reason is, as I have said, that I am afraid to the weather. [sic]

Ever Yours affly John H Newman

The Revd I. Williams

TO AMBROSE ST JOHN

Rednall April 21/65¹

My dear A

Your letter just come. I write in an enormous hurry, as I have been overwhelmed with the Oxford papers.¹

The decision of the Archbishoprick is to come next week by Telegraph. Read the inclosed. 'This morning,¹ before it came, 'I had made up my mind, as the *only* way of explaining the way in which all the Bishops (but two) had turned round, that the extinguisher on Oxford was the Pope's *own* act.'¹ This

¹ i.e. connected with the purchase of the land there.

23 APRIL 1865

confirms it. 'If so, we may at once reconcile ourselves to it. Another Pontiff, in another generation, may reverse it.'¹

Mr Townley takes away Richard at the Long Vac — He write me a *very* warm letter.²

'I am thinking whether, under [[these]] circumstances it would not be better to make friends with Nicholas.³ My difficulty is this — if Lady Wolseley (e.g.) says 'What shall I do with Charles? ought he to go to Oxford?' No — 'but *what am I to do with him?*'⁴ A private Tutor is at least a year gained

Ever Yrs affly John H Newman

The Revd A. St John

SATURDAY 22 APRIL 1865 Lady Wolseley called. Mr Walford, and Mr Hoghton

SUNDAY 23 APRIL Mr Lambert came from Wolseley⁴

TO THOMAS ARNOLD

April 23/65

Copy

My dear Arnold,

Will you tell Stanley that I will carefully consider his paper — but I fear it says nothing which enables me to alter what I fancied had been a plain matter of fact, which could not be fairly be [sic] made a ground for attacking the liberal party.⁵

¹ The enclosure to which Newman refers was probably the circular from Propaganda to the English bishops, telling them to dissuade Catholics from going to the Universities. On 13 April Ullathorne told St John about the contents of Barnabò's letter of 8 Feb., the concluding paragraph of which is given in first note to letter of 17 Feb. to Ullathorne. The latter was praised for keeping Newman from Oxford and asked to provide a learned and worthy priest for the existing mission there. According to St John's memorandum of their conversation, Ullathorne went on to argue that Wiseman not Manning was responsible for the hostility towards Newman. 'He Manning [and] the Episcopal Body generally were desirous to be on terms of the greatest cordiality with Fr Newman only he must have no educational schemes in connection with the Universities. If so — the Bishop would greatly desire to see the Oratory established at Oxford.'

On 13 April Ullathorne could not find Barnabò's letter of 8 Feb. in order to show it to St John, but promised to send it to the Oratory. It is printed in Ullathorne's *Facts and Documents relating to the Mission and contemplated Oratory at Oxford*, p. 12. See also letter of 17 Feb. to Ullathorne, and also Ullathorne's letters placed before Newman's of 24 July and 12 Aug. 1866.

² John Towneley wrote that he intended to place his son with a private tutor, but hoped that the Oratory School would 'educate the Catholic youth of England for generations to come'.

³ i.e. Nicholas Darnell who left the Oratory three years previously. He might act as a private tutor for boys from the Oratory School, whose parents insisted on sending them to Oxford.

⁴ J. C. Lambert appears to have been Sir Charles Wolseley's tutor, and came to discuss the possibility of his going to Oxford.

⁵ A. P. Stanley, the Dean of Westminster, wrote to Thomas Arnold on 19 April, asking whether Newman, since he was re-editing *Apo.*, could alter his remarks in the first edition, pp. 329 and 342 about the Liberals having driven him from Oxford. Stanley enclosed a memorandum whose chief argument was that in 1845 the Liberals had been opposed to the

24 APRIL 1865

I have got the cheque for the $\frac{1}{2}$ term, of which Fr St John spoke to you, ready drawn out, and will send it when you send word where.

There is a *shameful* report here that 'you have quite given up Catholicism, but that you did not wish it known at the Oratory, until you had left.' As it will hurt us, unless I am prompt about it, I will ask your leave to contradict it on your authority.¹

Yours very sincerely John H Newman

MONDAY 24 APRIL 1865 Miss Kebbel came. went to Rednall. Fr Coleridge called when I was away

TO MRS PETER BRETHERTON

April 24/65

My dear Mrs Bretherton

It makes me very anxious, as of course it does you, that Mr F. W. has not spoken to his parents —² Surely this ought to be done without any delay. It ought to be a condition of your allowing the matter to go on

Ever Yrs affly J H N

condemnation of *Tract XC*. Newman's reply in the new edition of *Apo.*, 'Note A,' pp. 292-3 was that it was a matter of historical fact that he left Oxford as a result of the attack on *Tract XC* in 1841, when 'Excepting the Liberal, no other party, as a party, acted against me. . . . They could not undo in 1845 . . . what they had done in 1841.' Newman referred to Stanley's intervention with Arnold, 'It has been strongly urged upon me to reconsider the following passages . . . "The men who had driven me from Oxford were distinctly the Liberals, it was they who opened the attack upon *Tract 90*,"' p. 203, and "I found no fault with the liberals; they had beaten me in a fair field," p. 214.

I am very unwilling to seem ungracious, or to cause pain in any quarter; still I am sorry to say I cannot modify these statements. It is surely a matter of historical fact that I left Oxford upon the University proceedings of 1841 . . .

Newman also consulted Church, who wrote on 29 April that he considered Stanley mistaken, and again on 3 May, 'On the whole I agree with you. The Liberals supplied the brains. What strikes me is that it was not the Liberals only in /41, but *also*, people like Wynter, Symons, Gaisford and such like, who influenced things very much, though they could not fairly be called Liberals. Next, I think that in /45 it was not, at least in *Stanley and his contemporaries*, Temple, Jowett, Donkin etc — (I say nothing of Tait —) it was not *only* feeling for Ward and Balliol, but real feeling, though of course mixed, for you. . . .'

¹ Arnold was ceasing to be a master at the Oratory School a term earlier than arranged, and was going to Oxford as a private tutor. St John had heard on good authority that Mrs Arnold was saying her husband had quite given up Catholicism, but did not wish this known until he had left Birmingham.

Arnold replied on 24 April from Oxford, 'The report about me which you mention is false, and you have my authority to contradict it. But I fear I must pain you by saying that I cannot guarantee where, or in what form of opinions, the course of thought may eventually land me.' See letter of 4 June to Arnold.

When thanking for his cheque on 2 May, Arnold wrote, 'It cannot but be most gratifying to me that my connexion with the Oratory should be terminated in such a manner; and . . . I never could have, and never did expect that what I did should be met in such a generous spirit . . .'. Cf. letter of 14 Nov. 1864.

² Newman learned, on 10 April, from Eleanor Bretherton, who was engaged to Frank Watt, that he had not told his parents of his engagement. See letter of 17 May to Mrs Bretherton. Eleanor Bretherton was not quite twenty years of age.

27 APRIL 1865

TUESDAY 25 APRIL 1865 Term began — without Arnold

WEDNESDAY 26 APRIL went from Rednall to Stinchcombe. passed day with Isaac Williams came back

TO R. W. CHURCH

About 27 April 1865

I had not seen him [Isaac Williams] for twenty-two years. Of course I did not know him at all, as I daresay you would not know me. Pattison did not know me a year or two ago, though I knew him. If all is well I shall come and see you some time or other, and take Williams again on my way.

TO HENRY JAMES COLERIDGE

Rednall. April 28. 1865

My dear Fr Coleridge,

I am so sorry you did not give me time to answer your letter. If so, I might have persuaded you to come to me on Sunday, while I was still in Birmingham. Were I not *punctual* in taking my holiday, I should never have one; — so many persons come to me. I had three engagements with persons who came into Birmingham from a distance on purpose, on Saturday — one on Sunday — and one on Monday. They had all of them given me notice beforehand, and let me fix the day. I waited for you some hours, and then gave you up. From what I have heard since, it seems, that, had I stayed over Monday, I should have had to stay over Tuesday, in a similar way. Then on Wednesday I was already engaged to run down to Isaac Williams, whom I had not seen for 22 years, and who inquired very kindly after you. I had had already to put him off once. Then the week would have run on.

As to the subject of your letter, doubtless you know that I have all along said to Fr Gallwey that I could not pledge myself to take part in supplying any periodical with literary matter.¹ At my age, I should be a fool if I so pledged myself. I hope never to work against time again. It is killing work to an old man. It was by a wonderful Providence that I got through my trial last year; but I felt at the time it was like dancing on a tight rope à la Blondin.² And, even if I promised you without naming a time for performance, I have so much incidental work at all times, that I should probably fail you, and certainly should disable myself from doing those incidental duties well. I cannot say more than this, viz. that if I do any thing that is likely to suit you, you shall have the refusal of it.

¹ The Jesuits were to take over the *Month* from July 1865, and Coleridge was to be editor. He called at the Oratory on 24 April, and was very insistent with Neville on the importance of Newman's help. See also letter of 8 May to him.

² Blondin, Jean François Gravelet, was the famous acrobat who crossed Niagara on a tight-rope.

28 APRIL 1865

I am *not at all* for a periodical of *light* literature, just the contrary — What I should like best of all would be one like the Atlantis, which is heavy enough. Again, I wished one simply *untheological*, like the Atlantis, into which theology, as such, was never introduced. I have as little desire for one which introduces theology as such, as for one which is simply light, and nothing more. I wrote on the subject in extenso to Fr Gallwey.¹ I am no great reader of Reviews and Magazines; but the extent to which I should allow a periodical to go in theology and in lightness, would be to be parallel in its contents to the Quarterly, or Frazer, or the Englishman's Magazine, as I see them advertised in the Papers. Did I write myself in such a magazine, I should like it to be on faith and reason, on the means of arriving at certitude, etc etc. and these are subjects not to be undertaken *currente calamo*.

You will easily understand that I say all this merely to *explain* myself; as you seem hardly to know my general sentiments on the question of a magazine. Certainly I do not desire one simply and for its own sake, but one of a particular character; and perhaps what I wish, very few other Catholics would wish.

Yours very sincerely in Xt John H Newman of the Oratory
The Revd Fr Coleridge S.J.

TO H. D. FORBES

Rednall. April 28/65

My dear Madam

In answer to your question, I can but say, as I have said all along, that it is your duty, not to return to Protestantism, but to pray for grace to be a good Catholic.²

I cannot say more than this — however natural it is in you to take various ways to make me view the matter differently. You will never persuade me to say that you ought, under your circumstances, to become a Protestant.³

J. H. N.

TO JAMES HOPE-SCOTT

Rednall. April 28/65

My dear Hope Scott¹

I take it for granted that you are returned — and, I hope, the better for your absence from England. Ornsby gave, on the whole, a good account of you — and of Lady Victoria too. And of Mamo.⁴

¹ Letter of 26 Feb. 1865.

² Newman first wrote to Helen Douglas Forbes on 4 Oct. 1864.

³ She replied next day that she would try to do as Newman told her, but see letter of 8 May to her.

⁴ i.e. Hope-Scott's wife and his daughter Mary Monica.

It boots not to go through 'the Oxford matter, now (at least for the time) over. I believe the majority of the Bishops were against the decision [[of March preceding]], to which they have publicly committed themselves; and what is to take the place of Oxford, I know not. Our boys go on well till they get near the top of the School — but, when they are once put into the fifth or sixth form, they languish and get slovenly — i.e. for want of a *stimulus*. They have no object before them. And then again parents come to me and say 'What *are* we to do with Charlie or Richard?' 'is he to keep company with the game-keeper, on his leaving school? Is he to be toaded by all the idle fellows about the place? is he to get a taste for low society? How *can* Oxford be worse than this? — Is he to have a taste for any thing beyond that for shooting pheasants? is he to stagnate with no internal resources, and no power of making himself useful in life?' — As to such fellows being likely to have their faith shaken at Oxford, that (at least) their *parents* think an absurdity, and so do I. Of course it is otherwise with more intellectual youths — tho' at present I am credibly informed there is a singular re-action in Oxford in favour of high church principles; and, though I can understand a Catholic youth turning liberal, my imagination fails in the attempt to turn him into a Puseyite.¹

As to your £1000, at present I have bought with it, (with the addition of another £1000 borrowed on interest) some ground opposite Ch Ch [Christ Church] (*don't tell this*). The vendor [[Mr Hanley]] who is a Catholic proposes with this £2000 to buy the adjacent houses in his *own* name; so that Catholics may be able, by buying of him, to increase the plot, should they ever wish to do so. At first I had hoped to keep part of the St Giles's ground, as I told you; but I found I must sell all or none — So I have done what seemed the next best thing. Perhaps you will like some formal acknowledgment of the £1000 in case of my death.²

As to our school it prospers much internally — but its financial matters are a most serious difficulty. We ought to have begun with £100 a year pension — but it is scarcely possible to increase it now. Our property is being gradually eaten out by it. The annual deficits are portentous. If we could secure 80 boys, we should be *flourishing* — but every boy under 70 is a loss of £84, (the pension); every boy who is absent half a term, is so much loss — if a term passes with only 60 boys, it is the loss of a third of 10 boys into £84, i.e. £280 that term.³ Last year, what with the measles and mumps, we had only 58 boys in residence one term, and in the other two terms not 70 — so you may think what our loss was.

The whole difficulty, is to be summed up in one sentence: — viz The Oratory *must* be in a *town*, and a school *ought to be* in the *country*. Every thing

¹ H. N. Oxenham on 25 April wrote an account of Oxford which he had been visiting: 'The "Catholic reaction" there in the last few years is a most auspicious phenomenon, and all agree that the High Church party has never been in any thing like so strong a position in the university since the days when you were its leader.'

² Hope-Scott replied on 20 May, 'Do with the £1000 what you will. It was a gift.'

³ [[it is a loss of 10 boys multiplied into £84 i.e. £280 that term.]]

28 APRIL 1865

is dear in town, inprimis, land for a play ground; — house-rent, and rates; living. Our great advantage in a town is medical aid. I do not know of any other.

And again — when we came up to Edgbaston in 1851-2 we walked there over fields — but there is no place in England except London, which is increasing like Birmingham — and the other day I was startled to find that already the Oratory is as far from the last houses along the Hagley Road (or nearly so) as it is from the N.W. [North Western] Railway Terminus in New Street.¹ And building is going on along *all* our roads and the spaces between them. In five years we shall be in a genteel indeed, but a populous neighbourhood.

¹For this difficulty in prospect there is no need to provide in a hurry — tho' even at present it is acting unfavorably on the interests of the school — still something must be done, if the school is to go on. How can we give up what really prospers internally, what really has fulfilled (if we dare speak without boasting) the problem of combining good intellectual education with Catholic morality, — what has cost us in hard money, (of which all is the Oratory's or its private Fathers' money, and of which £4000 is simply sunk and pays no interest) at least £10,000 or £11,000? If a plague came and the boys went home for half a year, I don't know how we could pay the current bills of the half year of our own House. Thus we are *bound up* with the school.

Could we make both ends meet, we should venture on spending £3000 more, *here* (at Rednall), of our own — and build a summer house for the boys — and transport our whole school establishment (not the Oratory) to this place from St Philip's Day (May 26) till the Long Vac. (July 20) and from September 10 to the end of October. But we are afraid of throwing good money after bad¹

Ever Yrs affly in Xt John H Newman

TO MRS JOHN MOZLEY

Rednall April 28/65

My dear Jemima

Thank you for the marmalade. I am enjoying this beautiful weather and the burst of Spring, out here. One's fear is lest May frosts should destroy April flowers.

I saw Isaac Williams the other day. This has been a very bad winter for him — and since Christmas he has been so ill, that, unless it were he, one should think he must go. He has many infirmities now, and almost continual pain, or rather suffering, and his son said that he did not seem to be rallying with the Spring. His mind is quite his own, but he cannot walk, and scarcely can speak. He gave me a very good account of Keble. He writes a good hand, but (W. says) it is quite altered.

28 APRIL 1865

I have got through the winter without a single cold — which I attribute to great care, a shower bath, cold [cod] liver oil, and a respirator. I have just taken up my violin, after 16 years of utter and absolute separation from it — and I find I can play Viotti's duetts at least as well as I did 50 years ago, when I first had them; — and my violin is the same which I have had 50 years next 3rd or 4th of November — but, though it is quite what it ever was, I have got so fastidious that, did I go on playing, I should treat myself with one easier to play upon, and sweeter. What has put me upon it is that various of our boys have taken to stringed instruments, and I have been buying Haydn's quintetts for them.¹

Ever Yours affly John H Newman

P.S. I hope you go on improving.
Mrs J. Mozley

TO CHARLES RUSSELL

Rednall April 28/65

My dear Dr Russell,

I will give your letter my best attention, and show it to the parties who have had the revising of my volume.² I have said Mass this morning for your intention as to your Sister³

Yrs affly in Xt John H Newman of the Oratory
The Very Revd Dr Russell &c &c

TO AN UNKNOWN PROFESSOR OF THEOLOGY

[28 April 1865?]⁴

Velim magnopere, Reverendissime Professor, ut à te discam, quod tibi dictu non difficile erit, mihi autem utilissimum.

Habes librum 'Wirceburgi' typis mandatum, titulo 'Regula Fidei Catholicae etc. a P. Phil Nerio Chrismann ord M.S. Recollect etc.' Editione novâ,

¹ Jemima replied on 2 May, 'I often think of our playing together, and wish I could hear some strains from your Violin.'

² See letter of 5 May to Russell.

³ Russell's sister was dying.

⁴ Russell wrote to Newman on 26 April, objecting to the way he had limited the Church's infallibility in the first edition of *Apo*. See notes to letter of 5 May to Russell. Before answering Newman wrote away for advice.

ann, 1854, 'revisione Phil. Jacob Spindler, Ordinariat. *Episcopi. August. Secret.*' *Superiorum permissu et APPROBATIONE*¹

En illud quod à te scire velim; utrum theologi Catholici possint fide salvâ et sine scandalo tenere et profiteri ea omnia quae auctor hic tenet et profitetur

Theses enim ab illo confirmatae sunt hujusmodi E.g p 95 1. Ecclesia non gaudet etc — [Ecclesia non gaudet infallibiliter assistentia Spiritus s. in docendis recte veritatibus, quae ratione tantum ex revelatis, licet evidenter, concluduntur]

p 96 2 Judicium etc [Judicium Ecclesiae non est infallibile, quando homines damnat, tanquam haereticos, qui falsam doctrinam tradiderunt]

ibid 3 Ecclesiae decreta etc. [Ecclesiae decreta non sunt infallibilia in factis, ut aiunt dogmaticis]

Equidem hoc non idcirco tibi quaero, quasi ipse in hac materia difficultatem ullam habuerim, sed aliorum gratiâ quaero, et gratiâ ipsius veritatis

Quod tu pro benevolentia tua dixeris, polliceor tibi me religiosissime inter secreta hujus domus servaturum esse, neque in publicum unquam nomen tuum esse prolaturum.²

SATURDAY 29 APRIL 1865 returned to Birmingham

SUNDAY 30 APRIL Wetherell called

MONDAY 1 MAY Isaac Williams died 4 A.M.

TO EMILY BOWLES

The Oratory Bm May 1/65

My dear Child

I inclose a post office order for £5. If you think Miss S. *ought* to have £2, be so good as to ask her to accept it, according to her letter.³ As to the rest, I wish it to go in a special kind of charity, viz in the instrumenta, as I may call them, and operative methods, of your own good works — that is, not in meat and drink, and physic, or clothing of the needy, but (if you will not be angry with me) in *your* charitable cabs, charitable umbrellas, charitable boots, and all the wear and tear of a charitable person who without such wear and tear cannot do her charity.

¹ Philip Neri Chrismann was an eighteenth century German Franciscan, whose *Regula Fidei Catholicae*, new edition, Würzburg 1854, Newman used at p. 392 of the first edition of *Apo*. Chrismann's work was included in Migne's *Theologiae Cursus Completus* in 1841, but the edition of 1854 was placed on the Index in 1869.

² No reply to this letter has been found. For the alterations Newman made in *Apo*. see second note to letter of 5 May to Russell, and the 1868 Paper on Development mentioned there.

³ This refers to Miss Lucy Sausse, an educated Irish convert who was known to Newman. See letter of 15 May to Emily Bowles.

As to Catholic matters, there is nothing like the logic of facts. This is what I look to — it is a sad consolation — but Catholics won't stand such standing-still for ever. And then, when much mischief is done, and more is feared, something will be attempted in high quarters. Do you see what is said to be going on at Rome? Since they find that Louis Napoleon is in earnest, they are beginning to draw towards Victor Emmanuel.¹ A great Prelate said to me years ago, when I said that the laity needed instruction guidance, tenderness, consideration etc etc, 'You do not know them, Dr N. Our laity are a peaceable body — they are peaceable.' I understood him to mean 'They are grossly ignorant and unintellectual — and we need not consult or consult for them at all.'² Don't repeat this — and at Rome they treat them according to the tradition of the Middle Ages, as, in Harold the Dauntless, the Abbot of Durham treated Count Wittikin.³ Well, facts alone will slowly make them recognize the fact of what a laity must be in the 19th century, even if it is not, if it is to cope with Protestantism

Ever Yours affectionately, John H Newman

WEDNESDAY 3 MAY 1865 Mr Stevens came?

THURSDAY 4 MAY boys went to Rednall Bishop and Canon Walker called⁴

¹ During April Napoleon III proposed to withdraw the French troops from Rome, and Pius IX was trying to settle his ecclesiastical difficulties with the Piedmontese king, Victor Emmanuel.

² See Memorandum of 22 May 1859 about Bishop Ullathorne's visit. Emily Bowles wrote on 25 April about Catholic young men. 'When are they to be made men of the world, fitting to their position, able to meet men in the House [Parliament] or on public questions on equal ground?'

³ See Scott's *Harold the Dauntless*, Canto I, where Count Widikind outwardly renounced heathenism in his old age and became the defender of the Church in return for 'broad lands on the Wear and the Tyne'.

⁴ Newman's account of this visit has been preserved: 'May 4, 1865

The Bishop came up just now with Canon Walker. He said he was often tempted to write a Pamphlet upon the stinginess of the laity, who gave such low prices for education and yet expected first rate instructors. He said "Give us money and we will provide first rate articles. We should have no difficulty even in getting Protestants to teach the Classics, for we should know how to keep them in order". Rome, he went on to say, would second any such movement. It was always urging the question of Education — on occasion of two Synods, it had wished the whole matter brought forward by the late Cardinal, but he had shrunk from the work. And now, it was reported (or it was true, I forget which) that the Pope was sending a message urging on the Bishops a seminary for every diocese. He, the Bishop, desired it of all things in his own case; but where was he to get the money? He wished some good man would buy Oscott of its proprietors. In all that he said about Oscott he looked very hard at me. It might be done by shares (Joint stock). It might be a first rate College — Then the boys would be kept their proper time, and nothing would be hurried. (Canon Walker told me that the Bishop looked forward to Oxford as a termination of the College course.) At present the state of the Church students was deplorable; 20 boys in a school of 150! Dr Northcote felt it keenly — gladly would he wash his hands of lay boys and become the head of a pure Seminary. This miserable affair of Fitzgerald was a specimen of the evil. Dr W [Weedall] had ever acted *against* the Church boys. He (the Bishop) had to take his part in the dismissal of three, whom he (the Bishop) thought had committed no real fault, and who, having been got into other seminaries, had turned out excellent priests in the Diocese. The Church boys had felt it keenly — the very name of Dr W. would bring a flush upon the face of many of the priests of the Diocese. But what could a President do, assailed, as he was, by the parents of a hundred lay boys? Dr Northcote felt it too.

4 MAY 1865

TO MRS JOHN MOZLEY

May 4/65

My dear Jemima

I suppose you have heard of Isaac Williams's death. Sir George Prevost gave me news of it this morning.¹

If Frank comes through this place again in his way to Oxford, I wish he would give me notice. I returned to the Oratory a few hours after he came²

Yours affectly John H Newman

Mrs John Mozley

TO SIR GEORGE PREVOST

The Oratory, Birmingham May 4th 1865.

My dear Sir George,

I have been planning another visit to dear Isaac, and your letter comes. My first thought is that in a certain sense I have killed him — I am sure so it is, that he did not rally after driving me down to the station. He has really been a victim of his old love for me. He has never lost sight of me — ever inquiring about me from others, sending messages, or writing to me. I so much feared he was overdoing himself — but he would not allow it. I wanted him to let me walk down, but he wanted to have more talk; and then, when he set off, he could not say a word. But it is all well; and God knows better than we do. I am most glad to have seen him, though I have (as it were) killed him with a kiss. Well, I have sent him out of a world in which he had no part, except as far as it contained souls, with whom he was so lovingly bound up. Poor John Keble, how will it be broken to him?

When I first saw him on my arrival, I thought death was marked upon his face. But then I knew how strange his health had been for years; and, when he began to talk, he was so much himself, and his mind so clear, that the impression went. Well, I shall say Mass (if all is well) on Saturday for his dear soul; and so will Mr St John. May God wash it white in His most precious blood,

I should have said that above when he spoke of improvement of Catholic Education, he proposed a Committee of "Dr Northcote, Dr Newman etc etc" to determine on some scheme.'

Fitzgerald was a boy expelled from Oscott College in March, whose father brought an action. See letter of 8 Feb. 1866 to Northcote.

¹ Sir George Prevost was the brother-in-law of Isaac Williams, who died on 1 May.

² Jemima wrote on 2 May, that her son Frank had been the bearer of the marmalade she had sent to Newman. He was on his way to Oxford, and thought he might call as he passed through Birmingham, in the hope of seeing his uncle. Frank was born in 1846, and Jemima wrote, 'As he was not 2 years old when you last met you would not have known him.' Frank called in the course of the next few weeks. See letter to Miss Giberne, placed at end of May 1865.

5 MAY 1865

and receive it into that eternal peace and light which it coveted above all things.¹

Very sincerely yours, John H. Newman

The Rev. Sir George Prevost, Bart.

P.S. I have written a line to Mrs Williams and I enclose it — asking you to take the trouble to read it, and to let her have it or not, as you think best.

TO WILLIAM MONSELL

The Oratory Bm May 5/65

My dear Monsell,

The report has nothing to do with the Address to me from the Academia, on which occasion I had no letter from the Cardinal.²

But on my publishing the first Number of my Apologia, I sent him a copy, which he acknowledged in kind terms. As I was at the time most busily engaged in writing my book, with hardly time to take meals, and his letter was in fact an answer to *me*, I did not reply to it; and I don't think it is usual to do so in such cases.

At the end of September, I heard for the first time the report you speak of, and wrote at once the letter which follows below. He never acknowledged it in any shape. You may show it to whom you will

Ever Yours affectly John H Newman of the Oratory

The Rt. Honble Wm. Monsell MP.

TO CHARLES RUSSELL

The Oratory, Bm May 5. 1865

My dear Dr Russell,

Thank you for your two letters. I have studied them carefully with the aid of a friend.³

¹ Prevost replied on 5 May that Newman's visit had not in the least harmed Isaac Williams, 'but simply and entirely cheered brightened, and *strengthened* him'.

² Monsell had evidently heard the report that Newman had left unanswered a letter from Wiseman thanking him for the first part of *Apo*. See letter of 28 Sept. 1864 to Wiseman, which Newman copied for Monsell at the end of this present letter. He wrote on 20 May that he read it out 'at the place where the report it contradicted had been mentioned'.

³ Russell wrote on 26 April about the new edition of *Apo.*,

'What I have to say, I am almost sure, has been rendered unnecessary by your own alterations. It chiefly regards the wording of some passages which are in my opinion too general and include statements by no means intended by you.

The passage, for example at the lower part of p. 392 [*Apo*. p. 253], appears to limit the Infallibility of the church to the apostolic *Depositum*. This would seem to exclude Dogmatic Facts, whereas (in p. 393 line 1.) you distinctly recognise "the works of heretics" as falling within the province of Infallibility. And the passage at the foot of p. 392, would exclude *all theological conclusions*.

I think also that in what you say about "British Waters" the words are too comprehensive. You distinguish between "religious questions" and "opinions on secular matters *which bear on religion*." As to the first you speak of the Church's "judging infallibly," and as to the other

And I have availed myself of your suggestions to leave out one passage and to modify another.¹ But I do not see my way to withdraw the statement that the Pope in Ecumenical Council is the normal seat of Infallibility or to throw doubt upon my conviction that certain Italian devotions to our Lady are not suitable to England²

Yours affectly in Xt John H Newman of the Oratory
The Very Revd The President &c.

you use the words "animadverting upon." Now it strikes me that when once you introduce the element of "bearing upon religion" you ought to go beyond this. If we do not hold that the Church has received from Christ the gift necessary to guard the deposit of faith, over and above the material truths, so to speak, of the Depositum, we never can make out the Infallibility in Dogmatic Facts; and I think the same principle extends to opinions "bearing on religion." No doubt there is a wide field for discussion in the question what are really to be regarded as these matters, and what are *judgments* of THE CHURCH regarding them; but whatever may be said as to this, I should not like to say that the function of the church is limited to "animadverting upon" them, and I am sure you did not mean it.

I think, moreover, that, in point of fact it is too much to say that (p. 398) [p. 257] in these things "the church does not so much speak doctrinally, as enforce measures of discipline." I think many of these judgments are not mere prohibitions. Sometimes certainly they are; but very often they are far more.

I should like, also, to see the words in p. 396 [p. 256], where "the Pope in ecumenical council" is described as "the normal seat of Infallibility," somewhat qualified. They appear to exclude (what you never thought of) Dogmatic Decrees of the Pope addressed to the Universal Church, which I should certainly call "normal" organs of Infallibility.

Perhaps I ought hardly to advert to another passage in p. 318 [p. 195]; and yet I will do it, as I owe to you and to myself to be entirely frank with you. I do not like your saying *absolutely* that the manifestations about the Blessed Virgin "*are not* suitable for England" I think it would be enough to say that they "*did not appear to you*" suitable.

On 29 April Russell wrote again,

'1. It appears to me that the more caution ought to be observed as to the language employed, inasmuch as the question p 387, 389 [pp. 249-50] regards not merely the "Infallibility of the Pope," or of "a Council apart from the Pope" but of the *Infallibility of the Church itself*, by whatever organ it may be exercised.

2. I think too that the effect of the passage would seem to be to include not merely the power of *defining doctrines* as "*of Catholic Faith*," but of *all Infallible teaching* regarding them. And if this be so, then it would follow not only that the Church could not *propose as articles of faith* the class of doctrines contemplated, but that she might absolutely speaking, *err regarding* them.

3. When I referred in my letter to the passage about opinions on secular matters "bearing on religion," of course I adverted chiefly to the too great generality of these words. They *might* include such a connexion with religion that an error regarding them would be prejudicial to the integrity of the Depositum. In such case I should certainly say that all theologians would maintain the gift of Infallibility —

4. What is meant merely to be *negative* — merely to abstain from teaching the Infallibility of the church on the class of subject under discussion, might easily be understood as *positive* — i.e. as teaching positively that the church might err regarding them. Great caution ought to [be] observed about this.'

¹ In *Apo.* p. 253, Newman omitted from the first edition, p. 392: 'Thus, in illustration, it [Infallibility] does not extend to statements, however sound and evident, which are mere logical conclusions from the Articles of the Apostolic *Depositum*; again, it can pronounce nothing about the persons of heretics, whose works fall within its legitimate province.' Newman had introduced these sentences, which professed less about the province of infallibility than he himself held, because he wanted to give the dogma rather than theological opinions, and for the same reason he now withdrew them, 'because they seemed too strong an *assertion*, and to be taking a side'. 'An Unpublished Paper by Cardinal Newman on the Development of Doctrine', *Journal of Theological Studies*, (Vol. IX, Part 2, 1958), p. 330.

On page 398 Newman altered 'In all this it [the Church] does not so much speak doctrinally, as enforce measures of discipline,' to 'In this province, taken as a whole, it does not so much speak doctrinally, as enforce measures of discipline.' *Apo.* p. 257.

² For Russell's reply see letter of 17 May to him.

TO HENRY JAMES COLERIDGE

The Oratory Bm May 8/65

My dear Fr Coleridge,

You will find by this morning's post that I have anticipated your wish, as contained in the letter I have just received.¹ In my last I mentioned to you the Quarterly, Frazer and the Englishman's Magazine, as three periodicals which expressed the standard of lightness and heaviness in my own idea of a Magazine for Catholic usefulness.² They do not differ very much from the Cornhill, which has as many (I allow) as *two* stories, which is too much, but has also, (or at least had, when I used to see it) a scientific article, an economical, one of contemporary history or politics, and one of talk or chat. The two novels are, I suppose, one ethical (as Thackeray's or Trolloppes) [sic] the other sensational. With the latter at least, a Catholic Magazine might dispense.

I know what a difficulty a Priest has in writing or editing literature which is not theological. I feel it very much myself. I have been too long in the groove, to say nothing else, to write any thing which is [sic] no theological meaning, but still I can't help saying now, as I did to Fr Gallwey, that it is not theology that Catholics want, but literature treated as Catholic authors cannot help treating it. You mentioned my Lectures on the Turks — I should not like a review to introduce theology more than they do. It is *secular* history written by a Catholic. I do not know how you feel on the subject, but it seems to me that the Classics open an important field for a Catholic Magazine — one popular with large classes of the community, one which the Society has ever excelled in, and one which is congenial to at least your antecedents. For instance, see how Keble (with whatever deficiencies in consequence of his Anglicanism) has christianized this study in his Prelections. It seems to me that those Prelections might be cogged from,³ and make an interesting series of Papers — e.g. the right and wrong modes of reading the Classics — according to the story of the two combatants and the gold and silver shield — or 'Eyes and no Eyes.'⁴ The French Revolution, at least the Girondists, afford a specimen of the wrong reading of them — M. de Roland — Charlotte Corday, etc etc. Speaking without book, I should say that Plutarch's lives did the mischief — as constituting a sort of 'Lives of the Saints —' and he was one of the

¹ Coleridge wrote on 7 May that Gallwey could not find the letter of 26 Feb. about a Catholic periodical. Newman had just sent another copy of his letter.

² Letter of 28 April. Coleridge wrote on 7 May that 'Fr Gallwey is all for a "Catholic Cornhill."'

³ 'cribbed from.'

⁴ Two knights coming from opposite directions stopped in front of a shield suspended from a tree, one side of which was gold and the other silver. They disputed about its metal, and came to blows, until a third knight came up and told them it was gold on one side and silver on the other. *Eyes and No Eyes*, a children's book, to encourage observation; *Ess.* I, p. 226

Keble's *Praelectiones Academicæ*, Oxford 1844, contained the latin lectures he delivered during his ten years as Poetry Professor at Oxford.

8 MAY 1865

Platonic or Eclectic school — quite different from honest old Herodotus or Pindar, who tell their evil, and the evil of their times, as it was.

Then again Education seems to me both an interesting and fruitful topic. There are those reports of the Public Schools etc etc.,¹ which supply abundant matter — and suggest many questions, unless you feel, as a member of the Society, that it is not open to you to consider views different from those which, I believe, are identified with your system.

I quite apprehend that wise rule of your Society to let every one, who is entrusted with an office, to work in his own way.² As to the exception of politics, the only question I should raise upon it, is, 'What *is* politics?' or rather 'What is *not* politics?' If it means that, e.g. you are not to support Gladstone, or not to side with Confederates against Federals, it is quite intelligible — but does the prohibition extend to principles? may you not show a preference for responsible government, for a constitution, for Magna Charta, for a state conscience, for established religion, if you choose to do so? May you not show a kind feeling to the Bey of Tunis, or to legitimacy, or to a paternal government, or to good administration? You ought to know where the line must be drawn; else, all subjects come into politics, as all subjects come into religion.

You should pay your contributors — as I doubt not you mean to do. With money you may command talent — without, there will be little effort and less punctuality, i.e. unless your writers are your own Fathers — but, where obedience is away, money is the main spring.

If you think it worth while, I am quite ready to go on for some months with the Saints of the Desert.³

Very sincerely Yours in Xt John H Newman of the Oratory

P.S. You know Isaac Williams is gone.

The Revd Fr Coleridge. S.J.

TO THE MANAGER OF THE BIRMINGHAM BANKING COMPANY

The Oratory Bm May 8/65

Dear Sir

I send a cheque for £1500 which I wish placed to the credit of my *Private* Account.

Yours faithfully John H Newman

The Manager of the B B C

¹ See letter of 5 Aug. 1864 to Monsell.

² Coleridge wrote that he had been told by the Jesuit authorities in Rome to deal with all subjects except politics.

³ Coleridge, who was to be the first Jesuit editor of the *Month* from July, wrote, 'I won't ask for more — though as your *Dream of Gerontius* finishes in June, we shall look as if you had broken off unless the "Saints of the Desert" or some little thing like that, comes out with your initials.' *The Dream of Gerontius* was first published in the *Month*, (May and June 1865). Newman resumed 'Saints of the Desert' in July. See last note to letter of 5 Aug. 1864 to Monsell.

9 MAY 1865

TUESDAY 9 MAY 1865 Mr Stevens received at the Cathedral

TO CHARLES J. BRACEY

[9 ? May 1865]

Sir¹

I have just received a printed paper signed with your name asking my attendance at Nock's Hotel on the 16th to hear the report of the Provisional Committee of the proposed Society of University Graduates.

I beg to return to you and the Committee in whose name you write my best thanks for their courtesy in thus giving me an opportunity of taking part in the proceedings of the Society: but, as I have so long lived in retirement and my age and my ordinary engagements stand in the way of my leaving it, I hope they will think it no disrespect to them if I decline to avail myself of it.

TO H. D. FORBES

May 9/65

My dear Madam

I cannot of course allow that you chose your teacher for yourself; though in consequence of what you said I allowed that probably you acted with some precipitation. Precipitation does not necessarily involve mistake. It was the general voice of man which chose your teacher for you not yourself, as 'all the people held John as a Prophet.' The Catholic Church is so called by the whole world [;] no other body has succeeded in obtaining its own recognition as the Catholic Church: no one calls the Anglican 'the Catholic Church' but its own members, i.e. some of them.

Nor can I of course allow to you that it is any *reparation* for having done a good act with precipitation to do a bad act with deliberation. And to go back to Anglicanism would be a bad act

I will not cease to pray for you under your great and painful trial²

J H N

¹ Charles J. Bracey (1808-75), was a Birmingham doctor, who took a lively interest in Church matters.

² Helen Douglas Forbes wrote again on 24 June that she had been refused absolution by R. G. Macmullen in London. This was because of her declining to say that she was sure she was right in being a Catholic. 'I have given up considering myself any longer a member of the Roman Catholic Church'

At the end of Aug. she wrote again to Newman that she had no peace because she had become a Catholic, nineteen years previously, on inadequate grounds. Newman summarised his reply: 'Sept 1. 1865. wrote what I mean for a final letter — strong and severe, referring to the day of judgment — and saying that if Balaam even in a wrong course and company was told to "Go with the men," much more ought she in a right course and the company of saints to do so, when all she could possibly prove was that she (in becoming a Catholic) had done right in a wrong and hasty way.'

9 MAY 1865

TO MISS HOLMES

The Oratory Bm May 9/65

My dear Miss Holmes,

Mr Formby's Illustrated book is very beautiful.¹ I quite agree with you in considering that in matter of fact the words of Scripture have a power which no abstract or catechism can give. We have felt it so much ourselves, that, could we afford it, we should publish large portions of the Old Testament — e.g. the History of Joseph — the book of Deuteronomy, the first book of Samuel etc etc. On the other hand young people get quite a distaste for Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, by having to answer who was Abraham? what did Jacob do? etc etc.

Mr Formby is a most zealous man, very clever, very persevering. He is much more than all this — and you will be able to describe him when you know him, better than I can, for you have the gift of description. He is a good friend of the Oratory — and we of him.

I am so sorry to find that you are contemplating leaving²

Ever Yours affly in Xt John H Newman of the Oratory
Miss Holmes

WEDNESDAY 10 MAY 1865 Mr Trenow to dinner

TO MOTHER MARGARET MARY HALLAHAN

May 10th 1865

My dear Mother Margaret

If I were not so pulled about by various work, I should have sent you a line before this, to tell you that on the 5th inst all our Fathers said Mass for you and yours according to our engagement.

God has done great things by you and I trust and pray that year after year He will do for and through you greater and more than ever before

In Nov. 1865 Helen Douglas Forbes wrote that she had joined The Association for the Promotion of the Union of Christendom, and asked whether Newman approved of it. Again he summarised his reply: 'It is quite plain it would answer no good purpose to enter into the subject of your letter. You will not *resolve* to throw yourself simply on the grace of God and beg of Him to enable you to do that which at present you cannot do, viz. to believe in that Church into which he brought you. Till you do this, words are wasted.'

¹ *The Pictorial Bible and Church History Stories*, first published in 1856; another edition in three volumes, London 1862.

² Miss Holmes left the Blounts, at Mapledurham, towards the end of the year.

12 MAY 1865

With my kindest thoughts of all your children and begging their good prayers, I am

affectly Yrs in Christ J. H. Newman¹

THURSDAY 11 MAY 1865 Fr Lockhart came

FRIDAY 12 MAY Fr Lockhart went

TO MARIANNE FRANCES BOWDEN

The Oratory Birmingham May 12/65

My dear Child

This day fortnight is St Philip's Feast. If all is well, there will be high Mass, and in the evening a Latin Play. Will Papa bring all of you? — if he cannot come, will he not let Willie chaperon you?

Ever Yours affly John H Newman

Miss Bowden

TO EMILY BOWLES

The Oratory Bm May 15/65

My dear Miss Bowles,

Thank you for all the trouble and anxiety you have had about Miss S. in addition to all your ordinary work. I am very sorry for it. I suppose she is mad. Well, there's an end of it.²

It does not look as if I were sorry, to say, as I proceed to do, that I am asking you to let a second person call on you. So it is. I have just received a

¹ Mother Margaret Hallahan replied on 12 May:

'God Alone J M D C 12th May

Very Revd and Dear Dr Newman

Your handwriting always gives me a thrill of delight it is so kind and condescending of you to write to me. True friends, and true friendship are such rare things that I hope and pray that what has ever been felt by this Community and by their worthless mother towards you and all that concerns you may ever be the same. . . .

Sister Mary Gabriel Du Boulay also wrote of the pleasure Newman's letter gave Mother Margaret, 'As years pass on, there seems to grow a feeling of confidence and freedom of heart, which is strange considering she never sees you.'

On 25 May Mother Margaret wrote again:

'God Alone J M D C May 25th

Many many happy returns of St Philips Feast to you dear kind Dr Newman. All of St Catherines will be sure to remember you and all our Fathers and Brothers of the Oratory tomorrow [.] We will do all we can for our Holy Father St Philip

Ever with respect most truly yours in Jesus
Margaret of the Mother of God

² On 1 May Newman sent £2 for Miss Sausse. Emily Bowles made numerous attempts to see her, which Miss Sausse declined, and in the end Newman's gift was sent by post.

15 MAY 1865

young lady of the name of Wilson. She has been one of Dr Pusey's Oxford Nuns. Whether she will become a real nun or not, I don't know — but I wish her to see the Catholic world; and am sending her to you, Miss Taylor, and Miss Bathurst. I have written to you about her already. The question is, should she try, and, if so, where. She must not be in a hurry. If some evening, when you take tea at home and have not had a very fatiguing day, you could give her a cup, it is all I think she would wish. She goes to town tomorrow or Wednesday — and will write to you.

As to the new Archbishop, the appointment at least has the effect of making Protestants see, to their surprise, that Rome is not distrustful of converts, as such.¹ On the other hand it must be a great trial to the old Priesthood, — to have a neophyte set over them all. Some will bear it very well — I think our Bishop will — but I cannot prophesy what turn things will take on the whole. He has a great power of winning men, when he chooses — witness the fact of his appointment — but whether he will care to win inferiors, or whether his talent extends to the case of inferiors as well as superiors, I do not know.

One man has one talent, another another — you speak of me. I have generally got on well with juniors — but not with superiors. My going to Rome, as you wish me, would only be, as indeed it has been already, an additional instance of this

Ever Yours affly in Xt John H Newman of the Oratory
Miss Bowles

TO WILLIAM LOCKHART

[15?] May 1865?²

My dear Fr Lockhart

Fr St John brought before our Fathers this morning his proposition about Mr Oxenham's helping him in the School this term — and they wished me to write to you as follows

They wish to ask some thing of him, and also from you, if you could kindly grant it

1. As to Mr Oxenham himself. After the strike three years ago, two of the Masters came back to us; but we did not allow them to return without their writing letters to me, expressing their deep regret at what they had done and begging to be allowed to withdraw their act. We could not have any thing to do with Mr Oxenham unless he frankly did the same.

¹ The official news of Manning's appointment as Archbishop of Westminster reached him in London on 8 May. Emily Bowles wrote on 10 May that she was 'delighted that the Pope acted with vigour', and argued in consequence that Newman also should go to Rome and see Pius IX. In reference to the Jesuit reaction to the appointment she wrote, 'If you only saw the Farm Street faces!'

² This draft was dated by Newman 'May' and he added in pencil '1865?' Lockhart was at the Oratory on 11 and 12 May, and it was evidently suggested that Oxenham, who was then at Ratcliffe College, near Leicester, might take Arnold's place at the Oratory School during the summer term.

15 MAY 1865

Further, we understand that on that occasion a circular was even printed against us by Mr Oxenham and others; and was partially issued, when friends of ours in London managed to stop it. We must have from him a copy of this document.¹

2. Then as to yourself we suggest to your charity whether it would not be possible for you to get for him testimonials from Archbishop Manning who received him, who introduced him to me and on two occasions sent him here, to the effect that his grace 'saw no reason why we should not give him work in our school'²

TO JOHN HUNGERFORD POLLEN

The Oratory Bm May 15/65

My dear Pollen

Are you going to chaperon the Bowdens down here for our Latin Play on the 26th? I fear I must not fancy Mrs Pollen can come

Ever yrs affly John H Newman

J. H. Pollen Esq

P.S. Since writing this, I have heard from H. Bowden that his daughters cannot come. I suppose they can hardly bear it considering the last time they came was with their Mother. However Willie [Bowden] is to come.

TO W. J. COPELAND

The Oy Bm May 16/65

My dear Copeland

I have not written to you, first because I have been so very busy — next, because I thought there was just a chance of your going to Stinchcombe and taking us in your way back.

I have much to thank you for hastening my movements — and it is wonderful that I just managed to see dear Isaac almost on his last day. I was planning with myself a second visit, when the news came of his death. When I first caught a view of him, I could not recognise him at all — first from his alteration of countenance; secondly from the fixed imperturbability [sic] of look, which, like the gaze of the dead, seemed not to recognise me, or show joy, sorrow or any emotion. When he talked, and when he even drove, the impression went off, and I conversed with, and saw, as it were, his mind, not

¹ See the correspondence in Jan. 1862.

² Lockhart replied in a letter dated 22 May, that Oxenham's answer had been delayed, but that he would like to be connected with Newman in any way that was possible, as long as he did not have to give up any principle. Lockhart added, 'I do not think there would be any difficulty in getting something in his favour from Manning, as he has written him a most kind letter, from which Oxenham thinks he wishes him to infer that he would ordain him.' Oxenham neither came to the Oratory School nor was ordained.

17 MAY 1865

him — and so, though my first thought on seeing him was, he is dead already, my last was, I must manage to come to him again. And yet, when I left, he was much worse than when I came — for the excitement of the day had tired him, and he could not speak, except to beg to be drawn into the shade. It was as if he had stopped dying till he saw me — for, as [far as] I can make out, he never rallied, they sent for the doctor, and he died. I believe he lived and died in perfect good faith — and without a doubt that he was in the Catholic Church — and this belief is my great consolation.

He has various letters of mine — he spoke about one in particular — which I should like to have. I don't think we were great correspondents, or that my letters will have much in them. He asked if he [sic] recollected a particular conversation between him, Pusey, and myself? I said, 'Yes. I thought no one recollected it but myself. I am so pleased you confirm me — have you told Copeland?' he said he had.

I am this very day sending back to the Printer the *last* revise of my 'Narrative of Religious Opinions —' i.e. my *Apologia* in its second edition. Also, we are all busy with the *Phormio* of Terence which the boys are to represent on the 26th, St Philip's day, the day after Ascension. And I have had, and have, a pile of letters to answer. Tomorrow¹ <(my pen won't follow my mind. This happens often — how strange!)> is the anniversary of my Mother's death. As to your History, you will be all your life collecting materials, and will do nothing

Ever Yrs affly John H Newman

WEDNESDAY, 17 MAY 1865 a fine May

TO MRS PETER BRETHERTON

Confidential

My dear Mrs Bretherton

May 17/65

I should not forgive myself, if I did not write to you about dear Eleanor. I never saw her as she was yesterday. All her playfulness was gone; she was very serious; and her manner, though she was not conscious of it, was nervous, and had the appearance of a mind anxious and uneasy.

And when she came to talk to me, she seemed to me to have cause for it. Unless Mr W's [Watt's] parents take the matter up cordially, and provide for him, she has the prospect of a long engagement, a most forlorn prospect.

I seemed to myself to see the day, (though please God it may be only the despondency of old age in me) when dear Eleanor's face was pale, and her manner habitually subdued and sad.

¹ Newman had to rewrite this word. His mother died in 1836.

17 MAY 1865

What makes me more anxious, is Mr W's position at Oxford. From the character of a University, there are no public places of amusements there; nor can he have any intercourse with the young men of the place. There is an impassable fence between gown and town. After a hard day's work, a young man in business at Oxford, who does not belong to a family has no alternative, (as far as I know the place) between passing some lonely hours in his lodgings, and seeking recreations which are not innocent. For him then, a long engagement must be insupportable; for he would have a continual impatience for the power to claim that blessing which would bring him out of so grave a dilemma.

Thus I have a source of anxiety about him of my own. I know perfectly well how illnatured the world is — still, report says, that he has not hitherto conducted himself to the satisfaction of his well wishers; and I ask myself, has he the perseverance necessary for hard work [,] a virtuous life, and a long engagement?

These are the reasons which lead me to urge on you if possible to come to some understanding with his parents. Eleanor is too precious to trifle with. They must take the case up in earnest. Else, the affair will linger, languish on — nothing settled — every thing in prospect — hope — disappointment — hope again — to and fro, to and fro, and no end of it.

Dear child, she asked me whether Mr Monsell or Mr Hope Scott could do any thing for him! but in this day nothing is done by men's favour — nothing can be got without money or high testimonials or without competitive examination¹

J H N.

TO CHARLES RUSSELL

The Oratory Bm May 17/65

My dear Dr Russell,

Had I not been so very busy, I should have acknowledged your last letter before this.²

¹ Mrs Bretherton replied on 19 May that the parents of Frank Watt had been told of and had consented to his engagement to her daughter. See letter of 24 April. The engagement would be a long one, since Frank Watt, who was a solicitor's clerk in Oxford, would receive little financial help from his parents. Mrs Bretherton repeated her daughter's petition that Newman should find Frank Watt a more lucrative post, and while admitting that aspersions had been cast on him, gave reasons for rejecting them.

² Russell replied next day to Newman's letter of 5 May: 'Would you not say that 'the Pope in conjunction with the body of Pastors,' whether 'in council' or 'dispersed' is the 'normal seat of Infallibility'? I should much desire to see the sentence on p. 396 [*Apo.* p. 256] modified in this sense. The modification would not affect your argument much; for the number of Dogmatic Decrees addressed to the Universal church has been very small. And on the other hand I think it would be hard to say that the tribunal which condemned Jansenism was not the normal seat of the Infallibility of the Church.'

Russell added: 'I wish further to say that *no one* is aware of my having written to you, or of my taking any exception to the Apologia; — except indeed, as to the latter, one very dear friend, whose opinion I asked for my own greater security — (in confidence)'

20 MAY 1865

I will only say, that still, with my best lights, I do not see that the Pope's judgments out of Council are other than extraordinary utterances, and therefore, if they are extraordinary, they are not normal.

If a Council were held now, I conceive one of its first acts, would be formally to receive and repeat the condemnation of Jansenism and the definition of the Immaculate Conception. It would be natural indeed for it to do so any how; but I think it would consider it a duty.

I cannot produce any exact illustration of my meaning; but, if obliged to illustrate, I should liken the Pope's decisions out of Ecumenical Council to confirmation by a Priest specially delegated. Such a confirmation is valid and licit, but extraordinary. Or I might illustrate the case by the Congregation of Propaganda as compared with that of Bishops and Regulars. The latter may be considered the Pope's normal Congregation; the former the Pope's extraordinary.

But I am not arguing, only expressing my meaning, and explaining why I have not changed the passage.

We are expecting some new and great policy to open with the appointment of our new Archbishop

Yours ever affectly in Xt John H Newman of the Oratory
The Very Revd Dr Russell &c &c

SATURDAY 20 MAY 1865 splendid weather

TO ROBERT ORNSBY

The Oratory Bm May 20/65

My dear Ornsby

I was interested to read Mr Darcy McGee[']s speech which you sent me. He called on me, when I was in Ireland, and I was much pleased with him.¹

For some days I have expected Dr Woodlock, for his letters have come here. Dr Dunne too was coming down suddenly, so that I had no opportunity of answering his letter. I suppose they will turn up, unless Dr D. is already returned to you.

I want to know if Duffy is yet well enough to attend to business — or who is the acting man there. I wrote to D. several months ago and have had no answer.²

Thank you for your notice of myself in re Archiepiscopatus — but such preferment is not in my line — were it offered me, I should unhesitatingly

¹ Thomas D'Arcy McGhee (1825–68), Young Irelander and poet, settled in Canada in 1857, where he became a leading statesman and played an important part in the formation of the Dominion of Canada. Two volumes of his speeches on this subject were published in 1865.

² Newman was preparing the uniform edition of his works, several of which had been first published by Duffy in Dublin.

20 MAY 1865

decline it — and my unsuitableness is felt by those who determine those things as fully as it is by myself.¹ However, Manning's rise is marvellous — in fourteen years a Protestant Archdeacon is made Catholic Archbishop of Westminster, with the whole body of old Catholics, Bishops and all, under him. At the moment he is very unpopular — but, I suppose, there will be a re-action. Protestants cannot but be pleased to see an Oxford man, a Fellow of Merton, a parson, make his way to the top of the tree in such a communion as the Roman — and Success is the goddess of an Englishman — 'Te Nos facimus, Fortuna, deam.'² Then as to Catholics, a man in authority has such great opportunities of recovering his ground, if he chooses to employ them. He will gradually fill the Chapter with his own men — He will make Missionary Rectors — and do private services. Then his great qualifications will overcome the laity. And he has such powers of persuasion that, if he chooses it, he will be able to bring over the Bishops.

Every Yours affly in Xt John H Newman of the Oratory

R. Ornsby Esqr

TO LADY CHARLES THYNNE

The Oratory, Birmingham. May 20/65.

My dear Lady Charles,

I am very sorry you cannot come to hear Charlie. If he tells you that you would make him nervous, there's an end of it — but I am surprised if he has done so. He is perfectly fluent and self-possessed, and for that very reason I have given him, above others to say the Prologue. Indeed in *our* estimation he is wonderfully changed — he is *to us* a different boy; and Father St. John thinks him running past all his form in his Latin and Greek. Indeed, he thinks it a thousand pities that he is going, now that he has made a real start. But to return to his acting. He is the best of the company. He was not so at first, but he has learned to modulate his voice better than any of the boys. I gave him the part of one of the two young gentlemen of the Plot — thinking his person and manner would be suitable — but I am sorry he had not a more prominent part, such as the senior boys in his form have, Towneley and [R.] Ward, — I was afraid of his timidity, but he has got over it

It seemed absurd giving only a week's notice to you, other engagements in London are made so long before hand; but we have been afraid of pledging ourselves, as we did not know how the boys would get on.

¹ Ornsby wrote on 10 May: 'Dr Manning's appointment (now I suppose confirmed) is a remarkable event, in every way. It seems a bold act, considering the susceptibilities it will wound, but a very natural one, unless converts were to be simply excluded. It is not in human nature to forget the comparative obscurity in which a greater name seems to be left all these years. But greatness is of many kinds, and I suppose it is after all uncommon to see the position of a leader of thought united with equally lofty official work. Your name will not be the less cherished either by your friends or by posterity.'

² Juvenal, *Satires* X, 365-6.

20 MAY 1865

I was going to write to you to ask your acceptance of the second Edition of my last year's volume. This I wish to do, not as a penance (for it is but a poor one) but as a penitential memorial of my rudeness last year in keeping you waiting when you so kindly called on me. Pray accept it.

Yours very sincerely in Christ John H. Newman of the Oratory.
The Lady Charles Thynne.

TO BISHOP ULLATHORNE

The Oratory Bm May 20. 1865

My dear Lord

I have been asked to allow of the insertion of my name among the referees mentioned in the Advertisement transcribed overleaf.¹ Would this be inconsistent with the Episcopal Judgment of March 24 last?

Is it still proper for Catholic Colleges and Schools to prepare youths for the *Examinations* of a Protestant University, as, for instance, the London? for this, I suppose, Mr Watson is doing²

Yr Lordship's faithful & affte Servt John H Newman
The Bp of Birmingham

TO D. B. DUNNE

The Oratory Bm May 21/65

My dear Dr Dunne

I wonder whether this will find you. We were much disappointed you did not come as you proposed. You know you did not give me time to send you an answer to your letter. Since then, I have been expecting you daily. And letters for Dr Woodlock have come, which makes me think you still design to visit me.³

Don't come on Thursday or Friday for we shall be chock. It's St Philip's

¹ 'Mr Joseph Watson, M.A. of Caius College, Cambridge, a Catholic, and one of the Masters in University College School, London, receives into his family a few pupils.

The pupils can attend the public classes of the College, and so combine the advantages of a public and private course of studies, or they can receive an entirely private education.

Mr Watson has the honour of the approbation and recommendation of H.E. the Cardinal Archbishop of Westminster, and is allowed to refer to Revd Joseph Toursel, French Chapel etc etc Revd William Lockhart, 89 Culford Road etc'

² Ullathorne replied on 23 May, 'Although no opinion has been formally expressed by the Bishops on the subject, — I am disposed to think that the case stands quite apart from that of cooperating in placing Catholic youth in Protestant Universities for their studies. It is merely a question of taking degrees, there being none otherwise acceptable — upon a course of study conducted entirely under Catholic direction.'

³ Dunne and Woodlock were in London, trying to obtain, through Gladstone, a charter for the Catholic University of Ireland.

23 MAY 1865

day. Except that we can't give you beds, we shall be rejoiced to see you then. And the more so, because our boys attempt a Latin Play in the evening — which we should like you to see

Yours affly in Xt John H Newman of the Oratory
D. B. Dunne Esqr &c &c

MONDAY 22 MAY 1865 first representation of play *in dresses* — *the Phormio* servants present

TUESDAY 23 MAY splendid weather

TO JAMES MAC IVOR

The Oy Bm May 23/65

My dear Sir¹

No apology was necessary for your most kind and acceptable letter — in one respect alone unsatisfactory to me, that you think that I am better read than I really am. What has kept me from writing on many subjects, is the time and fatigue which it involves to get up, as is imperative, what others have written on them before now, and I have neither leisure nor bodily strength to observe these conditions. And, for this reason, I never could have published a history of my opinions, had I not felt myself obliged.

Thus I am not able to defend my own views or to criticize the sheets which you have allowed me to see.² The arguments contained in them are forcibly urged and very interesting and I dare say you supply elsewhere explanations or answers to such objections as they suggest on the reading, or that I do not fully understand you. As to the notion of an eternal law involving dualism, it seems to me no dualism to predicate a number of things of God, if we consider that those predicates are but aspects of Himself, that is, are Himself.³ Could God create a second God? no — why? because that there can be no God but one is implied in the very idea of God. But Why? why not dualism? why at least not a quasi dualism? why a strict unity? If then unity is implied [,] dualism is negatived [,] in the idea of God prior to His will, why may not a certain moral character? God wills that moral character as He wills His

¹ James Mac Ivor went to Trinity College, Dublin, as a scholar in 1839, and was a Fellow from 1844 until his death in 1886. He was Professor of Moral Philosophy 1872–8, and Rector of Ardstraw, Derry, 1858 to death.

² Mac Ivor was already preparing his *Religious Progress, its Criterion, Instruments and Laws*, London 1871, and on 18 May sent Newman a proof sheet in which he attacked the philosophy of Hamilton and Mansel, and maintained 'that Idealism was adverse to Catholic teaching'. He thought Newman would consider him a rationalist.

³ Mac Ivor wrote, 'My antipathy to Platonism arises from my belief that it is essential dualism, into which it misleads as I conceive our ablest and honestest thinkers — not excepting even Bishop Butler. . .'

24 MAY 1865

existence, and could as little destroy it as He could annihilate Himself or could restrict his infinity. Could the Father annihilate the Son? is He less God because He cannot? is the Son independent of the Father, and is there a dualism, because He cannot [—] in like manner He is not the less God, there is not more a dualism, because a certain moral character is part of His nature and must be so.

As to my own views I have not meant in my recent volume to deny the existence of matter.¹ You are quite right in considering such denial would be inconsistent with our doctrines. But I am not therefore prepared to say that the phenomena which present themselves to us are more than a particular mode on which the existence of matter is brought home to us, and as little to be identified with matter as the two cards of a stereoscope are identified with the actual image which they present to my eye at the point of sight. I can fancy having five senses as different from any of our actual senses, as sight is from hearing; and in that case matter would present itself to us in an utterly new and heterogeneous aspect, compared with its present aspect. That new aspect would be as true as the old, and no truer. Neither would be simply true; both this and that would be methods by which I was made acquainted with external objects. I repeat, I am no metaphysician, and cannot support or bring out duly my own views; all I mean to say is that to distinguish between phenomena, and matter, is not to deny the existence of matter.

I have written as much as this out of respect to you, and gratefully for the great kindness of tone in which you write to me; not as feeling that I can argue duly on the subject, or [but] knowing (alas) I have no time to pursue studies which are very interesting to me. Pray take and excuse it in this point of view, and believe me to be

J H N

Dr Mac Ivor

WEDNESDAY 24 MAY 1865 second representation asked our people

TO T. W. ALLIES

The Oy Bm May 24/65.

My dear Allies,

You have been in our thoughts for some days; for we wished to ask you down for St Philip's day, but did not like to do so, as we could not give you a bed. In England one depends so strangely on the weather, that it is an excuse

¹ Mac Ivor, basing himself on *Apo.* pp. 10, 18, 27, 73 and 239, criticised Newman for 'the severance between the phenomenal and the real and consequent disparagement of the former — issuing in Berkeleyism'. He thought this the essence of Gnosticism and Neo-Platonism.

24 MAY 1865

for the national habit of talking of it. Our proceedings are as follows:— Friday morning — High Mass, the Bishop celebrating — in the evening, the Phormio of Terence, (expurgated). On Saturday, a lunch at our place at Rednall. Now if the weather is bad, it is no good attempting Rednall. But if this weather continues, I wish we could tempt you and Mrs Allies down.

As to Gerontius, perhaps the second part will be a failure. So be cautious with your criticism.¹ I wish my faculties were more under my own control. I cannot do a thing from wishing and determining to do it. As to my Apologia, I can't eradicate Kingsley. The Apologia requires an apology, unless it is to a bona fide accusation. But I have done all I can.

Thank you for what you say about yourself, but, if you write to inspire me with confidence in the Archbishop, laterem lavas.²

Ever yours affly in Xt John H Newman of the Oratory

TO FREDERICK CAPES

The Oratory, Bm May 24, 1865

My dear Mr Capes,

I thank you very much for your kind letter, and for your considerate and handsome donation. I have collected some money for the Oxford plan, which still remains at my Banker's with the hope of its coming into use some how. And I expect to have secured an eligible site, though I was obliged to sell my original ground. I will add your contribution to those already in my hands.³

Your news about your brother is very sorrowful — but, with you I do feel that he must come back — he is too religious to do without religion, and too clever to be satisfied with any religion but the Catholic⁴

Very sincerely Yrs John H Newman of the Oratory

¹ Allies wrote in praise of *The Dream of Gerontius* having seen the first half in the *Month* for May.

² A proverb, 'You labour in vain,' literally 'you are washing a brick', Terence, *Phormio*, I, iv, 9. The chief purpose of Allies's letter of 23 May was penitently to retract his view that the meeting of the Bishops in Dec. 1864, had been summoned in order to prevent Newman from going to Oxford. See note to letter of 13 Dec. 1864 to Copeland; also postscript to letter of 5 June 1865 to Wetherell.

For Allies's reply, see letter of 4 June to him.

³ Capes sent nearly £10.

⁴ Capes wrote about his brother J. M. Capes, that he had married again, a Protestant, who did not interfere with his children's Catholic faith. 'I should think from an expression he used in the note informing me of his marriage that he would call himself an infidel. I know it is a bad case, but, for all that, do not despair of seeing him reconciled to the Church by some means before he dies.' J. M. Capes returned to the Church for the last seven years of his life.

24 MAY 1865

TO COUNTESS PISANI

In a letter to Madame Pisani¹

May 24. 1864 [1865?]

'The Encyclical is a subject which it is more prudent to be silent about, than to talk of, in England. Of course all good Catholics submit, not to say hold to its principles — but those, who have any relations with public matters, feel they had difficulties enough already, before its publication. . . . In Italy it is war to the knife . . . but in England, where numbers are approaching the Church, theological sentences which they have no means of interpreting in a theological sense, when thrown upon the Newspapers *before* they are given to the Bishops, for this is what was done at Rome (I don't say *by* Rome) operate as strong dissuasive, and throw back into opposition those who otherwise would be our friends.'

J H N

THURSDAY 25 MAY 1865 Ascension day.

FRIDAY 26 MAY Bishop sang high mass. I preached. play in evening —²

SATURDAY 27 MAY party to Rednall dejeuner The Bellasises, Wards, Pollen, Mrs Owen Jones, etc etc³

TO MRS FITZGERALD

May 27/65

(in substance)

Madam

Your case, as you state it, seems a hard one, and you are quite right in considering that the Bishop is the proper person to give a decision upon it.⁴

¹ Newman copied out this part of his letter. Marion Pisani was the wife of the Director of the Diplomatic Chancery in the British Embassy at Constantinople. She had evidently consulted Newman about the Encyclical *Quanta cura*, and the 'Syllabus of Errors'.

² A long and laudatory account of the play was reprinted from the *Birmingham Daily Post* in the *Weekly Register*, (3 June 1865), p. 341.

³ The invitation has been preserved:

'May 27. [1865]

The Fathers of the Oratory will have pleasure in receiving their visitors at Rednall to-day at 11 A M

A *Private* Omnibus or Carriages will start from the Oratory at 10 precisely, Luncheon at one.

There will be no difficulty in getting back for the afternoon London trains.

J H N

For Mr Sergeant Bellasis

Mr Ward

Mrs Owen Jones,

and other friends at the Plough and Harrow.'

⁴ Mrs Fitzgerald wrote on 26 May that after being separated from her husband for twenty-four years, she had brought up her children on borrowed money. Her husband having just died and left his money to the Catholic poor schools in Birmingham, she was appealing to Ullathorne to have it assigned to her.

28 MAY 1865

He is, by his office, a *judge*; but you will easily understand that for that very reason, it would be a great impropriety in me, however glad I should be to serve you, to interfere in the matter, in the way that you wish. A judge must be impartial; and it would be as wrong in me to attempt to influence the Bishop, as if I tried to bias one of the Queen's Judges in a trial at law.

J H N

TO WILLIAM MONSELL

The Oratory Bm May 28/65

My dear Monsell

I said Mass for your intention this morning — and we shall give you other Masses. I congratulate you much on your prospect of success.¹ It seems to me that the Cardinal's end, and a sort of feeling of tenderness and remorse, as if he had been roughly used years ago, have a good deal to do with that kinder feeling towards Catholics, which you say exists among public men at present. I never should wonder if Manning took a moderate line now. He is at the top of the tree, and has to conciliate the little men who are under its branches, while he keeps well with powers at Rome. It would not surprise me even if he allowed young men to go to Oxford, from the necessity of finding some way of disposing of them, and the hopelessness of finding any other. I don't think he liked *me* to have any thing to do with them — and he is so mysterious, that I don't know how one can ever have confidence in him — but education must be provided for all classes — and he will have so much to do for the education of the clergy and the poor 20,000 children in London, that Catholic gentlemen may soon find their entering their sons at Oxford, not resisted, but simply ignored.

We had beautiful weather for our Festival here — and every thing went off well.

I saw you did Fr St John's work in the House on Thursday. What is the form and mode by which he can secure an interview with Lord Palmerston?²

Ever Yrs affly John H Newman of the Oratory

The Rt Honble Wm Monsell M P

¹ Monsell, whose Oaths Bill had passed its second reading on 17 May, wrote on 26 May that he was negotiating with the Conservative party and hoped to frame a single oath to be taken by all members of parliament equally. 'If this is accomplished it will be, I think, our greatest triumph since Emancipation — It will establish our equality with Protestants and it will relieve us from an odious and perplexing oath. How far the kinder disposition thus manifested is due to your Apologia God alone knows. Will you pray and offer up mass that we may succeed . . .' Monsell's Bill, after passing its third reading in the House of Commons, on 15 June, was defeated in the House of Lords, at the end of the month.

² St John's brother, who died in 1863, had been senior Surveyor-General of Customs, and the Commissioners of Customs had recommended that his services be recognized in some special manner. But when Monsell asked in the House of Commons on 25 May how this would be done, he was told that there was no authority in the Pension Acts for granting allowances to the widows and families of public officers.

Monsell offered to forward a letter from St John to Palmerston, with a covering letter of his own.

31 MAY 1865

TO W. J. COPELAND

The Oratory Bm May 31/65

My dear Copeland

Do you think Keble is well enough to see me next Tuesday, June 6? Supposing this point settled, would you meet me in London Tuesday morning and go down there (to Hursley) with me? I don't suppose he would bear us for many hours — but we could be some where or other for the night, and next morning I must be back again in London, for Manning's consecration on the Thursday.

Now don't say no, if Keble says yes.

Ever Yrs affly John H Newman

The Revd W J Copeland

P.S. If you can come, you had better write off at once to Mrs Keble, to save a post — or even telegraph, if you and Hursley are near stations.

TO ARCHBISHOP MANNING

The Oratory Bm May 31. 1865

My dear Archbishop

On hearing of your appointment I said Mass for you without any delay. I will readily attend your consecration, — on one condition which I will state presently.¹ As I come as your friend, not as a Father of the Birmingham Oratory, I do not propose to bring any other Father with me. I am sure you will allow me to escape dinner or other meeting, as such public manifestations are so much out of my way. Nor do they come into the object of your asking me; which is, as you have said, to have my prayers at the function itself.²

The condition I make is this: — A year or two back I heard you were doing your best to get me made a Bishop in partibus; I heard this from several quarters, and I don't see how I can be mistaken. If so, your feeling towards me is not unlikely to make you attempt the same thing now. I risk the chance of your telling me that you have no such intention, to entreat you not to entertain it. If such an honour were offered to me, I should persistently decline it, very persistently; and I do not wish to pain the Holy Father, who has always been so kind to me, if such pain can be avoided. Your allowing me then to come to

¹ Manning wrote on 30 May, 'In calling to mind the old, and dear Friends who would pray for me at this moment your name arose among the first; and I can not refrain from writing to ask you to give me the happiness and consolation of your being with me on the 8th of June next at Moorfields. No one will better know than you how much I need your prayers. I will give directions that places shall be reserved for you, and for Fr St John . . .'

² In reference to this, Patterson wrote to Neville on 25 Nov. 1894, 'The lunch was a cold and informal affair attended by more seminarists and junior clergy than others — and I think Cardinal M. [Manning] was himself not present — or rather came in to show himself than to refresh.'

31 MAY 1865

your consecration I shall take as a pledge, that you will have nothing to do with any such attempt¹

I am, My dear Archbishop, Yours affectionately in Xt
John H Newman of the Oratory

The Most Revd Dr Manning

P.S. I suppose the *hour* of the Function will be advertised in Saturday's Papers.

TO MRS JOHN MOZLEY

The Oratory Bm May 31/65

My dear Jemima

Thank you for the Photographs which I think very good. They are very like, which is a compliment to you as well as to the Artist — for they do not tell of 'increase of years.'

Our boys have just been acting Terence's Phormio with great applause before a select audience. People who came from London think it a great success. I expurgated it, and published my own edition of it.

Yours affectly John H Newman

Mrs John Mozley

TO SIR FREDERIC ROGERS

The Oratory, Birmingham May 31. 1865

My dear Rogers

I am coming up to London for Manning's consecration, this day week, June 7; and am tempted to ask you whether you can give me a bed that night. Never mind at all, if you can't. If you can, I will come to dinner or not, as is convenient to you.

¹ Cf. note to letter of 4 June to Allies, and Butler's *Ullathorne*, II, pp. 127-9. Already on 18 May Ullathorne warned Manning that to offer Newman a bishopric would be 'open to misconstruction'.

Manning replied on 4 June: 'It will be a happiness to me to know that you will be with me on Thursday. And I therefore will not contest what you write. But if you have not destroyed a letter I wrote to you when what you refer to was first intended many years ago, you will know my mind [see second note to letter of 15 June 1854 to Bowles]. I think that such an intention ought not to have been suspended. And I have for more than two years done my part to accomplish it. I do not look upon it as a mere decoration, but as having its fitness in many relations. You have known me well enough to know that decorations have no worth with either of us. But your wish must be final with me. You will be able to come and go freely by the House 22 Finsbury Circus. But I hope you will let me see you. I shall be there by a little after nine. I thank you much for your kindness in saying Mass for me. I will not fail to do so for you. And I thank you for the kind words with which I believe you commended me to the prayers of your flock.'

On the day of the Consecration W. G. Ward wrote to urge on Manning the danger of being too sympathetic towards Newman, in view of his disloyalty to the Vicar of Christ and of his worldliness. *Purcell* II, p. 309.

31 MAY 1865

Next, I am writing to ask Copeland to go down with me to Keble's the day before, Tuesday June 6, meeting me in London. If he can, I would beg your hospitality on Monday night June 5 — but here again, I feel I may be asking what you cannot give — and if you can't you will be able at another time perhaps.

Ever Yours affly John H. Newman

Sir Fredc Rogers

TO LADY CHARLES THYNNE

The Oratory, Birmingham May 31st. 1865.

My dear Lady Charles,

I acknowledge my omission. I recollected it when too late. You must impute it to an old man's loss of memory — for things go out of my head like a shot. I had fully intended to write in the first page.¹

The play certainly was a success — it pleased generally — and has been a great encouragement to Masters and boys.

Very sincerely yours, John H. Newman.

The Lady C. Thynne.

TO MISS M. R. GIBERNE

[End of May? 1865]¹

My dear Sister M. Pia

If I have not written in answer to any question of yours about yourself, it was because I did not observe it, because I fancied you had sufficient advice where you are, and because I am so little fitted to give it. What you say of your own difficulty in meditation, is quite what I should say of myself, if that is any comfort to you. I think the mind is weakened as one gets old, and cannot *hold* an idea any more than the muscles can hold a heavy weight. And then again, as the eyes get dim and the hearing dull, so in like manner the affections do not act in sensible emotions as they do when people are young. All this is very painful, and unsatisfactory — but I trust it is not a sign of falling back. What I try to do is to live more in the sight of God, and to try to be acting to His glory. But you must pray for me that I may not get into a bad way — and that I may not do any thing that may mislead you.

I do think it next to a miracle that you are professed, and a great mark of

¹ This refers to a gift of the new edition of *Apo*.

² This letter is undated, but in the final paragraph Newman mentions that his nephew Frank Mozley had visited him. This he had not done on 4 May 1865. See letter of that day to his mother. On the other hand Newman also mentions the marriage of his niece Grace, only daughter of Thomas Mozley, 'last July'. Grace was married on 4 July 1864.

2 JUNE 1865

God's special love to you — and an extreme encouragement to you to go on hoping and trusting that He will be with you to the end.

To my great surprise Harry [Mozley], my third nephew, is a very high Puseyite, and more. He has suddenly taken to it, as a friend of his, who has become a Catholic tells me. *Don't touch on the subject* to Jemima. The fourth, Frank, was here the other day — gentle and kind, but with no views at all. You know of course that Grace was married last July

Ever Yrs affly J H N

THURSDAY 1 JUNE 1865 school examinations began to Rednall with William

FRIDAY 2 JUNE returned from Rednall some rain school examinations

TO MISS HOLMES

The Oy Bm June 2/65

My dear Miss Holmes

I said Mass for Mrs Stonor, as you wished, yesterday.¹ I can't take your stamps. If you want another Mass, I will give it you

Yours affly in Xt John H Newman

Miss Holmes

TO W. J. COPELAND

The Oy Bm June 3/65

My dear Copeland

I am very sorry for the turmoil I have raised — but I will say in my defence that I gave you the longest notice I *could* give. I had hoped to have got off going to Manning's consecration, — as he did not write. But suddenly came a letter, and then without any delay I wrote off to you and Rogers, thinking that, if I were once in motion, I could manage, by the first law of mechanics, to keep in motion, and that that motion might be determined towards Hursley. But now things are driven so close, and it is Whitsuntide, (which I strangely forgot, tho' I recollected it as regards Manning,) and Rogers is engaged; so I have written to Mrs Keble to put off the visit. And I think this on all accounts best, as we shall be able to know more about Keble's state by waiting.

The play went off admirably — and the next day was a beautiful day for Rednall. We got Bellasis with his family, Pollen, and others, to come from London, and all went off with a brilliancy which was far above what the

¹ This was probably Catherine eldest daughter of John Coulthurst. She married Thomas Edward Stonor on 22 April 1863, and was left a widow on 28 May 1865.

3 JUNE 1865

average of years will allow of — though the last week of May, in which stands St Philip's feast, is (as all my life I have found) about the finest, and surest, in the year. We have a splendid creeper in full dazzling bloom all over the verandah — and every one was delighted. We thought at one time of asking you — but, there was a great probability of our Bishop being there, and we thought you would run down your own throat, to get out of the way

Ever Yrs affly John H Newman

The Revd W J Copeland

TO RICHARD HOLT HUTTON

The Oratory Birmingham June 3. 1865

My dear Mr Hutton

Your letter last year did not 'bore' me at all — just the contrary — nor do I quarrel with your objecting to my definition of Liberalism¹ It is true I state it categorically, but you will observe the whole account is historical, and I make it first as the best analysis of my meaning in time past, next as the best definition I can give of Liberalism now. If any other is better, let it be given. — Nothing is more desirable than to clear up verbal questions. As to the deductions which I have set down in the shape of propositions, I did not mean them to be strictly logical, but propositions which the Tracts etc opposed.

I am much obliged to you for the offer of your Treatise, and gladly accept it. It will I am sure, be at once interesting and instructive. Should any thing occur to me to remark upon it, I will do so — but I am so busy, and am so easily tired, and have so many calls on me, which I have never time to answer, that I always start at the idea of having to take up an argument presented to me, however I may wish to do so. The day goes before it is well begun — and thus year passes after year, and I feel sad at having done nothing in them that I can look back upon.²

Why do you take for granted that I admit no historical errors in the Bible?

¹ When thanking Newman on 2 June for the new edition of *Apo.*, Hutton wrote: 'I fear I bored you a good deal a year ago and will only now say that I cannot accept your definition of Liberalism in the new note [*Apo.* pp. 294-6]. Some of its principles I condemn as heartily as you can do; others seem to me absolutely essential to the faith in the power of God's truth itself. I should like, if it would at all interest you, to send you the only theological tract I ever published. It was a sort of explanation to my Unitarian friends of my grounds for accepting the Incarnation and for *not* going further. I could easily conceive your making severe criticism that would help me in the great difficulty of the relation of internal to external evidence. I cannot understand a man with his intellect unbiased and a simple absolute desire to see God's truth accepting all the books of the bible as free from historical error and as morally authoritative. Yet I know that you and many men with intellects far wider than my own find no difficulty in this. I am pretty *sure* it is not want of humility in me, but sheer inability to resist the force of evidence that obliges me to discriminate between book and book, passage and passage. There are few men to whom the satisfaction of accepting the quod semper, quod ubique, quod apud omnes would be greater than to me, — if only light were not light and evidence evidence.'

² Hutton's treatise was *The Incarnation and Principles of Evidence*, London 1862. Newman acknowledged its reception, but Hutton's letters in reply show that he excused himself from discussing it.

4 JUNE 1865

This is a question of fact — fact is fact, and can be proved. Perhaps what I might think short of a proof, another might think a demonstration — Perhaps what another would think sufficient for moral conviction, I, from reverence and tenderness towards a sacred writer, might pick holes in — but certainly I will not shut my eyes to historical proof, nor am I inconsistent, as a Catholic, in saying so. When indeed you come to the ‘moral authority’ of the written word the case is different; because, as I think, we have not the same natural ability to resolve moral questions as to ascertain facts.

Very truly Yours John H Newman

R. H. Hutton, Esqr

SUNDAY 4 JUNE 1865 Whitsunday

TO T. W. ALLIES

The Oratory Bm June 4./65

My dear Allies

I am glad you like Gerontius. You strangely misunderstood what I said about Manning, and treated it as if it denoted personal feeling on my part. What I said was, that I could not trust him — ‘confidence’ is the word I used. Confidence is an intellectual habit, not a moral. When Sir Robert Peel was alive, I used to say, ‘One can’t trust him;’ what was there ‘Achillean’ in that? I never doubted Manning felt kindly to me.¹ Only the other day I anticipated your words; I said to a friend, ‘Now, you will see. M. [Manning] will wish to put me over some great scheme of education.’ I repeat to *you*, what I should not say to every one, viz. — I never can trust he has not an *arrière pensée*, in any profession or offer he makes. It is not *my* feeling alone; I have long defended him: I am one of the last who have given into it; I thought that in your last, while you expressed ‘penitence,’ you had an *arrière pensée*, that you were indirectly trying to get me over. So I gave you open warning. *Laterem lavas.*²

Yours affly in Xt John H Newman of the Oratory.

¹ Allies replied next day to Newman’s letter of 24 May, ‘I knew the Achillean temperament,’ suggesting that Newman was sulking in his tent. Allies continued, ‘Many months ago I was talking to the Archbishop [Manning], and expressing strong indignation at a particular incident which had occurred to you. [The proposed Bishopric at the Catholic University in 1854] He said, I know it, I have always felt it, I have brought it again and again before the Cardinal, and begged him to get it repaired. It would be hard indeed to believe that this was not a true expression of feeling . . .’

² Allies did not acknowledge this letter until 10 Oct., when he repeated his view that Manning felt keenly what he imagined to be Newman’s alienation, arising from the supposition that he had worked against Newman personally in the Oxford education matter, a supposition Allies had formerly shared.

4 JUNE 1865

TO THOMAS ARNOLD

June 4/65

My dear Arnold

I heard yesterday that you had written to Mr Palgrave to the effect that you had given up the doctrine of the infallibility of the Church. Though it is so short a time since you told me to say on your authority that you had no intention of giving up Catholicism as soon as you left Birmingham, I fear my informant is **not** mistaken.¹ Do not suppose I write these lines to trouble you with controversy, or to exact an answer — but I cannot bear to let you go from the one fountain of grace and spiritual strength, without saying a word, not of farewell, for well it cannot be so to direct your course, but to express my deep sorrowfulness at hearing the news. I will not believe that you have not found strength and comfort in Masses and Sacraments, and I do not think you will find the like elsewhere. Nor shall I easily be led to believe that the time will not come when you will acknowledge this yourself, and will return to the Fold which you are leaving. Meanwhile, as you have for some weeks been in my prayers with reference to these sad waverings of faith, so shall you be still²

I am &c J H N

T. Arnold Esqr

TO EMILY BOWLES

Oy Bm June 4/65

My dear Child

I write with the chance of seeing you. I expect to be in London Wednesday morning next. I have an engagement near Cavendish Square at $\frac{1}{2}$ past 12. I hope to get on to you by $\frac{1}{2}$ past one. Very likely you will be engaged. As I dare say I should not be able to stop long with you, don't alter any engagement for me. If you are out, it can't be helped

Ever Yours affly in Xt John H Newman of the Oratory
Miss Bowles

¹ See letter of 23 April to Arnold. W. G. Palgrave, after becoming a Catholic and a Jesuit, had recently left the Church, and, apparently after the Encyclical *Quanta cura*, stumbled at the doctrine of Infallibility.

² Arnold replied from Oxford on 13 June, 'The kindness of your letter struck me very much,' and went on to say, 'Yes, it is true that I can no longer believe in a permanent and living infallibility in the Church. I tried hard to believe it for a long time, in spite of the objections that constantly presented themselves, but at last I broke down.' He disputed Newman's dictum in *Apo.* that 'all the difficulties in the world do not amount to one doubt.'

Arnold also told Newman that there was a report in *The Times* of 13 June that he had returned to the Church of England. He would not contradict it, because he intended to take his M.A. degree 'which, I suppose may be called in one sense "returning to the Church of England."' See postscript to letter of 14 June to Coleridge. In 1876 Arnold became a Catholic once more.

4 JUNE 1865

TO J. H. L. GABELL

June 4/65

My dear Sir

Thank you for your letter. Sir Francis Scott never wrote to me, as you seem to suppose, on the subject you mention. The will was read in my presence by Captain Scott. When you came, you said to me, 'What can William Scott have meant by his landed property?' I answered, 'I do not know.' This is all I recollect about it¹

J H N

SIR FREDERIC ROGERS

The Oratory Birmingham June 4th. 1865

My dear Rogers,

I shall rejoice to see Church. As we have put off the Hursley expedition, I shall have Copeland alone in his nest at Farnham. I come up to Town Wednesday morning — get through various jobs and see various people — and I propose to get to you by seven p.m., which, I consider, will be not later than your dinner hour. It is Ember Day, but, as I shall have had a working day, I mean to take the liberty of working men, and eat as much roast beef as you will give me.

The consecration is fixed as early as 10 a.m. Therefore I shall have to beg a little breakfast before 9 — and must allow an hour for getting to Moorfields. I meant to have asked you the name of a coach-keeper (what is the business called?) near you, from whom I could hire a brougham for half a day. The service I expect will be very long — Dr. Ullathorne's consecration in 1846, the only one I was ever at in England, was four hours. I don't wait for the dejeuner, if there be one — but, as there will be lots of people there, I shall find it difficult to get away. I want you to keep me till Friday, if you can. If so, I hope to dine with you on Thursday, as well as Wednesday.

It is very pleasant the thought of seeing you in Devonshire — but I don't see the way to it.

Ever yours affectionately, John H. Newman.

Sir F. Rogers Bart

P.S. If I came to you by 6 P.M., I should be tempted to ask to lie down for 1/2 an hour — I am so afraid for being knocked up in the evening.

¹ This letter refers to the will of W. H. Scott, who left the reversion of estates in Staffordshire, to Newman. Gabell, a relative of W. H. Scott who died on 17 Sept. 1859, was his executor. See letter of 13 June 1865.

4 JUNE 1865

TO T. F. WETHERELL

The Oratory Bm June 4. 1865

My dear Wetherell

Thank you for the copy of the Questions, which came all right.¹ I will look over your MS before Wednesday, when I come to London for the Consecration.² I was planning how to see you, but I fear it is impossible, as I shall be at a friend's house, and engaged in the evening, the only time that you are visible.

As to printing the names of subscribing parties, this cannot be judged about by a looker-on like me. If the committee, or any influential portion of them, think right to do it, of course they can. The question of expedience they only are *able* to decide, not a man who is out of the world as I am. For myself I agree with you, 'Let us know our friends'; but wise heads may say, 'Don't show the nakedness of the land, if withdrawals are to occur.'³

As to Bellasis, I dare say he would not object to his letter being published, if that were all — but, by allowing it to appear in a narrative, he in a certain way commits himself to the narrative — and for what I know, he may be opposed to any narrative at all; or if not, at least to yours, being such as it is. Then, tho' I do not mind to run the risk of its getting out that I have seen your MS, yet I don't want to proclaim it — and if I wrote to Bellasis I should be going further even than seeing it — I should be canvassing for it.⁴

Have you ever been able to clear up the impression of some people that there were parties at Rome in the Long Vacation last year *pressing Propaganda for a College at Oxford*?⁵

As to Arnold we had no suspicion of any thing till Easter for he was just what he had been all along. Then, with the news getting abroad of his leaving us, there was a report in the place that he had said that he should give up Catholicism when he left Edgbaston. I wrote to him to ask about it, and he gave me his authority to contradict it. However, he added something which of course made me very anxious. He never had any thing to do with the boys

¹ i.e. the questions circulated before the meeting of the English Bishops about the University question in Dec. 1864. See letter of 14 Dec. 1864 to Lord Charles Thynne, and Appendix 2.

² The MS was that of *A Statement of Facts connected with the Memorial recently presented, by certain laymen, to the Sacred Congregation of Propaganda, relative to the Education of Catholics at the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge*, drawn up by Wetherell and dated 'London, 29 June 1865'.

³ The names of the signatories of the *Memorial* were not included. See next letter.

⁴ These were Bellasis's letters to Cardinals Barnabò and Reisach. See letters of 29 Jan. to Simeon and 2 Feb. to Wetherell.

⁵ In reference to the application made to Propaganda for its active interference, which led to the Bishops' meeting in Dec. 1864, *A Statement of Facts*, p. 6, said, 'It has been alleged that this application proceeded from the advocates of a Catholic Hall at Oxford. No proof, however, of such an allegation has been discovered; and it is believed now, as it was at the time, that the action was taken by opponents of the existing liberty.'

Wetherell appears to have thought that this application to Propaganda to interfere came from laymen. See postscript to next letter.

5 JUNE 1865

except in school hours, and lately, he has lived at Harbourne a mile and a half off.

Very sincerely Yours John H Newman of the Oratory
T F Wetherell Esqr

MONDAY 5 JUNE 1865 went to Rednall

TO T. F. WETHERELL

The Oratory Bm June 5/65

My dear Wetherell

Your Paper is a very good one — though as being a first draft it requires correction. I wish I could see you in London — but how am I to do so? Drop me a line to say what hours you are free on Thursday and Friday, directed to 'Sir F. Rogers Bart 18 Radnor Place, Hyde Park, W.' I fear it will be impossible to effect a meeting, but the first step is to know your engagements.

It seems to me that, if it is known you are going to print, you will be stopped somehow or other. It is dangerous to let Bellasis know. Would it not be enough if you gave his letters in the third person, i.e. what he did and said — not mentioning his name or Cardinal Reisach's? Bellasis might not like it to come out afterwards that he had known what was coming, and had kept silence; it might be against his conscience.¹ For the same reason I am against giving the *names* of the subscribers. Men will be annoyed, if they are not *asked* first; then, they may think they are bound up with your representations, and the Papers may be full of protests, not of men withdrawing their names, but refusing your interpretations. And then again *Omne ignotum pro magnifico* — If you publish the names, (tho' they have been published before) enemies will be analysing and making light of the list; and subscribers won't like to be gibetted. You recollect Lord Mansfield's advice, 'always speak decidedly, but never give your reasons.' Some persons <Protestant> have thought more of the *fact* of my conversion before my *Apologia* than since — for they have said 'Now we can take a measure of length and breadth of his inducements.' I don't see who can blame you, if you do not implicate others. You don't want the authority of numbers — your facts speak for themselves.

As to what you say of the Oratory at Oxford, I wish you to confine yourself to two points — the Bishop's *acts* — and my *intentions*. No one can quarrel with you for stating these matters of fact — but don't pry into the Bishop's

¹ In *A Statement of Facts* pp. 18–19, Bellasis was described as 'a distinguished layman, who was in Rome at the time', and the purport of his letters to Cardinals Barnabò and Reisach outlined.

5 JUNE 1865

motives. He will be angry enough, I fear, at the publication — even without such tangible matter of offence as it would be to pry into his mind.¹

Very sincerely Yours John H Newman

T. F. Wetherell Esqr

P.S. You say 'a lay application to Propaganda'; for this as well as your other statements, you must have the proofs in your hand. The following letter from a friend does not bear you out: —

'Now I know as a matter of fact that this meeting was caused by a letter from Cardinal Barnabo to our late Cardinal, at a time when he could not possibly know of your having the Mission of Oxford, or having bought land there; which letter again of his was drawn forth by letters addressed to him in August last from two persons, the one Bishop Grant, the other Dr Manning. Of course they had not the remotest thought that you were likely to be mixed up personally in the question . . . I wish to recall the opinion . . . that Dr Manning had anything to do with the meeting of the Bishops, so far as it bore upon your having the mission or the land at Oxford.'²

TO HENRY WILBERFORCE

Whit Monday [5 June 1865]

My dear Henry,

I shall rejoice to see you and your wife tomorrow. I return from Rednall by the middle of the day

Ever Yrs affly John H Newman

TUESDAY 6 JUNE 1865 returned from Rednall — the H Ws [Henry Wilberforces] in train

TO JOHN KEBLE

Rednall. June 6. 1865

My very dear Keble

My letter to Mrs Keble has crossed yours.³ I am unlucky in disappointing you. I did for the best and wrote to Copeland as soon as I knew I was leaving home — but I attempted too much. And I was not sure that my intention would

¹ In *A Statement of Facts* p. 6 Wetherell followed Newman's advice. He explained that Ullathorne offered the Oxford Mission, which included Catholic undergraduates, and that Newman accepted it with the purpose of protecting their faith and morals. See also letter of 21 June to Wetherell.

² Newman is quoting from Allies's letter of 23 May 1865. For the part played by Manning see letter of 23 Nov. 1864 to Hope-Scott.

³ Keble wrote from Hursley on 3 June, welcoming Newman's proposal to visit him, and saying 'I am not ill, but only with a disposition towards a certain illness.'

6 JUNE 1865

get so far as to be known to you. It would have been a great bustle and hurry — and Copeland, having been away last week, might have felt it hard to leave home this week, especially as it is Whitsuntide. I hope I shall see him in London — and will arrange something with him. It will be all for the best.

I rejoice to hear so good an account of you — and now I will say no more than subscribe myself

Your ever affectionate John H Newman

The Revd John Keble

TO SIR FREDERIC ROGERS

The Oratory Bm June 6/65

My dear Rogers

I am sorry to have given you so much trouble. You are right on every point but one in your programme. I come up tomorrow (Wednesday) morning. I make my appearance at your house about 6, p.m. — leaving my portmanteau in the morning. Breakfast a quarter to 9 on Thursday will do — but the Brougham *must be at 9 A M NOT AT 10.* since you are good enough to order it.

The service is at 10; in Moorfields — and I must allow an hour (from 9 to 10) to get there — the more so that Manning wants to see me before the Service begins —

You are very kind in letting me use your house. I shall come back from the Service about 3 p.m. (Thursday) and I am tempted to ask a friend to call on me there about 4, if that will not interfere with Lady Rogers.

Ever yours affly John H. Newman.

TO T. F. WETHERELL

The Oratory Birmingham June 6/65.

My dear Wetherell

Can you call on me at Sir F. R's [Rogers] (18 Radnor Place, Hyde Park, W.) on Thursday at four o'clock in the afternoon. Never mind if you can't

Yours very sincerely John H. Newman

WEDNESDAY 7 JUNE 1865 went to London to Rogers's, where Church¹ — called on Mr Paget, Lintott, Miss Bowles, Duchess of Argyll, the Bowdens, Stewart,

THURSDAY 8 JUNE attended Manning's consecration at Moorfields Wetherell called on me

FRIDAY 9 JUNE called on the Fullertons returned to Birmingham, with Church as far as Didcot, in evening

¹ Newman had not seen R. W. Church since the farewell at Oxford on 22 Feb. 1846. For Church's account of the meeting see *Life and Letters of Dean Church*, edited by Mary C. Church, London 1894, pp. 169-70.

11 JUNE 1865

SUNDAY 11 JUNE 1865 Ambrose preached for me.

TO CATHERINE ANNE BATHURST

The Oratory Bm June 11/65

My dear Child

I wished very much to get to see you when I was in Town — but you were so far off, and I was so short a time there, and the weather was so hot, that I could not manage it — tho' I did not give it up till a few hours before I left. The distances are now so great, that it takes half a day, before luncheon or after, to get to neighbourhoods such as yours. Except going to and fro to Moorfields, my movements were confined within the triangle of Hyde Park Square, Hanover Square, King Wm's Street, and Prince's Gate — and even that was locomotion enough.

Miss Wilson expressed herself very much pleased with her visit to you; and I thought she would have seen you again. But she was taken up by various people, to whom I gave her letters, and she has got a situation as teacher of English in a convent at Boulogne. She describes the place as most beautiful. Of course she got into other hands as soon as she was in London — and I suppose I shall not see her again. I know how you are wearing yourself out with work — and would do any thing which I could to get you assistants — but it stands to reason, as in our own case in Birmingham, you are at great disadvantage compared with places which are in the full sunshine and splendour of the day I heard in London that you had lately lost one of your party, which must be a great trial to you

Ever Yrs affly John H Newman of the Oratory

Sister M.C. X. Ph.

TO ALBAN PUTTOCK

June 11/65

My dear Sir

Your letter required no apology and I beg you to receive my sincere acknowledgments for the language you use of me, which is very pleasant to me, though I am conscious it is beyond my deserts¹

I have given reasons in the concluding portion of my Apologia why I do not think it expedient to publish any remarks on the questions which at present engage the popular mind with reference to the antiquity of the human race.²

¹ Alban Puttock, of 103 Fulham Road, Brompton, a convert and a brother of the Little Oratory, sent Newman an extract from the *Pall Mall Gazette* of 6 June on the difficulties raised by the antiquity of mankind. Puttock wrote on 7 June, 'Your voice is the *only* voice in the Church's behalf to which the *world* will at this time pay any attention.'

² *Apo.* pp. 262-3.

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Even though that antiquity proved to be as great as certain men of science maintain, and proved even in the same clearness as the motion of the earth is proved (of which I do not know enough to give an opinion,) still the discovery would as little interfere with the truths of revelation, with the dogmas of the Church, or with the inspiration of the sacred writers, as the scientific doctrine of the motion of the earth interferes with those supernatural informants. If we were able to throw ourselves back three centuries, we should understand something of the great unsettlement of mind which the latter doctrine occasioned at that era. The Dominican Fathers made Galileo recant it. Educated people in Italy thought it simply inconsistent with Christianity. It went against both the letter and the spirit of Holy Scripture. And yet in this day no religious man has any difficulty in receiving it. In like manner the doctrine of the great antiquity of the human race is either true or not true; if it is not true, scientific men will not be able to prove it; if it is true, it will take its place in general knowledge, just as Galileo's doctrine has been received by all now, and the Bible will turn out not to be the worse for what appeared at first sight so formidable; though at this minute we may not be able to see *how* this will come to pass.

J H N

TO BARTHOLOMEW WOODLOCK

The Oratory Bm June 11/65

My dear Dr Woodlock,

I feel the kindness which prompts you to ask me on this solemn occasion to visit you in Dublin — but, without going so far as to speak of preaching, the very coming would knock me up. It is now two days since I came from London, and I am more tired today even than I was yesterday. This was the reason why I did not stay for the breakfast; I could not have stood it. I am very well when I go an ordinary pace — but visiting, dining, speaking, meeting many persons, having to come up to the scratch, these things make short work with me. So you must let me decline your invitation with many thanks.¹

I thought the University matter was to have come on upon Friday last — but I did not observe any thing in yesterday's Papers about it. You will have a difficulty I think in getting now more than what I used to contend for when I was in Dublin.² I used to think, and still think it quite enough — but no one would agree with me. I used to say, You are set up after the model of Louvain. If so, be content with these three things: — 1. a corporate existence sufficient

¹ Woodlock appears to have invited Newman to preach in connection with the international exhibition in Dublin.

² The discussion on Catholic university education in Ireland did not come up in the House of Commons until 20 June. See E. R. Norman, *The Catholic Church and Ireland in the Age of Rebellion*, London 1965, pp. 198 ff, which shows the correctness of Newman's diagnosis.

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for your legally holding property. 2. degrees in philosophy and letters, in medicine etc, from the Queen's University, (safeguards being provided as to the character of the examinations); and 3 Your own (Papal) degrees in theology. I think you might have gained this in 1857. I don't think you will gain much more now.

Ever Yours very sincerely in Xt John H Newman of the Oratory
The Very Revd Mgr Woodlock

TO RICHARD SIMPSON

The Oratory Bm June 12. 1865

My dear Simpson

I should have written to you before this — but I waited for the right time, but it has not even yet come. By the right time I mean, a time when I could tell you about the state of our material hold upon Oxford — for I had settled to buy a piece of land opposite Ch Ch [Christ Church], up to this day hitches have existed, and my money is lying at the Bankers for months unproductive in consequence. At present the prospect of buying it is doubtful — but so much I have proved in the last year, that it is not difficult, by waiting, to buy ground in Oxford in good situations, so that whether I buy this particular piece or not does not matter.

But some difficulty will follow as regards myself — viz: what I shall do with the money which has been put into my hands for building purposes. I have about £700 — of this £200 most likely will be reclaimed, as coming from the Mission — the rest is from friends. I have asked them to let me have it for 4 years, then to return it, if no plan by that time is set on foot for a Church etc. Therefore, as to yourself, though I should gladly receive any other sum which you talk of giving, I cannot encourage you to do so. All I can say is that I will keep it safely in one sum with the rest. Of course the future depends on Manning, and I dare say he does not know himself what he means to do. According to present appearances, Catholic youths will certainly be going to Oxford, unless he provides some other place for them — but can he? I have for some time thought he would like to throw, *honoris causâ*, all the onus of discovering and providing a substitute, upon me — but I should not undertake it — and have by anticipation thrown cold water upon any overtures that way. It would be a case of hot chesnuts — and chesnuts of his own heating.

Apropos of what you say about Mill etc etc, is it possible for you to look towards the 'Month'?¹ As you must know, for every one knows, it is now com-

¹ Simpson wrote on 1 June, 'Have you read Mill on Hamilton [*Examination of Sir William Hamilton's Philosophy*, London 1865]? When such books come out it makes me lament afresh over the Home and Foreign. It is wonderful to see all the critics worshipping a man as the metaphysician who can scarcely carry his own definitions in his memory beyond nine pages of talk. If you read the book, you will find that it is perpetually coming across principles with which your name is more or less connected.'

13 JUNE 1865

ing into the hands of the Jesuits — and they have always been your good friends. For myself, I should have wished a magazine simply literary, such as the Quarterly or Edinburgh, or with no more theological or ecclesiastical matter than the Cornhill or Frazer (tho' as much) — but from what I hear theology is to come in — and philosophy. Will you think whether this would not be an opening? I would willingly write for it myself, if I had time, and if it promised well — but the former of these conditions is a great difficulty

Yours affly in Xt John H Newman of the Oratory

R. Simpson Esqr

TO J. H. L. GABELL

The Oratory Bm June 13/65

Sent in Substance

My dear Sir,

I availed myself of your information to ask my lawyer what I ought to do, with a view of clearing up the point of W. Scott's will, to which you draw attention — My lawyer suggests that you may have something to tell me, and bids me write to you on the subject. I do not anticipate you have much to say; but following his advice, I will ask you for what you know, whether it be much or little, about W Scott's will¹

I am, Dear Sir, Very sincerely Yours John H Newman

The Revd J H L Gabell

TO HENRY JAMES COLERIDGE

The Oratory Bm June 14/65

My dear F. Coleridge

I inclose the Saints of the Desert for July, as you wish. Are you inclined to take, if you like the composition, a poem of a friend, called "The Workhouse?" I think you will find it well-written. It will take up about 5 pages.²

Have you thought of R. Simpson to help you? he is clever, quick in writing, and well informed; and I suppose you need not fear his matter.³

¹ Gabell explained on 15 June that Sir Francis Scott, who inherited the family estates, had maintained that the bequeathing by W. H. Scott of his reversion of those in Staffordshire to Newman was void. In fact they would not revert to Newman unless the brother and two sons of Sir Francis were to die without male heirs. The family was unwilling to purchase Newman's reversion.

² See letter of 16 June to Coleridge.

³ Coleridge replied on 15 June, that to avoid unpleasantness, he would not ask Simpson's help, since he 'might say things to which we [the Jesuits] should be obliged to object'.

14 JUNE 1865

In answer to your last, sometime back, I should repeat, that I am sorry you are going to introduce theology into the Month — I don't see theology is wanted, whereas literature etc is — nor do I think it the instrument of conversions — and it will deprive the Magazine of the chance of influence in the Protestant world. However, if you do make it theological, you have my best wishes for your making it very good of its kind — and I would gladly promote its well-being — though I am not able to take any great interest in it.

Very sincerely Yours in Xt John H Newman

The Revd Fr Coleridge S.J.

P.S. About Easter there was report that Arnold was about to become a Protestant. I taxed him with it — he denied it, but added something which alarmed me. Next, he told Mr Palgrave that he could not receive the infallibility of the Church, and was in the same boat with him. On hearing of this, I wrote to him again — he replies by this morning's post, 'Yes, it is true I can no longer believe in a permanent and living infallibility in the Church. It is not true that I have returned to the Church of England; I have never taken any overt step whatever — Still, I look forward, if I stay here (in Oxford) to taking my Master's — which, I suppose, may be called in one sense, "returning to the Church of England."' "

TO SIR FREDERIC ROGERS

The Oratory Bm June 14/65

My dear Rogers

Thank you for the trouble you have taken about the violin.

I will gladly wait till the 22nd, as I am in no hurry at all. Could I, without rudeness, ask your 'young fellow' to write to me direct on the subject, whenever is convenient to him? I fear he thinks I want a tip top instrument — but I can't spend money on a hobby. All I want is a fiddle which will make a noise, yet not require severe finger-pressing in order that it may be a sweet noise.

It was a great pleasure to me to see you and Church. Dr Maguire, one of the senior Canons of the Archdiocese who dined with Keble, Eden, and me in Oxford in 1835¹ one of the foremost opponents of Manning's policy, was knocked up by the length of the service on Thursday and is lying in prospect of death. I had said to myself, I hope no one will suffer. How did our ancestors get on?

Ever Yours affly John H Newman

Sir F. Rogers Bart

¹ On 30 July. See *Moz.* II, p. 118.

14 JUNE 1865

TO C. W. STRETTON

June 14/65

Dear Sir

It is very kind and considerate in you to write to me about the passage in the Saturday which you send me. I have read it, but I do not see that it can be called calumnious.¹

I suppose a judgment upon another, in order to be a calumny must be at once untrue and injurious. If so, it is no calumny to form an opinion upon external facts, agents, and policies, if it be done without imputing sinful acts or sinful motives.

It is true that this writer connects me with the 'camp' of the Home and Foreign Review but then he distinctly pronounces that Review to have been 'the *most developed* form' of the 'phase' of Catholic opinion which it represented, and as distinctly says that I have nothing to do with 'leadership'. For myself, it is but simply true to say that, while I was sorry that the Home and Foreign was begun, I was also sorry that it was stopped.

Then as to the opposition stated to exist between 'Dr Manning and Dr Newman,' if to say this be a calumny, I think the Archbishop will rather feel it to be a calumny directed against himself than against me; and if he does so, I certainly should agree with him so far as this, viz in thinking that I at least am not calumniated; but in truth I think it no calumny against either of us, be it true or be it false, merely to say that he differs in subordinate matters from me, or I from him.

Again thanking you, I am &c

J H N

C. W. Stretton Esqr

THURSDAY 15 JUNE 1865 Corpus Xti I took function Ambrose went to Town to see Lord Palmerston² Duchess of Argyll's books came³

¹ Stretton, who lived at 32 Markham Square, London S.W., and was unknown to Newman, sent him the first part of 'Old Catholics and New', from the Saturday Review, (10 June 1865), p. 692. The passage concluded: 'The boundary between the two parties — between the Romanizers on the one hand, and those whom, for want of a better and more expressive designation, we must call the Liberal Catholics on the other — does not at all coincide with the distinction between Roman Catholics by birth and Roman Catholics by adoption. It would be nearer the truth to say that the standards on both sides have been raised by converts, or under convert influence, and that the old Catholics have been more or less compelled to choose their part, and to range themselves under one or the other flag. The *Dublin Review* and the *Home and Foreign Review* may to some extent be taken as representing, in their most developed form, the two opposite phases of Roman Catholicism in England, but the contributors to both of them have been drawn indifferently from the whole communion, without regard to chronological considerations. The most prominent ecclesiastic in each camp — of formal leadership we can hardly say there is any — Dr. Manning and Dr. Newman, are both converts; and, remarkable as is the intellectual isolation in which the latter has so long been left, it has been owing at least as much to the violent hostility of many whom he originally introduced into the Roman Church as to the solid want of appreciation of him by those whom he found there already.'

² See letter of 28 May to Monsell.

³ The Duchess presented a number of books to the library at the Oratory, in gratitude for Newman's writings, which had led her and her sister to become Catholics.

15 JUNE 1865

TO SIR FREDERIC ROGERS

The Oratory, Birmingham. June 15th. 1865

My dear Rogers,

It is extremely kind in you and Church, and I shall value a violin so coming to me very much. But I am ashamed of having mentioned my want and intention to you — for it is making me particeps criminis vestri. I shall keep this for one post, to take the chance of being able to announce the arrival of the fiddles — not later because of your departure from London.

June 16th.

I should have liked, if it had so happened that, before you went, I could have told you they were come — but this N.W. Rail, why, I know not, is very slow. Sometimes books from Stewarts have taken a *week*.

Ever yours affectionately, John H. Newman.

TO HENRY JAMES COLERIDGE

The Oratory Bm June 16/65

My dear F. Coleridge

I send the Workhouse. I say of it three things.

1. It is in the style of Crabbe — and *you must take it as such*.
2. I think you will find it not more severe, than many and many an Anglican Clergyman would write — Keble etc etc.
3. It is real — it's written by the one who has experience of it, and written from his heart.¹

One swallow does not make a spring — and one religious article does not make a religious publication — but I think theology, even when introduced, should always be *in undress*, and should address itself to common sense, reason, received maxims, etc etc not to authority or technical dicta. Of course the hidden basis of a discussion must be the voice of tradition, the consent of the schools, the definitions of the Church; but, as I do believe that the whole of revelation may be made more or less palatable to English common sense, (for e.g. tho' so sacred a doctrine as the Holy Trinity is necessarily above reason, yet it is *common sense* to say that from the nature of the case it *must* be) so I think that to go beyond the line of English common sense, (e.g. to continue my instance to prove the doctrine of the Holy Trinity as St Augustine does by the memory, intellect, and will) would be a great mistake in a Magazine. And, as to

¹ Coleridge on 15 June accepted 'The Workhouse', by Ignatius Ryder, who was chaplain to the Birmingham workhouse. Coleridge added, however, 'I should say, merely to make things quite safe, that I decline generally any thing that is *bitter* in the way of attack on English ways and institutions.' 'The Workhouse' appeared in the *Month*, (Aug. 1865), pp. 129-33, with a few omissions of parts thought by the Jesuits to be 'too strong'. Ryder wrote to Newman on 5 July that thirty-six lines were objected to, but he had managed to turn twelve of them 'into a piece of pathetic patriotism'.

16 JUNE 1865

the instance you take, I am bound to state my feeling, though I say it under correction, that you *cannot* harmonize the narrative of the Gospels in every point AGREEABLY TO ENGLISH COMMONSENSE;¹ and that now, when faith and reverence are low, and common sense (shallow commonsense) has its full swing, it would be a blunder to attempt to prove in a Magazine that to go into Jericho is the same as to go out of it, or that one blind man is two blind men.

A chronicle of events is very desirable. It need not bring you into politics, if you keep to facts as registered in the Newspapers. It involves the trouble of reading, and such strain of attention and judgment as is adequate to secure the *leading points* of contemporary history.

Do you notice 'Wild Times', a Catholic novel, among your books received? I hate sensation stories and cannot get through them; yet I should be glad if it were possible to give a lift to the authoress. Did I attempt it. 1. I should make it too long. 2. next I should perhaps disappoint her. But I am half disposed to say that I would try half a dozen lines.²

Yours very sincerely in Xt John H Newman

The Revd Fr Coleridge S.J.

TO E. L. GARBETT

June 16/65

Dear Sir

If I follow you rightly, your question is, whether the distinction between particular providences and miracles is one of fact or of our conceptions³ — If this be the point, I frankly answer, I cannot tell. I have been accustomed to consider the action of the Creator on and in the created universe, as parallel in a certain sense to that of the soul upon the body. I lift my hand and thereby interfere with the laws of my material powers and become an initial and immediate principle of motion. In this mode of viewing the matter, particular providences would not differ in their general nature from miracles.

But in my Volume I am looking at them not in themselves but with a view to the evidence that they create in our minds, of a divine interposition; and so considered, though providences, (as I have said in pp 305, 306 of my new edition) *may* create that evidence, commonly they are not precise and pointed enough for such a purpose⁴

I thank you for your remarks on Scripture interpretation — but I have not

¹ Coleridge wrote on 15 June that he thought it impossible to avoid theology, and suggested the *Month* might 'have something about Inspiration — or the Harmony of the Gospels'.

² *Wild Times, A Tale of the Days of Queen Elizabeth*, three volumes, London 1865, was by Miss C. Caddell. Coleridge accepted Newman's offer and the review in the *Month*, (Aug. 1865), pp. 217–18 is evidently written by him.

³ Garbett's letters show that Newman had already explained to him points arising out of *Apo.*

⁴ *Apo.*, Note B, Ecclesiastical Miracles.

16 JUNE 1865

studied the particular subject which they bring before me with that care which would justify me in forming a judgment upon this.¹

J H N

TO JOHN TELFORD

The Oratory Bm June 16/65

My dear Sir

I thank you very much for your kind letter; but you do me too much honour, if you think I am to see in a dream every thing that *has* to be seen in the *subject* dreamed about.² I have said what I saw. Various spiritual writers see various aspects of it; and under their protection and pattern I have set down the dream as it came before the sleeper. It is not my fault, if the sleeper did not dream more. Perhaps something woke him. Dreams are generally fragmentary. I have nothing more to tell.

Yours very truly in Xt John H Newman

The Revd John Telford

SATURDAY 17 JUNE 1865 Ambrose returned in evening fiddles came from Rogers
SUNDAY 18 JUNE Austin took the function W Wilberforce here.

TO MARIANNE BOWDEN

The Oratory Bm June 18/65

My dear Child

Thank you for your account of the death of your Sister. I hope to say Mass for her tomorrow (Monday) morning

Ever Yrs affly John H Newman

TO WILLIAM MONSELL

The Oy Bm June 18/65

Private

My dear Monsell,

One thing Ambrose told you *which you must not repeat* — viz. that I told Manning I wished him not to ask of the Pope a Bishoprick for me. Such an honour would be to me Saul's armour on David.

¹ Garbett on 15 June put forward far-fetched explanations of the number of the Beast in *Revelation*.

² John Telford wrote on 15 June his praise of *The Dream of Gerontius*, but complaining that, although her name was mentioned, 'I should like to have seen our Dear and Blessed Lady appear . . . she must have a share . . . in the salvation of every predestined soul, in as much as she had her *very own* share in our Lord's Passion.'

20 JUNE 1865

If Manning really wished to do us a service for our sakes, which (mind, 'for our sakes') I doubt, — he would simply speak a good word for our *School*. If he and, (by means of him) the Bishops, spoke in its favour, it would be all the difference of its being a success or not. If we had ten or twenty boys more, the two ends would meet, and we should require nothing more. Some one (I think Diogenes), when Alexander asked him what he should do for him, answered 'Stand out of my light.' Well, I suppose I am as surly as a Cynic — but this is all I want — a fair stage and no favour. But I don't think the Archbishop will give this. He will want to make use of me, as he wishes to make use of every one else. One great perplexity is, that we don't know what is coming — some great scheme of education perhaps, which I cannot stomach, and in which I must be somewhere, with the alternative, if I don't agree, of being no where any where. It is this suspicion which keeps us unsettled, and hinders us laying out any more money on our School. Things were awkward enough with the Bishops against us, the Cardinal especially; things are now more awkward still, with the uncertainty of some new schemes being in preparation. Therefore I say to him, Don't come to me with your mitres, but give the School fair play. Let us alone. I have reason to believe that his main opposition to the Oxford scheme was that it was my scheme — I believe he is afraid of any influence I might exert on the rising generation of Catholics, and that he would break up or transform our school, if he could. If I am wrong, I shall be too glad to find myself so — but any how, if he would do me personally a service, this is it — viz to get us 20 more boys.

Ever Yours affectly John H Newman of the Oratory

The Rt Honble Wm Monsell M P

MONDAY 19 JUNE 1865 went to Rednall with the fiddles

TUESDAY 20 JUNE Ambrose came most beautiful weather

TO WILLIAM NEVILLE

Rednall June 20/65

My dear William

Have you not got a copy of the Bishop's printed Letter of March 24 about Oxford, which you could send by first post to 'T. F. Wetherell Esqr, 4 St James's Street, Pall Mall, London S.W.'? If so, please do — if not, it can't be helped¹

Dr Maguire is much better.

Ever Yrs affly J H N

¹ i.e. the letter quoted in second note to letter of 31 March to Emily Bowles. Wetherell wished to insert it in *A Statement of Facts*. It appears on p. 23.

21 JUNE 1865

WEDNESDAY 21 JUNE 1865 Ambrose returned

TO T. F. WETHERELL

Rednall June 21/65

My dear Wetherell

I am ashamed of myself for having forgotten the Bishop's letter. You will, I hope, receive a copy of it from the Oratory with this — else, I will send you one myself.

I don't see any difficulty in putting, as you propose, 'of which he never made a secret to any one.'¹

As to Mr Hennessey's allusion to the Memorial, I did not observe the passage in it which you refer to.² I am so little in the way of hearing what people say and how they talk, that I cannot give an opinion on the question you ask. The publishing the Memorial is simply a question of expedience — will it strengthen, or will it weaken, the cause of the Memorialists?

Very truly Yours John H Newman

T. F. Wetherell Esqr

THURSDAY 22 JUNE 1865 Dr Dunne came over for an hour in his way to Ireland William came

FRIDAY 23 JUNE Wm returned

SATURDAY 24 JUNE returned to the Ory. [Oratory] Lady Wolseley came by appointment

SUNDAY 25 JUNE superb weather

TO ELEANOR BRETHERTON

The Oratory, Birmingham. June 25th. 1865.

My dear Child,

I have thought of your birthday some time, but I cannot promise to come on it.³ It falls at so inconvenient a time for us. I could hardly manage it last

¹ Wetherell wrote on 19 June, 'The more I think of it, the more anxious I am that what is said in the "Statement," about your motive in going to Oxford being no secret, should leave it impossible to suppose that the Bishop was ignorant of it.' See second note to letter of 5 June to Wetherell, and *A Statement of Facts*, p. 6, 'his sole motive, of which he never made a secret to any one, in accepting the charge so opportunely offered to him, was to protect the faith and morals of the sons of Catholics resident in the Protestant Colleges.'

² Wetherell asked, 'I suppose you have seen Hennessey's speech on the Oxford tests bill. Some people think it makes it necessary for us to *publish* the Statement at once. What is your opinion?' On 14 June, in the debate on the Bill which would have admitted dissenters to other degrees besides the B.A., John Pope Hennessy, Catholic M.P. for Kings County, opposed it as being an extension of 'mixed education'. He then referred to the Memorial of the Catholic laity to Propaganda, and that Congregation's 'refusal to take any cognizance of their proceedings', in justification of his attitude.

³ On 15 July.

25 JUNE 1865

year. Examinations in the School are going on then, and all the various matters included in the wind up of a year. But I certainly will come over to you some day, if all is well.

Thank you for the photograph which is a very nice one. How sad to have the mumps! but they don't last long — however, everyone will catch them, even the ducks, the chickens, and the peacock. Perhaps its tail will go again.

I send you some outlandish stamps.

Ever yours affectionately, John H. Newman of the Oratory.

TO WILLIAM MONSELL

The Oratory Bm June 25. 1865

My dear Monsell

I congratulate you on your success in the University matter. Dr Dunne tells me it is quite your doing. I feel powerless to give you any hints on the point of the Senate.¹ I quite follow you indeed in the remarks you yourself make — but it requires more knowledge of facts all about the question than I have to enable me to suggest any mode of getting over the eventual difficulty — for of course at first Government had better make the selection. Might not Government always select, the Bishops having a veto? but here I am beginning to suggest, in spite of my saying I can't.

And your Oath Bill I hope will pass the Lords — tho' some words which you were reported to have used in the House, made me think you doubted it.²

Is not Mr Henley's assent to fair measures towards Catholic children in Workhouses, remarkable?³

What will Dr Cullen say to the University arrangement? I should think he would come into it. Of course he will rightly require sufficient guarantees for fair examiners and fair subjects for examination. I suppose the latter difficulty may be got over by taking subjects, not books, in history and philosophy.

Ever Yours affectly John H Newman

The Rt Honble Wm Monsell M P.

¹ On 20 June the Government proposed to amend the powers of the Queen's University in Ireland, so as to allow it to confer external degrees, and also to broaden its Senate so as to secure the confidence of all parties. Monsell wrote on 21 June, 'Have we not triumphed gloriously on the university question? . . . How is the senate of the new Queen's university to be constituted?

Should it be first nominated and then self elective. . . .' See E. R. Norman *The Catholic Church and Ireland in the Age of Rebellion*, pp. 198–200, and for Cullen's cautious approval, pp. 200–28.

² The Bill was defeated in the House of Lords on 26 June.

³ On 23 June, in the debate on the Poor Law Continuance Bill, J. W. Henley, a Conservative, advocated the provision of religious instruction and other facilities for Catholic children in workhouses.

25 JUNE 1865

TO SIR FREDERIC ROGERS

The Oratory, Birmingham, June 25th. 1865.

My dear Rogers,

I have chosen a violin — and, in choosing it, have gone merely by what seemed to be its easiness for my fingers. I think I shall like it very much. The other two go back to Withers tomorrow or next day.¹ It seems a very sweet toned one, and not too loud, and I thank you and Church for it very much.

I only fear that I may give time to it more than I ought to spare. I could find solace in music from week to week's end. It will be curious, if I get a qualm of conscience for indulging in it, and as a set off, write a book. I declare I think it is more likely to do so than anything else — I am so lazy. It is likely that a note I have written upon Liberalism in my 2nd Edition of the Apologia will bring criticisms on me, which I ought to answer.² Now I am so desperately lazy that I shall not be able to get myself to do so; and then it strikes me that, in penance for the violin, I suddenly may rush into work in a fit of contrition.

Say everything kind and respectful from me to your Mother and sisters, if this reaches you at Blachford.

Ever yours affectionately, John H. Newman

Sir F. Rogers Bart

MONDAY 26 JUNE 1865 went to Rednal

TO MARIANNE FRANCES BOWDEN

The Oratory Bm June 26/65

My dear Child

I have not forgotten indeed the event of this day, and have said Mass accordingly.³ It gave me great comfort to read the account you had to give me of Papa. I suppose you are all now at Ryde. I fear there is little chance of my seeing you there, as you so kindly wish. There are so many things to do here — and I can go to Rednal, if I can get away at all, with the power of getting back again in an hour and a half, if I am wanted — and being at hand for all purposes. Mr Keble wishes me to see him at Hursley — this would bring me close to Southampton, and in that way I should have a chance of dropping into you at luncheon some day. I should not be with him many hours, I suppose.

You are always out when I call, because you are always at Church. This I

¹ Edward Withers (1808–75), well known violin maker, 31 Coventry Street, Haymarket.

² Cf. letter of 3 June to Hutton.

³ The first anniversary of her mother's death.

25 JUNE 1865

suppose is the cause of the coincidence. London is so vast a place that it is next to impossible to meet friends without making appointments, yet next to impossible to make and keep them, when one goes for a day or two there. I went to the Consecration, and was with a friend from whom I had been separated a vast number of years, 24 — Sir F. Rogers, a friend of your uncle John's. Such a making-up is very pleasant, but very painful too. It is so cruel not to have the chance of being able to impart to another one's own convictions. He and another great friend who was there have made me a present of a violin — and I do think that, like Orpheus, I shall make the Rednal wilderness resound with some solitary strains. There is a furore in the school to learn the violin — not my doing — but I cannot be sorry, for it is so pleasant an amusement for long evenings and for idle people.

I hope Fanny has got quite well; and you too are well and strong. Love to all of you and believe me

Ever Yours affly John H Newman of the Oratory

Miss Bowden

TUESDAY 27 JUNE 1865 Austin and Stokes went to the Isle of Man

THURSDAY 29 JUNE change in weather rain

TO LORD LYTTELTON

The Oratory Birmingham July 26. 1864¹

My dear Lord

I thank you very much for your kind letter, and also for your recollecting October 1./42 which I recollect also.²

As to Woodgate, I must speak frankly, he is one of my friends, (one of the few,) who have treated me really ill, and about whom I feel very sore. There are many besides him, of course, who broke off intercourse with me on my leaving the Anglican Church, and of that I do not complain at all — it could not be otherwise — but, out of these many, few were unkind to me, few but have shown from time to time, their affectionate remembrances of me. There are some, however, who have acted otherwise — and

¹ This letter was discovered too late to be included in the chronological sequence.

² Lord Lyttelton wrote from Hagley on 25 July:

'Dear Sir,

Once, and once only, I had the pleasure of meeting you — on Oct. 1, 1842, at your old friend Woodgate's at dinner, at Belbroughton: tho' from living so near Birmingham I almost think I must have seen you somewhere without knowing it. I hope however that that one occasion may be my excuse for intruding on you, having just read your Apologia up to the end of the main narrative . . .' Lyttelton also said, 'I think you never see old Woodgate. I am so intimate with him that I cannot help asking if he appears anywhere in the book under initials only (if it is no secret.)' See third note on page 504 below.

Woodgate is one of them. It would be impertinence in me to mention this to your Lordship, if you had not spoken of him. This at least I owe to him, that I met you in 1842, and that you in consequence have written to me now.

I heard from Acland the other day — and found him, from his letter, just what he ever was — most natural, affectionate, and pleased to have an opportunity of pouring himself out. I feel your kindness in quoting his letter of November 1844.¹ I ought to be, and trust I am, grateful to those who did me the special kindness to which it refers, and I trust that they all may be abundantly repaid for their charitable act.

I saw of course the tendency of Acland's mind in his late letter to me.² He ever was a great admirer of Maurice, and I may even say introduced him to Oxford men, about the year 1836. That M. is a man of great powers as well as of great earnestness, is proved by what he has done since — but for myself I ever thought him hazy, and thus lost interest in his writings. As to Acland I certainly feared that he was now going in the direction of *Colenso*; I am glad to hear from you that it is not the case — though I cannot quite make out why Maurice should differ from Colenso, that is, in those points with which Colenso's name is especially associated.

I answer your inquiries about passages in my book thus:

1. Woodgate is no where spoken of in it, as far as I remember, except in the first sentences of p 75.³

2 'The dear and old friend' at p 357 is John Bowden, the author of the *Life of Hildebrand*.⁴ I omitted his name, though it was given in the proofsheets, as not being quite sure that the insertion would be acceptable to some of his family.⁵

¹ Lord Lyttelton wrote, 'I have still got, and have never forgotten, a letter from T. D. Acland to me of Nov. 15, 1844: and I could not but compare it with your extract of Nov. 7 of that year, p. 362 [*Apo.* p. 230].

He says "He" (Newman) "is, by the wish of some of his closest friends the especial object of widely-extended prayer in the spirit of the Whit Sunday collect: for he needs comfort not less than right judgment. He seems oppressed by a sense of want of sympathy and desolation as well as despondency about the Church." . . . Your book is so full of kindly recollections of persons in old times, that I have ventured to think you would like to see this extract: written by one of the best of men.'

² Lord Lyttelton continued about T. D. Acland, 'Of late years he has rather seemed to have weighed anchor, and to be moving in the Maurice (I think not in the Colenso) region.' In his long letter to Newman of 26 June about *Apo.* Acland wrote: 'I am impressed with the thorough honesty and truthfulness of the picture you have drawn On one or two points I can bear testimony. As to dogma i.e. your own feeling about it I remember the place in High Street near St Mary's, probably in 1831, when, in reply to some boyish opinion . . . you told me gravely about the importance of Doctrine as such . . .' Acland went on in his letter to question whether liberalism was the half way house to Atheism, and whether Newman was right 'to speak of dogma and fact as equivalent.'

³ *Apo.* p. 16. 'The two persons who knew me best at that time are still alive, benefited clergymen, no longer my friends. They could tell better than anyone else what I was in those years.' In 1845 Woodgate cut himself off from Newman. Twenty years later he renewed his friendship and said that he had no reason to complain of the reference in *Apo.* See letters of 22 Nov. and 16 Dec. 1865 to him.

⁴ *Apo.* p. 225. Lord Lyttelton asked who this friend was 'since he seems so beautiful a character.'

⁵ See letter of 3 March 1865 to J. E. Bowden.

26 JULY 1864

3. The lady referred to at p 348 is a sister of Mrs Anstice, whose husband was one of the first Professors at King's College, London, and died young in 1836. I never knew more of Miss Harris than her book.¹

4 I am not sure who the friend was in Froude's Remains who 'ratted and married —' it was not Woodgate.²

I am sorry to hear you call Mr Spencer old, if it means more than a reference to his age. When I saw him last, he seemed to me vigorous, as well as active. He talks of giving what he calls a little retreat in our Church soon.³

Johnny Simeon is a clever, affectionate, improving boy — and excites warm interest in his behalf among us

My dear Lord, Very truly Yours, John H Newman

¹ *Apo.* p. 218. Mrs Anstice's sister was Imelda Poole, who wrote an account, to which Newman referred in *Apo.*, of the Oxford Movement. See Index under her name. Lord Lyttelton asked if Newman had meant the author of *From Oxford to Rome*, Miss Harris, whose novel led him on to write *Loss and Gain*.

² Lord Lyttelton also asked, 'Somewhere in Froude's Remains . . . a friend of yours is mentioned as having "ratted and married." Was that Woodgate?' *Remains of Richard Hurrell Froude*, I, p. 385.

³ This was Father Ignatius Spencer, the Passionist. Lord Lyttelton wrote, 'Perhaps you sometimes see my uncle Mr Spencer. He is old, but not yet lazy. I hope the son of my excellent and old friend Sir J Simeon is promising at school.'

APPENDIX 1

H. E. Manning's Letter of 8 October 1864 to the Secretary of Propaganda.¹

Illmõ e Revmõ Signore

Con molta contentezza ho inteso dall Emõ Wiseman il contenuto del foglio dalla Propaganda intorno le Universita Protestanti.

Siccome il suddetto Cardinale va esternare alla S Congrẽ i suoi pareri in proposito, non ardisco di repeterle sue parole. Egli si e dichiarato pienamente contro ogni contatto fra i fedeli dell' Inghilterra colla coltura intellettuale eterodossa del paese.

Mgri Grant, Cornthwaite, ed Amherst si sono gia dichiarati dello stesso sentimento.

Degli altri Prelati non dubito punto che saranno di accordo nello stesso modo di vedere su questa questione, almeno una volta radunati per umiliare una soluzione dalla S. Sede.

L' Emõ Wiseman, attese certe delicatezze, desidera che possa ricevere dall' Emõ Prefetto una richiesta² di invitare i prelati a ruinirsi per togliere ogni sembianza di agire unicamente da se.

Non posso dissimulare che l'affare diviene ogni giorno piu grave e piu difficile.

I Corifei di questo movimento sono appunto quelli, i quali hanno sostenuto il Rambler, ed il Home and Foreign Review. Di piu la persona che incominciò tutta l'agitazione e un certo Signor Ffoulkes, Ministro Anglicano, Convertito, lo scrittore degli articoli denunziati da Mgr Ullathorne alla S. Congẽ di P. F. nell' Unione adesso meritamento condannata dall S. Ufficio.

Tutti senz' eccezione, in quanto io conosco, o si sono taciuti quando devono externarsi su questioni critiche come quella del Dominio Temporale, o sul Congresso di Monaco, o si sono apertamente opposti al senso Catholico.

Benche questo senso di pensiero sia per adesso limitata di numero, nondimeno e colta ed attiva; e temo grandemente l'ingerenza, o l'ingresso di quest'elemento intellettuale nell' educazione di nostri giovani secolari

Di piu gia si possono vedere gli effetti nocivi di questa tendenza intellettuale su alcuni del clero giovane.

Appena credo che V. S. Illmã et Revmã non avra gia inteso che il Revd D. Newman ha comprato un gran locale in Oxford, coll' intenzione di fondare un Oratorio. Vero e che Mgr Ullathorne non ha approvato che un semplice Oratorio. Ma dappertutto si spengono le voci che la mira di questo passo sara, nell' avvenir —, di stabilire un Collegio. Sia vero o no, e indubitabile che la

¹ See third note to letter of 23 Nov. 1864 to Hope-Scott.

² The word 'formale' has been added here, in another hand.

ventilazione di quest' idea vien immensamente incorragita da questo fatto: e dal silenzio fin qui mantenuto sulla questione delle Universite Protestanti dall Revdo Dr Newman. Tutto quello che io provavo di dire nell' ultima mia lettera dell' espansione di questa tendenza, durante la passività di nostri Prelati mi pare ogni giorno piu evidente.

Chieggo perdono per la troppa insistenza colla quale ardisco di umiliare alla S. Congr i miei deboli pareri, ma l'occasione mi sembra la piu critica che fin qui abbia avuta la Chiesa in Inghilterra dopo la Gerarchia.

Con distintissimi rispetti, ho l'onore di rassegnarmi

di V.S. Illmõ e Revmõ, Devmo Servo, E. E. Manning
Bayswater 8 Oct. 1864.

All Illmõ e Revmo Signore Monsignore Capalti.

[Postmark London 8 Oct., Rome 12 Oct.]

APPENDIX 2

(1) The Questions about University Education for Catholics

December 1864

Copy¹

Questions for the Bishop's Meeting of the 13th. inst.

1. Is there anything in the English University Education which it seems to you impossible or very difficult to give in our Catholic Colleges, by any practicable addition to or variation of their present system or condition? Please to state in what it consists.

2. What would you say is the exact meaning of *scholarship* as the peculiar characteristic of University Education?

3. What are the studies in which a Catholic youth going to a Protestant University would be engaged during his course in it?

4. Would he acquire a greater knowledge than he could in a College (a) of modern languages, (b) of foreign literature (c) of history, geography, art, and other general subjects of information?

5. Have you observed or heard on any good authority that in competitive examination, attending to proportion of numbers, the Catholics have fallen below Protestant aspirants, whether in Military or administrative competition?

6. Has it similarly come under your notice that, attending to ratio of numbers, at the bar, from the bench downwards, or in any other learned profession, persons brought up in a University have shown a decisive superiority over those educated in Catholic Establishments?

7. Putting aside all question of tone and manner, and considering the average of young men who annually go into the world from the University and of those who finish their education exclusively among Catholics, does any superiority in solid learning and good education manifest itself in the first above the second?

8. Supposing a young Catholic, whose education had been carried on in one of our Colleges to the extent professed to be taught there, were to go for three years to a Protestant University, in what respect and to what extent do you suppose that his education would be found advanced, and his character better formed?

9. And more especially do you consider that the chances of improvement in moral and religious condition would be increased during that interval, and that the probability is that he would be found better grounded in faith, in piety, and in moral feeling at the end than he was at the beginning of that term?

10. Considering the present condition of belief in the truths of revelation, among leading minds in the Universities, do you think that the intercourse

¹ This is taken from Wetherell's copy of the set of questions.

natural between the learned and able men of the University with younger minds and inexperienced scholars, would not necessarily tend to weaken the faith in these?

11. Would it be possible, not to say expedient, to guard such impressionable minds, especially where there was an ardour for learning, by weakening or destroying all confidence on the part of youth in those whom they were otherwise expected to respect and submit their judgment to?

12. Why is the demand in favour of University Education according to your way of viewing it, to be limited to the laity?

13. If there is to be a higher, a nobler, and a more useful education to be attained at a University than can possibly be given in a Catholic College (unless such College is established in a Protestant University), why should the clergy be deprived in England alone of those signal advantages?

14. Ought the principle to be admitted that the laity should be more highly educated than their clergy, considering the reproaches too readily cast on the latter for lagging in the progress of knowledge and solid attainments?

15. May it not be justly considered that (a) if no danger of loss of faith or morals exists for a layman, *a fortiori* there can be none for an Ecclesiastic? (b) that the mixture of virtuous and fervent ecclesiastical scholars will sustain and encourage their former College companions?

16. Is it not true that although we treat the Universities as though great national institutions for lay education, they are no less, or perhaps in the main, the Protestant substitute for Ecclesiastical Seminaries, and form in reality the places in which all the clergy of the Church of England are educated? Are not all the Archbishops and Bishops of England, and in great measure of Ireland, all the dignitaries, certainly of England, and the vast bulk of the parochial clergy of the Established Church educated there; and has not the fruit of such education been on the whole to produce a clergy most hostile in feeling and most heterodox in doctrine in their attitude towards the Catholic Church?

17. Do you think that such being the case, it would be worthy of the Catholic Church and its Pastors, believing themselves to be under the guidance of the Holy Spirit, to surrender the highest education of their children, or of their ecclesiastical students, to the teaching and guiding of such a body of men?

18. Is not the great teaching body of the University composed of Protestant, consequently heretical, clergymen; and do you think that the Bishops ought to advise the Holy See to commit the final training and the finishing touch to the formation of mind and heart of the Children of God's people to the hands of those who have publicly declared and professed to hold that belief in the most solemn and consoling doctrines, and observance of the most beautiful practices of devotion in the Church are damnable and idolatrous?

19. Or do you think it possible for a Professor or teacher holding the Holy Catholic Church in contempt, and perhaps execration, from day to day to lecture upon even indifferent topics without almost involuntarily allowing his

feelings to escape from any amount of watchful guardedness, and insinuate themselves into the susceptible minds or imaginations of a few un-noticed Catholic pupils?

20. On the whole, after considering all these questions, and the answers which you have no doubt conscientiously given them in the presence of God, looking at the whole state of Europe and of England, and weighing in the balance of the sanctuary the opinions, political, scientific, social and moral, in conflict through the world, do you believe that should a considerable body of young Catholics receive education in Protestant Universities, that the result will be the formation of a future Catholic body more conscientious, more orthodox, more religious, more devout, and more pure than we can obtain by any other process of education? and that should the decision be now in favour of Protestant University education, our successors, and the future heads of Catholic families will feel thankful to God, and believe that His Providence has guided and blessed the decision?

(2) Thomas Gaisford's reply to Bishop Grant

Offington December 11. 1864.¹

My dear Lord,

I am not inclined to attempt to answer in detail the printed questions which you send. Forgive me if I say that I think they are not quite fairly put, I mean that they are adverse to the cause in which I am much interested.

Perhaps the hardest cross which I had to bear on becoming a Catholic was the thought that my Son would lose the advantage of a public school and University education, and since Oxford has been thrown open I determined that I would send my boy there if provision could be made for his spiritual guidance — This condition seems now likely to be fulfilled by the present scheme, viz: that the Fathers of the Oratory, to whom the Oxford Mission has been granted, shall found a religious house of their order, build a Church and give religious instruction to young men entered at the University. There was a talk of a Catholic College but this project has been abandoned and I think wisely, for it might have proved too exclusive.

I trust that at the meeting of the Bishops — their Lordships will fairly and without prejudice consider the wants of our age, and that, if they shrink from *recommending* Oxford, they will at least not condemn those who like myself have decided upon giving our Sons an University education — The Dublin Review, in an article given to Dr. Manning, objects to Oxford on the ground that it would 'indefinitely postpone all efforts towards founding purely Catholic colleges for higher lay education' — I answer that my wants are pressing and that the foundation of a College takes years. I consider *myself* responsible that my son shall be brought up first as a Catholic Christian,

¹ This letter is printed from a copy of Gaisford's draft.

secondly as an English gentleman and though I hope that I am ready to take advice from wiser men, I decline to shift my responsibility on anyone.

I will now make a few remarks upon some of the printed questions —

Question 2. I am no scholar myself, but being asked to define the word 'Scholarship' I should say that a good Greek Scholar is one who has an accurate and critical knowledge of Greek — I believe, that the term is applied at Oxford exclusively to Greek and Latin, and I think that the Catholic Seminaries are inferior in Scholarship to Oxford. Much has been done for Greek literature in this century, [by] Porson, Bloomfield, Maltby, and others my own father among them, but I know of no English Catholic who has contributed.

4. In modern language foreign literature, history etc., I daresay Oscott is not inferior.

5. 6. I have not watched the competition examinations but I know of no leading English Catholic Barrister.

7. I *cannot* put aside tone and manner.

8. He would gain a knowledge of the world (I use the term in a good sense) His character would be better disciplined by being thrown in a large society, he would have a better choice of friends with whom he would live hereafter and with whom I should wish him to live — My own Oxford friends have always stood by me — There is no doubt that Catholic young men make a bad show in London Society at the best club they were pretty sure to be blackballed and why? Not on religious grounds. What does the Travellers club care for a man's religious opinions? Nothing — But it knows that the Catholics are exclusively educated, have little in common with its other members, and would be a *bore* and so they are rejected, and rightly. London ladies say the same 'Excellent young man but a bore, we don't know what to say to him or he to us.' Catholic gentlemen are now more numerous and I want to see them take their proper position in the world, and I believe that the prejudices against our religion would rapidly diminish if we were better known and mixed more freely with our equals.

9. I see no reason why at Oxford, he should be *less* well grounded in faith — the Oratorian Fathers would see to this.

11. What is to become of my Son at 18 if he does not go to Oxford? There must always be danger to him and I think he runs less risk at Oxford than elsewhere, the bane of the old Catholics has been lying about idle at their parent's houses, or lounging on the Continent to pass the time between boyhood and manhood.

12. 13. 14. 15. I give no opinion on education of the Clergy but if it be thought inexpedient that they should go to Oxford and that *therefore* their education may be inferior I don't see why the Laity should be under-educated because the Clergy can't have equal advantages.

16. Yes. But though the Protestant Clergy are hostile I don't think they despise or execrate our religion — there are exceptions however —

19. I should not consider a youth's faith endangered by attending an Oxford Professor's lectures on indifferent subjects.

20. I expect great advantages from Oxford. This question would have been fairer if put thus 'With these advantages would the future Catholic body be likely to be *less* conscientious *less* orthodox etc., I answer — No.

And now my dear Lord, I ask your pardon if I have written too openly, I thought over your questions most seriously, but I have written my answer *currente calamo*, my only object being that you should know just what I think on the subject — About the Worthing Mission I will answer tomorrow.

I remain, my dear Lord, Yours respectfully, T Gaisford.

List of Letters by Correspondents

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Abbreviations used in addition to those listed at the beginning of the volume:

A.	Original Autograph.
Bayswater	Oblates of St Charles, Bayswater, London.
C.	Copy, other than those made by Newman.
D.	Draft by Newman.
Georgetown	The University of Georgetown, Washington, D.C.
H.	Holograph copy by Newman.
Harrow	Dominican Convent, Harrow, Middlesex.
Lond.	London Oratory.
Magd.	Magdalen College, Oxford.
Oriel	Oriel College, Oxford.
Pr.	Printed.
Pusey	Pusey House, Oxford.
Rankeillour	The Lord Rankeillour.
S. J. Dublin	The Jesuit Fathers, 35 Lower Leeson Street, Dublin.
S. J. Lond.	The Jesuit Fathers, 114 Mount Street, London.
Stoke	The Dominican Convent, Stoke-on-Trent.
Ushaw	Ushaw College, Durham.

The abbreviation which describes the source is always the first one after the date of each letter. This is followed immediately by the indication of its present location or owner. When there is no such indication, it means that the source letter is preserved at the Birmingham Oratory. It has not been thought necessary to reproduce the catalogue indications of the Archives at the Oratory, because each of Newman's letters there is separately indexed, and can be traced at once.

After the source and its location have been indicated, any additional holograph copies (with their dates) or drafts are listed, and then, enclosed within brackets, any reference to previous publication in standard works.

Lastly, when it is available, comes the address to which the letter was sent.

LIST OF LETTERS BY CORRESPONDENTS

<i>Correspondent</i>	<i>Year</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Source</i>	<i>Location, Owner, Address</i>
Acland, Thomas Dyke	1864	16 Oct	A	Bodleian Library, MS Eng. letters d 81 (<i>Memoir and Letters of Sir Thomas Dyke Acland</i> , edited by Arthur H. D. Acland, London 1902, pp. 230-1)
Acton, Sir John	1864	11 Mar	A	Mr Douglas Woodruff
		18 Mar	A	Mr Douglas Woodruff
			D	(<i>Ward</i> , I, pp. 565-6, from D)
		15 April	A	(<i>MacDougall</i> , p. 93)
Algar, H.	1865	11 April	D	
Allicock and Millward	1865	24 Jan	D	
Alleyne, Arthur Osborne	1864	17 July	A	(<i>Ward</i> II, p. 315)
Allies, T. W.	1864	12 Feb	C	
		24 Feb	C	
		29 Feb	C	
		18 June	C	
		28 June	C	
		14 July	C	
		16 July	C	
		17 Nov	C	
		30 Nov	C	
		4 Dec	C	
	1865	21 Jan	C	
		29 Jan	C	
		26 Feb	C	
		9 Mar	C	
		24 May	C	
		4 June	C	
			D	
Allies, Mrs T. W.	1864	18 Jan	C	
		20 Jan	C	
		20 Feb	C	
		7 Mar	C	
Arnold, Thomas	1864	4 Jan	D	
		15 Jan	D	
		18 Jan	D	
		8 Oct	D	
		11 Oct	D	
		3 Nov	D	
		14 Nov	D	
	1865	23 April	D	
		4 June	D	
Audley, C. F.	1864	17 Dec	C	
		26 Dec	C	
Badeley, Edward	1864	15 Jan	A	
		20 Jan	A	
		31 Jan	A	
		3 Feb	A	
		5 Feb (1)	A	
		5 Feb (11)	A	
		8 Feb	A	
		16 Feb	A	
		8 Mar	A	
		16 Mar	A	
		22 Mar	A	
		15 April	A	
		19 April	A	
		21 June	A	
Baker, H. Sherston	1865	23 Mar	D	
Bathurst, Catherine Anne	1864	6 Jan	A	Harrow
		24 Jan	A	Harrow
		10 Feb	A	Harrow
		27 Dec	A	Harrow
	1865	11 June	A	Harrow

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<i>Correspondent</i>	<i>Year</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Source</i>	<i>Location, Owner, Address</i>
Bedford, Henry	1864	24 June	C	
Bellasis, Edward	1864	24 Jan	A	
		28 Jan	A	
		27 July	A	
	1865	26 Jan	A	
Bethell, Augustus	1864	10 Dec	C	
			D	
			H of D	
Birmingham Banking Company	1865	8 May	A	St Mary's Retreat, Harborne
Bittleston, Henry	1864	25 July	A	
Blennerhassett, Sir Rowland	1864	26 Sept	A	Cambridge University Library, Blennerhassett Papers, Add. Ms. 7486
		29 Sept	A	Cambridge University Library, Blennerhassett Papers, Add. Ms. 7486
Bloxam, J. R.	1864	28 Sept	A	Magd. MS. 307
		23 Nov	A	Magd. MS. 307 (R. D. Middleton, <i>Newman and Bloxam</i> , London 1947, p. 217)
Bowden, Henry	1864	28 June	A	Ad. Henry Bowden Esqr/40 Princes Gate/Hyde Park/London SW
Bowden, Mrs Henry	1864	16 Feb	A	Ad. 40 Princes Gate/London SW
		17 Feb	A	Ad. the same
		26 Feb	A	Ad. 40 Princes Gate/Hyde Park/London SW
Bowden, Children of Henry,	1864	28 June	A	Ad. Miss Bowden/40 Princes Gate/Hyde Park/London SW
Bowden, John Edward	1865	3 Mar	A	Lond. Vol 15 Ad. The Revd/Father John Bowden/The Oratory/Brompton/London SW/
Bowden, Marianne	1864	14 Jan	A	Visitation Convent, Waldron, Sussex
		4 Sept	A	Visitation Convent, Waldron, Sussex
		21 Nov	A	Visitation Convent, Waldron, Sussex
	1865	27 Mar	A	Visitation Convent, Waldron, Sussex
		18 June	A	Visitation Convent, Waldron, Sussex
Bowden, Marianne Frances	1864	12 Aug	A	Ad. Miss Bowden/Post Office/Worthing/Sussex
	1865	12 May	A	Ad. Miss Bowden/40 Princes Gate/Hyde Park/London SW
		26 June	A	Ad. the same
Bowles, Emily	1864	13 Feb	A	(Ward I, pp. 612-13)
		26 June	A	
	1865	31 Mar	A	(Ward II, pp. 68-69)
		1 May	A	(Ward II, p. 69)
		15 May	A	
		4 June	A	
Bowyer, Sir George	1864	27 Nov	A	
Bracey, Charles J.	1865	9 May	D	
Bretherton, Eleanor	1864	14 July	C	
		4 Sept	C	
	1865	21 Feb	C	
		25 June	C	
Bretherton, Mrs Peter	1865	24 April	D	
		17 May	D	

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<i>Correspondent</i>	<i>Year</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Source</i>	<i>Location, Owner, Address</i>
Buckler, Albert	1864	15 Nov	A	British Museum, Add. Ms. 37123
Burke, Edmund	1864	12 Feb	D	
Capes, Frederick	1864	28 June	C	
	1865	14 May	C	
Cephasia, Sister	1864	20 Sept	D	
Chatterton, Lady	1864	17 June	A	Oscott College
				Ad. Smedmore/Wareham/Dorset
		21 June	A	Oscott College
				Ad. the same
		30 June	A	Oscott College
				Ad. the same
		21 Dec	A	Oscott College
				Ad. Lady Chatterton/Rogate
				Lodge/Petersfield
	1865	11 Jan	A	Oscott College
				Ad. the same
Church, R. W.	1864	23 April	A	Pusey (<i>Ward II</i> , pp. 19-20)
		26 April	A	Pusey (<i>Ward II</i> , p. 21)
		29 April	A	Pusey
		2 May	A	Pusey (<i>Ward II</i> , p. 24)
		17 June	A	Pusey
		21 Dec	Pr.	<i>Ward II</i> , pp. 74-75
	1865	27 April	Pr.	<i>Ward II</i> , p. 75
Cleveland, Henry	1864	26 June	D	
Clutton, Henry	1864	25 Nov	A	Sir George Clutton
		28 Nov	A	Sir George Clutton
			D	
		23 Dec	D	
Coffin, R. A.	1864	13 June	D	
Coleridge, Henry James	1864	24 June	A	S. J. Lond.
		29 June	A	S. J. Lond.
		24 July	A	S. J. Lond.
			D	
		30 Dec	A	S. J. Lond. (<i>Ward II</i> , pp. 77-78)
	1865	28 April	A	S. J. Lond.
			D	
		8 May	A	S. J. Lond.
		14 June	A	S. J. Lond.
		16 June	A	S. J. Lond.
Coleridge, John Duke	1864	12 Oct	Pr	E. H. Coleridge, <i>Life and Correspondence of John Duke Lord Coleridge</i> , London 1904, II, pp. 126-8
				<i>ibid.</i> , p. 128
Comberbach, Alexander	1864	16 Oct	Pr	
		3 Dec	C	
Copeland, W. J.	1864	23 Feb	A	Pusey (<i>Ward I</i> , p. 613)
		7 Mar	A	Pusey
		31 Mar	A	Pusey
		8 April	A	Pusey
		19 April	C	Pusey (<i>Ward II</i> , p. 22)
		8 May	A	Pusey
		17 June	C	Pusey
		5 Aug	A	Pusey
		12 Sept	A	Pusey
		13 Dec	A	Pusey
		23 Dec	A	Pusey
	1865	21 Feb	A	Pusey
		3 Mar	A	Pusey
		28 Mar	A	Pusey
		16 May	A	Pusey
		31 May	A	Pusey
		3 June	A	Pusey
Cox, George William	1865	28 Jan	D	(J. Seynaeve, <i>Cardinal Newman's Doctrine on Holy Scripture</i> , Louvain 1953, pp. 147*-148*)

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<i>Correspondent</i>	<i>Year</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Source</i>	<i>Location, Owner, Address</i>
Cox, George William	1865	4 Feb	D	
Daunt, W. J. O'Neill	1864	25 July	A	St John's Seminary, Camarillo, California
		13 Aug	A	St John's Seminary, Camarillo, California
De Lisle, Ambrose				
Phillipps	1864	18 Sept	C	
	1865	13 Feb	C	(<i>Ward</i> II, p. 82; <i>Butler</i> I, p. 349; E. S. Purcell, <i>Life and Letters of Ambrose Phillipps de Lisle</i> , London 1900, II, pp. 8-9)
Dering, Edward Heneage	1864	13 Aug	A	Oscott College Ad. E. H. Dering Esqr/Smedmore/Wareham/Dorsetshire
Devine, Pius	1864	5 June	D	
Du Boulay, Mary Gabriel	1864	25 June	C	(<i>Ward</i> II, pp. 30-1)
		28 Dec	C	(<i>Ward</i> II, p. 67)
Dunne, D. B.	1865	21 May	A	New Melleray Abbey, Dubuque, Iowa Ad. Professor Dunne &c &c/ Crawley's Hotel/10 Albemarle Street/London W/ to be forwarded
Earle, John Charles	1864	7 July	D	
Editor of the Churchman	1864	1 Oct	A	
Editor of the Saturday Review	1864	28 Feb	A	Sion College, London
			D	
Feilding, Viscount	1864	23 Nov	C	
Ffoulkes, Edmund S.	1864	22 Mar	A	Pusey Ad. E. S. Ffoulkes Esqr/86 Sloane Street/London/SW
		2 July	A	Pusey
				Ad. the same
		24 July	A	Pusey
			D	Ad. E. S. Ffoulkes Esqr/12 Broad Street/Oxford
		7 Aug	A	Pusey (<i>A History of the Church of S. Mary the Virgin Oxford</i> , by the Present Vicar [E. S. Ffoulkes], London 1892, p. 465)
				Ad. E. S. Ffoulkes Esqr/Broad Street/Oxford
		1 Sept	A	Pusey (<i>A History of the Church of St Mary</i> , p. 466)
			H 1867	Ad. E. S. Ffoulkes Esqr/12 Broad Street/Oxford
		17 Sept	A	Pusey (<i>A History of the Church of St Mary</i> , pp. 466-7)
				Ad. the same
		20 Sept	A	Pusey (<i>A History of the Church of St Mary</i> , p. 467)
				Ad. the same
		11 Oct	A	Pusey
	1865	1 Mar	A	Pusey (<i>A History of the Church of St Mary</i> , pp. 467-8)
				Ad. E. S. Ffoulkes Esqr/care of Messrs Longman & Co/39 Paternoster Row/London/EC
				redirected: 9 John Street/Berkeley Square/W
Fisher, John Cowley	1864	25 Nov	A	Holy Cross College, Worcester, Mass.
Fitzgerald, Mrs	1865	27 May	D	
Fitzpatrick, William John	1864	7 Mar	C	(and enclosure)

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<i>Correspondent</i>	<i>Year</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Source</i>	<i>Location, Owner, Address</i>
Fitzpatrick, William John	1864	11 Mar	C	
Forbes, Helen Douglas	1864	4 Oct	D	
	1865	28 April	D	
		9 May	D	
Fraser, William	1864	9 Dec	A	Prebendary E. E. F. Walters, Shrewsbury Ad. The Revd William Fraser/ Alton/Cheadle/Staffordshire (<i>Harper</i> , pp. 158-60)
Froude, Robert Edmund	1864	24 July	C	
		28 July	A	
		3 Aug	C	(<i>Harper</i> , pp. 167-70)
Froude, William	1864	2 Jan	C	(<i>Ward</i> I, p. 612)
		12 April	C	
		1 June	C	
		19 July	C	(<i>Harper</i> , pp. 155-6)
		28 July	C	(<i>Harper</i> , pp. 162-5)
		8 Aug	C	(<i>Harper</i> , pp. 170-1)
		12 Aug	C	(<i>Harper</i> , p. 172)
		30 Sept	C	(<i>Harper</i> , pp. 178-9)
	1865	30 Jan	C	
Froude, Mrs William	1864	7 Feb	C	
		16 Mar	C	
		24 July	C	(<i>Harper</i> , pp. 160-2)
		8 Oct	C	
	1865	2 Mar	C	
Fullerton, Alexander	1864	22 Nov	A	Maryfield Convent, Rochampton
Gabell, J. H. L.	1865	4 June	D	
		13 June	D	
Gaisford, Thomas	1864	5 Feb	A	The Redemptorist Fathers, Clap- ham
		16 Aug	C	
			D	
		20 Aug	C	
		1 Sept	C	
		4 Sept	C	
		20 Sept	C	
		28 Sept	C	
		25 Oct	C	
		30 Oct	C	(<i>Ward</i> II, pp. 54-55)
		6 Nov	C	
		9 Nov	C	
		4 Dec	D	
		16 Dec	C	(<i>Ward</i> II, pp. 66-67)
		19 Dec	C	
		29 Dec	C	
			D	
	1865	3 Jan	C	
		10 Jan	C	
Gallwey, Peter	1865	26 Feb	C	(<i>The Month</i> , Jan. 1903, pp. 4-6)
			D	
Garbett, E. L.	1865	16 June	D	
Gascoyne, John	1864	5 Mar	A	Library of Congress, Edith Rossiter Bevan Autograph Collection, II
Giberne, Miss M. R.	1864	4 Jan	A	
		29 Jan	A	
		12 Feb	A	
		24 Aug	A	
		25 Oct	A	(<i>Ward</i> II, pp. 53-54)
				Ad. Sister M. Pia/Convent de la Visitation/Autun/Saone et Loire/ France
		26 Dec	A	
	1865	End of May	A	(<i>Trevor</i> II, p. 314)
Hallahan, Margaret Mary	1864	25 June	C	(<i>Ward</i> II, p. 30)

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<i>Correspondent</i>	<i>Year</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Source</i>	<i>Location, Owner, Address</i>
Hallahan, Margaret Mary Hanley, D.	1865	10 May	A	
	1864	12 Aug	D	
	1865	12 Jan	C	
		14 Feb	D	
			H	
Hanmer, A. J.	1864	30 Nov	A	S. J. Lond.
	1865	6 Jan	A	S. J. Lond.
Hardman, John		4 Feb	A	S. J. Lond.
	1864	27 Feb	A	
			D	
		22 Nov	A	Ad. John Hardman Esqr/3 Clifton Park/Bristol
Harper, Thomas	1864	18 Feb	A	S. J. Lond.
Hecker, Isaac Thomas	1864	17 Dec	A	The Paulist Fathers, New York
Hobart Town, Bishop of	1865	9 Feb	D	
Holmes, Miss	1864	12 Feb	A	
		9 April	A	
		22 June	A	
		3 Aug	A	
		20 Aug	A	
			D	Two
		24 Aug	A	
		30 Dec	A	
	1865	5 Jan	A	
		7 Feb	A	(Ward II, p. 70)
		9 Feb	A	
		9 May	A	
		2 June	A	
Hood, Edwin Paxton	1864	7 Aug	D	
Hope-Scott, James	1864	12 April	A	Lord Rankeillour (Ward II, pp. 13-14)
			H	1873
		2 May	A	Mrs Maxwell Scott, Abbotsford (Ward II, p. 25; Trevor II, pp. 337-8)
			H	1873
		6 July	A	Lord Rankeillour (Ward II, p. 43; Trevor II, p. 343)
		12 Aug	A	Lord Rankeillour
			H	1873
		16 Aug	A	Lord Rankeillour
			D	
		21 Aug	A	Lord Rankeillour
			H	1873
		29 Aug	A	Lord Rankeillour (Ward II, pp. 51-53)
			H	1873
		20 Sept	A	Lord Rankeillour
			H	1873
		26 Sept	A	Lord Rankeillour
			H	1873
		25 Oct	A	Lord Rankeillour
			H	1873
		31 Oct	A	Lord Rankeillour (Ward II, p. 59)
			H	1873
		23 Nov	A	Lord Rankeillour (Ward II, p. 65)
			H	1873
		28 Nov	A	Lord Rankeillour (Ward II, p. 65)
			H	1873
	1865	28 April	A	Lord Rankeillour (Ward II, pp. 70-71)
			H	
			C	
Howard, Lord Edward	1864	1 Aug		

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<i>Correspondent</i>	<i>Year</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Source</i>	<i>Location, Owner, Address</i>
Husenbeth, Frederick				
Charles	1864	20 June	A	The Bishop of Shrewsbury
Hutton, Richard Holt	1864	22 Feb	A	
			C	(Ward II, pp. 6-7)
			D	
		26 Feb	C	
			D	
		3 Mar	C	
			D	
			H of D	
		27 Mar	C	(Ward II, pp. 12-13)
		11 June	D	
		18 June	D	
	1865	3 June	C	
Ingleby, Clement Mansfield	1864	27 July	A	
Jones, Daniel	1864	5 Oct	A	
Keble, John	1864	27 April	A	(Ward II, p. 22)
		17 June	A	
		4 July	A	
	1865	6 June	A	
Kingsley, Charles	1864	7 Jan	Pr	<i>Mr. Kingsley and Dr. Newman: A Correspondence on the Question whether Dr. Newman teaches that Truth is no Virtue</i> , London 1864, pp. 12-13.
			D	
		17 Jan	Pr	<i>ibid</i> , pp. 23-25
			D	
Köller, Baroness von	1864	1 July	D	
		8 Nov	D	
Leahy, Patrick	1864	18 Feb	A	Cashel Diocesan Archives
Lee, Frederick George	1864	21 Oct	A	Mrs Bond, Clifton
Lewis, David	1864	22 June	A	Lond. Vol. 15
Literary Churchman, Writer in	1864	28 Feb	D	
Littledale, Richard	1864	20 Dec	D	
Frederick				
Liverpool and Salford Clergy	1864	30 July	Pr	The <i>Tablet</i> , (6 Aug. 1864), p. 505
			D	
Lloyd, J. F.	1864	3 Oct	C	
Lockhart, William	1864	3 July	A	
	1865	15 May	D	
Lomax, Mrs Thomas	1864	13 July	A	
Longman, William	1864	30 Jan	D	
		9 Feb	D	
Mac Ivor, James	1865	23 May	D	
MacMahon, J. H.	1864	24 April	C	
		24 July	A	
		2 Aug	A	
Macmillan, Alexander	1864	8 Jan	Pr	Georgetown <i>Mr. Kingsley and Dr. Newman: A Correspondence on the Question whether Dr. Newman teaches that Truth is no Virtue?</i> pp. 14-20 (Trevor II, p. 317; Simon Nowell-Smith, <i>Letters to Macmillan</i> , London 1967, p. 46)
		28 Jan	D	
		10 Feb	D	
		27 Sept	D	
Macmillan and Co	1864	22 Jan	Pr	<i>Mr. Kingsley and Dr. Newman: A Correspondence</i> . . . pp. 27-30
			D	
Macmullen, Richard Gell	1864	16 Mar	D	

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<i>Correspondent</i>	<i>Year</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Source</i>	<i>Location, Owner, Address</i>
Maguire, John	1864	18 May	A	
Maguire, John and Oakeley, Frederick	1864	17 Mar	Pr	The <i>Weekly Register</i> , (26 Mar. 1864), p. 201; (The <i>Tablet</i> , same date, p. 202)
			D	
Maher, Messrs M.	1864	23 June	D	
Maling, Miss E. A.	1864	10 July	D	
Manning, H. E.	1864	8 May	A	Holy Cross College, Worcester, Mass.
		22 June	A	Bayswater
	1865	31 May	A	Bayswater (<i>Ward II</i> , pp. 88-89; <i>Purcell II</i> , 229-30)
			D	
Meynell, Charles	1864	9 April	A	
		16 Oct	A	
		28 Dec	A	
Moiij de Sons	1864	29 Sept	Pr	The <i>Tablet</i> , (28 Jan. 1865), p. 53
			D	
Molesworth, J. E. N.	1864	30 Aug	A	Paul C. Richards, Brookline, Mass.
Monsell, William	1864	6 Feb	A	
		29 Feb	A	
		27 April	A	
		29 June	A	
		10 July	A	
		14 July	A	
		16 July	A	
		26 July (1)	A	
		26 July (11)	A	
		5 Aug	A	
		12 Aug	A	
		12 Sept	A	
		26 Oct	A	
		27 Nov	A	
		26 Dec	A	
	1865	12 Jan	A	
		21 Jan	A	
		5 Feb	A	
		3 April	A	
		5 May	A	
			D	
		28 May	A	
		18 June	A	
		25 June	A	
Monteith, Robert	1864	29 July	A	Sacred Heart Convent, Hammer-smith
		18 Aug	A	Major J. B. Monteith, Cranley, Lanark
			H	1867
		31 Oct	A	Major J. B. Monteith
		16 Nov	A	Major J. B. Monteith
	1865	26 Jan	A	Major J. B. Monteith
Moriarty, David	1864	8 Sept	A	
			D	Two
Morris, J. B.	1864	17 Nov	A	
Mozley, Mrs John	1864	2 Jan	A	Oriel
		23 Feb	A	Oriel
		24 Feb	A	Oriel
		4 Mar	A	Oriel
		7 Mar	A	Bodleian Library, MS English Letters, d. 102
		14 Mar	A	Bodleian Library, MS English Letters, d. 102
		23 April	A	Bodleian Library, MS English Letters, d. 102

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<i>Correspondent</i>	<i>Year</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Source</i>	<i>Location, Owner, Address</i>
Mozley, Mrs John	1865	28 April	A	Oriel
		4 May	A	Oriel
		31 May	A	Bodleian Library, MS English Letters, d. 102
Neville, William	1864	15 June	A	
		8 Sept	A	
			D	
Norfolk, Duchess of Northcote, J. Spencer	1865	20 June	A	
	1864	9 July	A	The Duke of Norfolk
	1864	23 Nov	A	Stoke
		28 Nov	A	Stoke
			D	
O'Bryen, H. H.	1865	5 Jan	A	Stoke
	1864	2 Dec	A	St Joseph's College, Up Holland
	1865	6 Jan	A	Keble College, Oxford
	1864	27 Nov	A	University College, Dublin
	1864	11 July	A	
Ornsby, Robert			H	1872
		30 Sept	A	
			H	1872
		2 Dec	A	
			H	1872
	1865	20 May	A	(Ward II, pp. 87-88)
	1864	21 Jan	A	Diocesan Archives, Birmingham
		1 Feb	A	Diocesan Archives, Birmingham
	1865	7 Feb	C	
Oxenham, Henry				
Nutcombe	1865	25 Jan	D	
Palmer, William	1865	20 Feb	D	
Parents of boys at the Oratory School	1865	27 Mar	A	
Parsons, Daniel	1864	8 July	D	
Patterson, James Laird	1864	21 April	C	
		15 June	D	Two
		16 June	C	
		28 Oct	C	
		15 Nov	C	
		20 Nov	C	
		23 Nov	C	
		27 Nov	C	
		30 Nov	C	
Pattison, Mark	1864	24 Aug	A	
			D	
		28 Aug	A	
		5 Sept	A	
		26 Oct	A	
	1865		D	
		20 Jan	A	
		27 Jan	A	
		17 Feb	A	
Perrin, John F.	1864	9 Sept	C	
Pisani, Countess	1865	24 May	H	
Platt, Ralph	1864	23 Sept	D	Three
Pollen, John Hungerford	1864	1 Dec	C	
	1865	26 Jan	C	
		13 Feb	C	
		31 Mar	C	
		5 April	C	
Poole, Mary Imelda	1864	15 May	C	
		25 June	A	(Ward II, pp. 29-30)
		16 Nov	C	(Ward II, p. 61)
Pope, William	1864	27 Feb	C	
Porter, Mary Josephine	1865	19 Mar	D	

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<i>Correspondent</i>	<i>Year</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Source</i>	<i>Location, Owner, Address</i>
Prevost, Sir George	1865	4 May	C	(<i>The Autobiography of Isaac Williams</i> , edited by Sir George Prevost, London 1892, pp. 134-6)
Propitiatory Sacrifice, Author of	1864	7 Aug	D	
Pusey, E. B.	1864	22 Nov	A	Pusey
		25 Nov	A	Pusey
		28 Nov	A	Pusey
			D	Two
		13 Dec	A	Pusey
		28 Dec	A	Pusey
		31 Dec	D	
			A	Pusey (part)
			H	
	1865	4 Jan	A	Pusey (Liddon's <i>Pusey</i> IV, pp. 99-100)
		8 Jan	A	Pusey
		31 Jan	A	Pusey
		2 Feb	A	Pusey
		3 Feb	A	Pusey
		10 Feb	A	Pusey
			D	
			D	
Puttock, Alban	1865	11 June		
Renouf, Peter le Page	1864	14 Mar	A	Pembroke College, Oxford (<i>The Life Work of Sir Peter le Page Renouf</i> , first series, IV, Paris 1907, pp. lxi-xlx)
Riddell, Charles Francis	1864	26 Mar	A	The Quaker Collection, Haverford College Library, Pennsylvania
	1865	28 Jan	C	
Rivington, W.	1864	28 Jan	A	Rev. Herbert Keldany
		30 Jan	D	
		9 Feb	D	
		25 May	Pr	Paul C. Richards, Catalogue 63, item 296
Rodmell, J. T.	1864	20 June	D	
Rogers, Sir Frederick	1864	3 Feb	A	
		18 April	C	
		22 April	C	(<i>Ward</i> II, p. 19)
		1 May	C	(<i>Ward</i> II, pp. 23-24)
		16 July	C	
		20 Dec	C	(<i>Ward</i> II, p. 74)
	1865	31 May	C	
		4 June	C	(<i>Ward</i> II, p. 90)
		6 June	C	
		14 June	A	
		15 June	C	
		25 June	C	(<i>Ward</i> II, p. 75)
Rolfe, George	1864	18 Mar	Pr	The <i>Weekly Register</i> , (26 Mar 1864), p. 201. (The <i>Tablet</i> , same date, p. 202)
			D	
Rose, Henry John	1864	13 July	Pr	The <i>Churchman</i> , (4 Aug. 1864), p. 134
			D	
Russell, Charles	1864	3 May	A	S. J. Dublin
		24 June	A	S. J. Dublin
	1865	2 Mar	A	S. J. Dublin (<i>Ward</i> II, p. 86)
		19 April	A	S. J. Dublin (<i>Ward</i> II, p. 42)
			D	
		28 April	A	S. J. Dublin
		5 May	A	S. J. Dublin
			D	
		17 May	A	S. J. Dublin
			D	

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<i>Correspondent</i>	<i>Year</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Source</i>	<i>Location, Owner, Address</i>
Ryder, Sophia	1864	27 Jan	A	Good Shepherd Convent, Finchley
Ryley, Edward	1864	26 April	A	Anthony Bischoff, S.J., Gonzaga University, Spokane
St John, Ambrose	1864	6 Jan	A	1875
		10 Jan	A	
			H	
		12 Jan	A	
		18 Jan	A	(Ward II, p. 540; Trevor II, p. 347)
		25 July	A	
			H	1875
		26 July	A	1875
			H	
		31 July	A	1875
		9 Aug	A	
			H	1875
		10 Aug	A	
			H	1875
		30 Aug	A	
			H	1875
		2 Sept	A	
			H	1875
		5 Sept	A	
		5 Oct	A	Ad. The Revd Fr St John/to be opened at once by any of the Fathers, if he is gone.
				(Ward II, pp. 60-61)
		5 Nov	A	1875
		8 Nov	A	
			H	1875
		3 Jan	A	
			H	(Ward II, pp. 80-81)
		8 Jan	A	
			A	(Ward II, p. 71)
		21 April	H	
Scratton, Thomas	1864	16 Jan	A	University College, Dublin
Sheil, Sir Justin	1864	6 Jan	A	
	1865	2 Mar	A	
		7 Mar	A	
Simcox, Edith J.	1864	22 June	D	Ad. Sir John Simeon Bart/Swainston/Isle of Wight
Simeon, Sir John	1864	22 Aug	C	
				Sir John Simeon
		22 Nov	A	
		16 Dec	C	Sir John Simeon
	1865	9 Jan	A	
			D	Sir John Simeon
		24 Jan	A	
		29 Jan	A	Sir John Simeon
		10 Feb	A	
		21 Mar	A	Sir John Simeon
		22 Mar	A	
				Sir John Simeon
Simpson, Richard	1864	15 Nov	A	
	1865	12 June	A	
Smith, Ambrose	1864	24 Aug	D	
			H of D	
		5 Sept	D	
		12 Sept	A	(In note to letter of 15 Sept)
		15 Sept	D	
		17 Sept	D	
		21 Sept	C	
		29 Sept	C	
			D	
		11 Oct	C	Two
Smith George Bernard	1864	24 Oct	C	
		16 Dec	D	

LIST OF LETTERS BY CORRESPONDENTS

<i>Correspondent</i>	<i>Year</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Source</i>	<i>Location, Owner, Address</i>
Smith, George Bernard	1864	23 Dec	D	
		17 Mar	C	
		23 Mar	D	
Sparrow, John	1864	27 July	C	
		7 Jan	C	
		13 Mar	C	
Spearing, John B.	1864	23 Nov	A	
		29 Dec	A	
		11 Feb	A	
Stokes, Charles Scott	1864	8 Feb	D	
		24 Feb	D	Two
		14 June	D	
Stretton, C. W.	1865	14 June	D	
Strong, Captain	1864	26 Nov	A	In note to letter of 23 Nov
			D	to Henry Walsh
Superior of Oxford Sisterhood	1864	6 Dec	D	
Talbot, George	1864	25 July	D	
			H of D	(<i>Ward II</i> , p. 539; <i>Newman, Prose and Poetry</i> , edited by Geoffrey Tillotson, London 1957, p. 800)
Taylor, Fanny Margaret	1864	10 Mar	A	
		8 July	D	
		10 July	D	
		30 Dec	A	Maryfield Convent, Roehampton
		19 Mar	A	Maryfield Convent, Roehampton
Taylor, J. P.	1864	9 Oct	A	Lond. Vol. 15
		2 Nov	C	Lond. Vol. 15
		16 June	A	(<i>Ward II</i> , p. 78)
Thompson, Edward Healy	1864	28 Dec	D	
		5 Jan	C	
Thynne, Lord Charles	1864	21 Mar	C	
		22 June	C	
		14 Dec	C	
Thynne, Lady Charles	1865	20 May	C	
		31 May	C	
Timmins, Samuel	1864	15 Feb	D	
Trappes, Michael	1864	15 June	Pr	The <i>Hull Advertiser</i> , (18 June 1864)
			D	
Trutch, Miss S. M.	1864	20 Aug	D	Two
Ullathorne, Bishop	1864	20 Sept	A	
		23 Sept	A	
			D	
			H	
		26 Sept	A	(<i>Butler</i> , II, pp. 6-7)
		11 Oct	A	
			D	
		25 Oct	A	
		28 Oct	A	
			D	
		2 Nov	A	
		16 Nov	A	
			H	
		19 Nov	A	
		27 Nov	A	
		20 Dec	A	
			D	
		28 Dec	A	
	1865	10 Feb	D	
			A	
		17 Feb	A	
			D	

LIST OF LETTERS BY CORRESPONDENTS

<i>Correspondent</i>	<i>Year</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Source</i>	<i>Location, Owner, Address</i>
Ullathorne, Bishop		4 April	D	
		14 April	A	
		20 May	A	
			D	
Unknown Correspondents	1864	23 Sept	D	Two (J. Seynaeve, <i>Cardinal Newman's Doctrine on Holy Scripture</i> , pp. 148*-50*)
	1865	19 Mar	D	
Unknown Professor of Theology	1865	28 April	D	
	1864	2 July	A	
Valroger, Hyacinthe de Vere, Aubrey de	1864	6 July	A	National Library of Ireland (W. Ward, <i>Aubrey de Vere, A Memoir</i> , London 1904, pp. 306-07)
Walker, J. of Scarborough	1864	1 April	A	
		2 May	A	
		16 June	A	
		6 July	A	
			D	
		5 Aug	A	
		24 Oct	A	
		17 Nov	A	
		28 Nov	A	
		18 Feb	A	
			D	
			A	
Walker, William	1864	24 June	A	Ushaw
Wallis, John	1864	22 Feb	A	
Walsh, Henry	1864	23 Nov	C	
Ward, W. G.	1864	6 Jan	H	
			D	(Wilfrid Ward, <i>William George Ward and the Catholic Revival</i> , p. 459)
Wegg-Prosser, Francis				
Richard	1864	10 Oct	A	Maryhill House, Belmont, Hereford (<i>Ward II</i> , pp. 55-56)
Wetherell, T. F.	1864	1 Nov	A	
		6 Nov	A	
	1865	4 Jan	A	
		10 Jan	C	
		13 Jan	A	
			H	
		17 Jan	C	
		26 Jan	A	
		2 Feb	C	
		5 Feb	A	
		10 Feb	A	
			D	
		13 April	A	
		4 June	A	
		5 June	A	
		6 June	C	
		21 June	A	
Wheble, James	1864	29 July	A	
Whitty, Robert	1865	19 Mar	A	The Newman Preparatory School, Boston Bayswater (<i>Purcell II</i> , pp. 500-01) Georgetown Ushaw Georgetown <i>Ad. H. W. Wilberforce Esqr/St Germain en Laye/Paris/France</i> Georgetown (<i>Ward II</i> , pp. 44-45) Georgetown (<i>Ward II</i> , pp. 61-62) Georgetown Yale University Library
Wilberforce, Henry	1864	24 Jan	A	
		29 Feb	A	
		25 June	A	
		24 Aug	A	
		16 Nov	A	
Wilberforce, Samuel	1865	5 June	A	
	1864	5 Dec	A	
			D	
Wilcox, William E.	1865	1 Mar	A	

LIST OF LETTERS BY CORRESPONDENTS

<i>Correspondent</i>	<i>Year</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Source</i>	<i>Location, Owner, Address</i>
Williams, Isaac	1864	17 June	A	Pusey
		4 Oct	A	Pusey
	1865	31 Mar	C	(<i>The Autobiography of Isaac Williams</i> , edited by Sir George Prevost, pp. 133-4)
Wilson, Lavinia	1864	20 April	A	Pusey
		29 Nov	D	
		2 Dec	A	
		6 Dec	C	
	1865	23 Dec	D	
		5 Jan	C	
		14 Jan	C	
		30 Jan	C	
		7 April	C	
		11 April	C	
		14 April	A	
Wiseman, Cardinal	1864	15 April	A	
		28 Sept	A	
			D	
			H	1865
Wood, Charlotte	1864	25 June	A	
Woodlock, Bartholomew	1864	4 Jan	A	University College, Dublin
			D	
		7 Jan	H	1872
		29 Jan	A	University College, Dublin
		11 July	A	Georgetown
		13 Dec	A	Georgetown
Wordsworth, William	1865	11 June	A	University College, Dublin
	1864	22 Oct	A	
			D	

MEMORANDA ABOUT THE OXFORD SCHEME

	1864	
August 1864		in note to diary for 23 Aug
8 September 1873		in note to letter of 29 Aug to Hope-Scott
Correspondence on the Negotiations		21 Sept
The Oxford Land		7 Oct
The Oxford Circular First Draft		in note to letter of 31 Oct to Hope-Scott
Third Draft		Postscript to letter of 27 Nov to Ullathorne
Bishop Ullathorne's Visit		27 Nov
Catholics at the Universities		10 Dec
	1865	
Bishop Ullathorne's Visit		5 Feb
Bishop Ullathorne's Visit		4 May

LETTERS TO NEWMAN

	<i>From</i>	<i>Inserted before Newman's of</i>
1864	6 Jan	Charles Kingsley
	14 Jan	Charles Kingsley
	29 Jan	William Monsell
	25 Feb	Richard Holt Hutton
	28 Feb	Richard Holt Hutton
	15 Mar	Sir John Acton
	10 April	Sir John Acton
	16 April	Sir John Acton
		7 Jan
		17 Jan
		6 Feb
		26 Feb
		3 Mar
		18 Mar
		15 April
		15 April to Badeley

LIST OF LETTERS BY CORRESPONDENTS

	<i>From</i>	<i>Inserted before Newman's of</i>
		18 June
	Richard Holt Hutton	20 June to Husenbeth
	Richard Holt Hutton	25 July
	George Talbot	26 Sept
	Bishop Ullathorne	28 Oct
	Bishop Ullathorne	16 Nov to Wilberforce
	Bishop Ullathorne	22 Nov to Sir John Simeon
	E. B. Pusey	12 Jan
1865	10 Jan	20 Feb
	William Monsell	
	16 Feb	
	William Palmer	

Index of Persons and Places

References are given always to *The Dictionary of National Biography* or *The Dictionary of American Biography*, and failing them, to Frederick Boase, *Modern English Biography* and Joseph Gillow, *Bibliographical Dictionary of the English Catholics*; also occasionally to other printed works. Much of the information is derived from the correspondence and other material in the archives of the Birmingham Oratory, and from various private sources.

Acheson, Ladies Olivia and Annabella
Acheson were the two youngest daughters of the second Earl of Gosford, who died on 27 March 1849, and who had been Governor General of Canada at the time of Papineau's Rebellion. They became Catholics in 1845 when Lady Olivia was aged 29 and her sister two or three years younger. They both wished to devote their lives to good works, possibly as nuns in an active Order. Lady Annabella died in London on 26 July 1849, and her sister in Birmingham, whither she had come to work under the Oratorians, on 28 March 1852, 439.

Acland, Thomas Dyke (1809-98), went up to Christ Church, Oxford, in 1827, and was a Fellow of All Souls, 1831-7. From his undergraduate days he was a friend of Newman and often heard him preach, but did not follow him in the direction of Rome, and gradually became Broad Church. Acland sat in Parliament as Conservative member for West Somerset, 1837-47. In April 1859 he contested Birmingham as a Liberal Conservative, and called on Newman, who gave him his support. (*DNB*, xxii, Suppl., 12), 261, 504.

Acton, Sir John Dalberg, eighth Baronet, created first Baron Acton in 1869 (1834-1902), was born at Naples, and succeeded his father in 1837. His mother, only daughter of the Duc de Dalberg, married the second Earl Granville in 1840. Acton was at school at Oscott, and in 1848 went to Munich for six years, as a private pupil of Dollinger. There he laid the foundations of his immense learning, and developed his passionate devotion to freedom and his liberal Catholicism. On his return to England, his step-father put him in contact with the English political world, and he sat in Parliament 1859-65, as

member for Carlow. At the same time he began to build up his great library at Aldenham, in Shropshire. In 1858 he became a proprietor of the *Rambler*, chief organ of the liberal Catholic movement. Acton became editor in 1859, when Newman was forced to retire, and in 1862 converted it into the quarterly *Home and Foreign Review*, in the hope of avoiding ecclesiastical criticism. After the Munich Congress of 1863 which Acton attended, and the Brief of Pius IX which followed it, Acton brought the *Review* to an end. He then supported T. F. Wetherell in the weekly *Chronicle* 1867-8, followed by the *North British Review*, which lasted until 1872. By that time Acton was abandoning Newman. During the Vatican Council he worked with Dollinger against the definition of papal infallibility, to which he was strongly opposed. After 1875 he moved away from controversy and devoted more time to study, as Newman, whom he visited in old age, had long before urged him. In 1895 he was appointed Regius Professor of Modern History at Cambridge, and was the first editor of the *Cambridge Modern History*. (*DNB*, 1901-11, 8); Hugh A. MacDougall, *The Acton-Newman Relations*, New York 1962), xiii, 42, 76, 78, 82-3, 94-5, 168, 444-5.

Alexander, William (1824-1911), went up to Oxford in 1841, and although he never met Newman, came under his spell, being present at his last Anglican sermon 'The Parting of Friends.' He nearly became a Catholic in 1846. See Volume XI, p. 91. He was made Bishop of Derry in 1867 and Archbishop of Armagh in 1896. (*DNB*, 1901-11, I, 31), 179.

Alexander, Mrs William, Cecil Frances Humphreys (1818-95), influenced by the Oxford Movement, was a hymn writer

- Alexander, Mrs. William—*Continued*
and poet. In 1850 she married William Alexander, when he was Rector of Termonamongan in Tyrone. (*DNB*, xxii Suppl., 30), 240.
- Algar, Henry, curate of Barnardiston, near Sudbury, Suffolk. He went up to Exeter College, Oxford in 1844, at the age of nineteen, 445.
- Allcock and Milward, 390.
- Alleyne, Arthur Osborne Gibbes (1833–1909), was received into the Church at the London Oratory in 1849, while still at school, but returned to Anglicanism and went up to Oriel College, Oxford, in 1851. Some time after his B.A. in 1855, he took deacon's orders in the Church of England, and priest's in 1862. In the meantime he was still drawn towards the Catholic Church, as his letters in 1860 show. He was Rector of St Edmund's, Exeter, a living in his own gift, 1863–86. In 1870 he married Rosalie Sophie, daughter of Rear-Admiral Richard Dunning White, 158.
- Allies, Thomas William (1813–1903), at Eton and Wadham College, Oxford, (First in Classics), Fellow 1833–41, Chaplain for two years to C. J. Blomfield, Bishop of London, then Vicar of Launton, Oxon. Although greatly influenced by Newman, he maintained a 'patriarchal' theory of the Church in *The Church of England cleared from the Charge of Schism*, published in June 1846. He became a Catholic in 1850, with little means to support his family. Newman appointed him Lecturer in History at the Catholic University of Ireland in 1855, and he was Secretary of the Catholic Poor School Committee 1853–90. He wrote a series of volumes on *The Formation of Christendom*. (*DNB*, 1901–11, i, 37), 47–8, 57, 65, 119, 135, 155–6, 159, 298, 317, 326, 332, 347, 389, 397, 421, 428, 474, 483.
- Allies, Eliza Hall Newman (1822–1902), of Cheltenham, (not related to Newman), married T. W. Allies in 1840, and became a Catholic in May 1850, four months before her husband, 21, 23, 54, 71.
- Alphonsus Liguori, St (1696–1787), 25, 34–5, 94, 109, 112–13, 139–40, 163.
- Ambrose, see St John.
- Anderdon, William Henry (1816–90), was Manning's nephew, and a cousin of the Marquise de Salvo. At about the age of 15 he attended King's College, London, and then went to Oxford, first to Balliol and then to University College, where he was a Scholar from 1837 to 1843. He was greatly influenced by Newman, visiting him at Littlemore in 1843, and during the next two years corresponded with him about his religious difficulties. In 1846 he was appointed Vicar of St Mary's with Knighton at Leicester, turned his house into a religious community and renewed the life of his parish. He became a Catholic in 1850, after which he was for a time Dean of the Catholic University in Dublin, and later took charge of the University Church. He was then secretary to his uncle the Archbishop at Westminster, and in 1872 joined the Jesuits. (*DNB*, Suppl. xxii, 45), 246.
- Amherst, Francis Kerril (1819–83), related to several old Catholic families, was educated at Oscott and ordained priest there on 6 June 1846. He was Bishop of Northampton 1858–79. After his death, Newman wrote to his successor 'I have thought of him with interest and affection since I heard him sing the "Exultet" in Oscott Chapel in 1846.' Dame Mary Francis Roskell, *Memoirs of F. K. Amherst*, London 1903, pp. 373–4. (*DNB*, i, 357), 28.
- Argyll, Duchess of, Anne Colquhoun Cunningham, descended from the Earls of Glencairn, was married in 1831 to the seventh Duke of Argyll (1777–1847), being his third wife. She became a Catholic in 1851, was a benefactor of the Oratorians, and died in 1874, 489, 495.
- Arnold, Thomas (1823–1900), second son of Thomas Arnold of Rugby, was at school there from 1837 until he won a scholarship at University College, Oxford, in 1842. His friends included Arthur Stanley, Jowett and Clough. In 1847 he went to New Zealand, where he remained until, in Jan. 1850, he became Inspector of Schools, in Tasmania. Six months later he married Julia, granddaughter of Colonel Sorrell, a former Governor of the colony. Arnold had heard Newman preach once or twice at Oxford, but without coming under his influence. Now, however, after a period of scepticism, he found himself drawn towards Catholicism and in May 1855 wrote to Newman for advice. In Jan. 1856 in spite of the violent opposition of his wife, Arnold was received into the Church by Bishop Willson of Hobart Town. It was thought impossible that he should retain his post, and he arrived back in England for good in Oct. 1856. Newman at once invited him to Dublin, where he became Professor of English Literature. In 1862 he published his *Manual of English Literature*. Early in that same year he came to Newman again, to be the senior classical master at the Oratory School in Birmingham. By 1865 Arnold's liberalism caused him to drift away from the Church. He returned to Oxford and took in pupils, building a house (now Wycliffe Hall) for the purpose. In 1876 his election to the Professorship of Anglo-Saxon was prevented by the announcement that he had returned to Catholicism. He left Oxford,

- and in 1882 was elected a Fellow of the Royal University of Ireland, and Professor of English Language and Literature at University College, Dublin. There he wrote an autobiography, *Passages in a Wandering Life*, London 1900. His eldest child became Mrs Humphry Ward, the novelist. (*DNB*, xxii Suppl., 76), 3-5, 17, 22, 29, 85, 169-70, 205, 254, 256, 284, 291, 449, 484, 486, 494.
- Audley, Charles Felix (1807-85), English son of Breton émigrés, lived in Paris, where he was the friend of Cochin, Montalembert and other supporters of *Le Correspondant*, to which he also contributed. Audley was a journalist and a translator of numerous English works into French, including Disraeli's novels, and of French works into English, 345, 356.
- Badeley, Edward Lowth (1803-68) was at Brasenose College, Oxford, where he graduated B.A. in 1823. He and Newman seem to have met only about 1837, but they became close friends. Badeley was called to the Bar, as a Member of the Inner Temple in 1841, and became one of the leading Tractarian lawyers. He was counsel for the Bishop of Exeter in the Gorham Case in 1850, and became a Catholic in 1852, assisting Newman during the Achilli Trial. He was unmarried, (*DNB*, 1, 856), xiii, 18, 24, 26, 33, 35, 37, 39, 44, 52, 73, 79, 86, 95, 97, 125, 160.
- Bagot, Richard (1782-1854), son of the first Lord Bagot, was Bishop of Oxford from 1829 until 1845, when he was translated to Bath and Wells. In 1806 he married Lady Harriet Villiers, daughter of the fourth Earl of Jersey. She died in 1870. (*DNB*, 1, 871), 86, 108.
- Baker, George Edward Dunstan Sherston (1846-1923), succeeded his distant cousin as fourth Baronet in 1877. George, at the Oratory School 1862-5, was called to the Bar at Lincoln's Inn in 1871, and after being Recorder of Helston and then of Barnstaple and Bideford, became a judge in 1901. He married, in 1873, Jane Mary, (who died in 1909), daughter of Frederick James Fagan, and secondly, in 1912, Mary Josephine, daughter of Henry Bacchus. He was the author of several well-known treatises on international law, 8, 436.
- Baker, Henry Sherston (1814-75), at Exeter College, Oxford, B.A. 1836, a Barrister, Lincoln's Inn, 1840, married in 1842 Maria Martha, daughter of John Burke. He became a Catholic in 1850, and sent his two elder sons to the Oratory School, 436.
- Baker, Robert Henry Sherston (1848-1904), at the Oratory School 1862-6, became a Colonel in the Royal Artillery, and married in 1890 Mary, daughter of Major General Albert Henry Bamfield, 8, 436.
- Barnabò, Alessandro (1801-74), born a Foligno, was appointed Secretary to the Roman Congregation of Propaganda in 1846. In 1856 he was made a Cardinal and Prefect of Propaganda, and in 1862 Prefect of the newly formed Congregation for Oriental Rites as well. He was an administrator, rough and ready, as his portrait at Propaganda suggests, and is said to have been responsible for the efforts to latinize Eastern Catholics. Newman found fault with his attitude at the time of the breach between the Oratories in 1856, and later in 1867 over the Oxford scheme, 28, 339, 348, 397, 418, 435.
- Barrow, Andrew (1804-65), became a Jesuit in 1821, and was ordained priest in 1834. He was made Rector of Stonyhurst College in 1842, and from 1845 until death was chaplain to Sir Charles Robert Tempest, at Broughton Hall, Yorkshire. (*Boase*, 1, 180), 201, 207.
- Barrow, John (1810-80), went up to Queen's College, Oxford, in 1826. He took Orders in 1834, was tutor and librarian of his college, 1835-46, and a Fellow, 1845-55. In 1853 he was Select Preacher before the University, and Principal of St Edmund Hall from 1854 until he resigned in 1861. Barrow, who contributed 'St Herbert' to the *Lives of the English Saints*, was considered to be a moderate Tractarian. He became a Catholic in 1864, and then a Jesuit, working for a while in India. (*Boase*, iv, 286), 190, 407.
- Bathurst, Catherine Anne (1825-1907), sister of Stuart Eyre Bathurst, had thoughts of the conventual life while still an Anglican. She was received into the Church by Fr Brownbill in Sept. 1850, and then came to Birmingham to work under the Oratorians, at Alcester Street, where she started the school for girls. She had various plans for becoming a nun, with the Dominicans at Stone and the Rosminian Sisters of Providence at Loughborough. In 1854 she joined the Sisters of Charity of the Precious Blood at Greenwich, a community of converts, under Elizabeth Lockhart. From there she was sent in 1857 to work again under the Oratorians at Birmingham, and founded St Philip's Orphanage, for boys. However her health broke down, and she was obliged to give up conventual life a year later. She retired to Belgium, where after a while the Bishop of Ghent persuaded her to gather a few other Dominican tertiaries around her, and to found a convent and school. Thanks to her great gifts as a teacher and organiser, her establishment flourished. Eventually Cardinal Manning invited her to open a convent and school at Harrow, which she did in 1878, later giving up the foundation at Ghent. Her long

- Bathurst Catherine Anne—*continued*
correspondence with Newman shows how much she depended on his guidance and friendship, 7, 27, 46, 292, 358, 490.
- Bedford, Henry (1816–1905), born in London, went up to Trinity College, Cambridge, in 1835, transferring a year later to Peterhouse. He was an active Tractarian, who took a curacy at Ilford in 1844, and then at Christ Church, Hoxton in 1850. In 1851 he became a Catholic, and in 1852 joined the staff of All Hallows Missionary College, Dublin, at the invitation of Dr Moriarty, the President. Owing to a natural defect in his right hand Bedford never became a priest, but, for almost fifty years, until his retirement, he served in the College as Professor of Natural Science, Treasurer, and Director. He was also a popular public lecturer, and frequently contributed articles to Catholic periodicals, chiefly about cities and countries of Europe that he had visited, 128.
- Bellasis, Edward (1800–73), after being at school at Christ's Hospital and a Student at the Inner Temple, was called to the Bar in 1824. Like his friend James Hope he was a distinguished parliamentary lawyer. He read the *Tracts* and Newman's *Sermons*, and in 1838 came to Oxford to hear him preach. Bellasis called at Oriel with an introduction in Aug. 1839, and began a lifelong friendship, being present at the sermon on the Parting of Friends in Sept. 1843. He became a Catholic in Dec. 1850, and stood by Newman during the Achilli trial. His whole family was devoted to Newman and two of his sons joined the Birmingham Oratory. (*DNB*, II, 180.), 28, 30, 98, 169, 392, 420, 425.
- Bethell, Augustus (1838–1912), became a Catholic as a boy, and, after being at Ushaw College, came to Newman's House at Dublin in 1855. He tried his vocation at the Birmingham Oratory in 1860, but left, and was ordained priest for the diocese of Southwark in 1863. He founded the parish of Anerley, and was made a Canon of Southwark in 1887, 217, 338.
- Bittleston, Henry (1818–86), was matriculated at St John's College, Oxford, in 1838, B.A. 1842. He was a curate at Leamington Priors in Warwickshire, but in 1848 differences with the Bishop of Worcester, Dr Pepys, on the subject of Auricular Confession, led to his moving to Margaret Street as a curate to Upton Richards. On 23 Nov. 1849 he came to Birmingham, and was received into the Church by Newman the following day. He joined the Oratory there in March 1850 and is one of those mentioned at the end of *Apo*. In 1867 he accompanied St John to Rome, on the mission to vindicate Newman. He left the Oratory in July 1879, apparently because he had offended in some way, probably financial; and after trying to become a Carthusian, ended his days as the priest first at Barnet and then St Alban's, 160, 164.
- Blake, James Gibbs, doctor, 24 Colmore Row, Birmingham, 60.
- Blennerhassett, Sir Rowland, fourth Baronet (1839–1909), succeeded his father in 1849, and after being at school first at Downside, then at Stonyhurst, went up to Christ Church, Oxford, in 1859. He left without taking his degree, but took a doctor's degree in political and administrative science at Louvain. In 1864 he studied at Munich, and became a lifelong friend of Döllinger. He was already a friend of Sir John Acton, sharing his liberal Catholic views, and in 1867 provided the money for the *Chronicle*, which partly took the place of the Acton's *Home and Foreign Review*. Blennerhassett was Liberal M.P. for Galway City, 1865–74, and concerned himself with the Irish university question. His religious views lost him the confidence of his constituents, but, from 1880 to 1885 he sat in parliament for Kerry, his native county. He opposed home rule and contested unsuccessfully a seat in Dublin in 1885. He was a Commissioner of National Education in Ireland, and a member of the Senate of the Royal University. He also wrote on political subjects in *The Times* and elsewhere. In his old age he regretted the treatment by the Papacy of the Modernists, but recognised how much they differed from the liberal Catholics of his youth. In 1870 Blennerhassett married Charlotte only daughter of the Bavarian Count von Leyden. (*DNB*, 1901–1911, 180), 83, 156, 226, 237, 241–2.
- Bloxam, John Rouse (1807–91), Tractarian liturgist and antiquary, was at Rugby School and Worcester College, Oxford. In 1830 he became a Demy at Magdalen and five years later a Fellow of that College. He was Newman's curate at Littlemore from 1837 until 1840, when he resigned, against Newman's wish, partly, it seems, as a result of a visit to Alton Towers; after which he was accused of having bowed before the Host during Mass in the Chapel. He was a friend of A. L. Philipps, and entered into his reunion schemes. Newman always hoped that Bloxam would become a Catholic. In 1862 he was appointed Vicar of Upper Beeding in Sussex and vacated his Fellowship. He remained always in friendly contact with Newman, and was a regular visitor at the Oratory. (*DNB*, XXII, Suppl. 224), 240, 306.
- Bodenham, Charles (1813–83), of Rotherwas Park, Hereford, son of Charles, and of his wife Elizabeth, daughter of Thomas Weld of Lulworth (*Gillow*, I, 254), 336.

Bowden, Frances Jane (Fanny) (1840-1905), second daughter of Henry and Marianne Catherine Bowden, 112, 136.

Bowden, Henry (1804-69), younger brother of J. W. Bowden, was at Harrow School and Queen's College, Cambridge. He became a Captain in the Scots Fusilier Guards, and his marriage to his second wife in 1838 was performed by Newman. Though greatly opposed to the conversion of his nephew John, he followed his example with his wife and family in 1852, and built the Catholic church at Chiselhurst, where he lived, 8, 22, 111, 134-5, 290, 489.

Bowden, Mrs Henry, Marianne Catherine Burgoyne (1806-64), younger daughter of Major General Sir Montagu Roger Burgoyne, was the second wife of Henry Bowden, married by Newman at St George's, Hanover Square, in 1838. She was received into the Church in 1852, shortly after her husband, 8, 22, 52-3, 60, 111, 134, 136.

Bowden, John Edward (1829-74), elder son of Mrs J. W. Bowden, was at Eton from 1841 to 1847. He then went to Trinity College, Oxford, until he became a Catholic in Aug. 1848. He joined the English Oratory the following year, and was sent to London, where he lived to be Fr Faber's biographer. (*Boase*, I, 355), 427.

Bowden, John William (1798-1844), Newman's close friend from undergraduate days at Trinity College. He was one of the Tract writers, and author of *The Life and Pontificate of Gregory the Seventh*, London 1840. (*DNB*, II, 949), 70, 427, 504.

Bowden, Marianne Frances (1839-1926), eldest daughter of Henry and Marianne Catherine Bowden, became a Catholic in 1852, 191, 465, 502.

Bowden, Mary Anne (1831-67), elder daughter of Mrs J. W. Bowden, entered the Visitation Convent at Westbury in 1852, 16, 218, 301, 438, 498.

Bowden, William John (1850-94), son of Henry Bowden, was at the Oratory School 1860-7. He became an officer in the 97th Regiment, but left the Army in 1874 or 5, to join the London Oratory, where he was ordained priest, taking the name of Alban. He later left and worked as a priest in the diocese of Southwark, 60, 136.

Bowles, Emily (1818-1904?), first met Newman with whom later she was to correspond freely, in 1840. She became a Catholic in Rome in 1843, thanks partly to Miss Agnew's *Geraldine*, and also, perhaps, to the friendship of the Eyston family, her neighbours at East Hendred in Berkshire. In Rome she was encouraged in her conversion by Lady Acton, mother of the Cardinal, and by Pierce Connelly. She

came to Birmingham in the summer of 1846, and joined the Order which Mrs Connelly was founding, going with her to Derby. She was later sent to make a foundation at Liverpool, but quarrelled with the Foundress, and spent the rest of her life in London, writing and translating religious books, and performing other good works, 50, 134, 329, 439, 456, 465, 484, 489.

Bowyer, Sir George (1811-83), seventh Baronet, succeeding his father in 1860, was admitted as a student of the Middle Temple in 1836. He was called to the Bar in 1839. In 1841 he published *The English Constitution: a Popular Commentary on the Constitutional Laws of England*, the first of a series of which he was the author. In 1844 he was made a D.C.L. at Oxford, and early in 1850 was appointed reader in law at the Middle Temple. He became a Catholic in Aug. 1850, and Wiseman turned to him for help in the 'papal aggression' agitation. Before the end of the year he issued a pamphlet, *The Cardinal Archbishop of Westminster and the New Hierarchy*, and he became a Catholic spokesman. He sat in Parliament as a liberal, for Dundalk 1852-68 and for Wexford 1873-80. He was also an ultramontane and in 1876 was expelled from the Reform Club for his attitude to the Italian adversaries of Pius IX. He built at his own expense the church and convent in Great Ormond Street, (now transported to St John's Wood), and engaged in a prolonged dispute with Manning as to who should control the hospital which his nuns attended. (*DNB* II, 989), 315, 356.

Boys, Catherine, friend of Ambrose St John, who first met her when he came as H. Wilberforce's curate to Walmer in 1841. She was then an evangelical, living in affluence with her widowed mother. She adopted 'High' views, attending the Daily Service, and wrote a protest to St John at his conversion. She was herself drawn to the Church, and, although she consulted Pusey, she was received in July 1849, at the end of a retreat with the Good Shepherd nuns at Hammersmith. She then established a Catholic church and school at Deal, and, for the last twenty years of her life, was in charge of an orphanage she founded there. St John preached at her funeral, on 7 March 1872, and described how the whole town was in mourning and the shops shut, 168.

Bracey, Charles J., 463.

Bradley, Joshua Dodgson, was matriculated at Pembroke College, Oxford, on 30 April 1863, aged nineteen. He took his B.A. in 1866, became a Catholic in 1872, and his M.A. in 1886, 444-5.

- Bretherton, Eleanor, daughter of Peter Bretherton, was born on 15 July 1845, had Newman as her confessor from childhood, and went to school with the Dominicans at Stone. In 1865 she became engaged to Francis J. Watt, a solicitor's clerk in Oxford, on whose character some aspersions had been cast. Newman tried to find him better employment, and after he had been received into the Church by Caswall, married him to Eleanor on 17 April 1866. Ten years later Newman went to see her at Southampton, and wrote, on 25 July to Miss Giberne, that she was dying, and 'leaving four children apparently without means of support'. Newman sent gifts of money for her children, his last letter to her being written on 23 Feb. 1887. One of her sons, Philip, became a Jesuit in 1891, another, John Henry Newman Watt, (1873-1964), emigrated to New Zealand. On 13 Jan. 1964 James Liston, Bishop of Auckland, wrote to the editor: 'One of our saints J. H. N. Watt came to this country some 50 years ago and lived close to God in prayer and virtue. He was blessed by Father Newman, was, I think, his godson, had vivid recollections of the holiness and kindness of the priest, treasured cards and greetings from him, and a gold watch inscribed as a gift with blessing to his mother, Elizabeth [sic] Bretherton, in 1866 (? time of her marriage) from Father John Henry Newman.' Bishop Liston went on to speak of the saintliness of this son of Eleanor, who 'was gentle and wise, spent a couple of hours each day in prayer and spiritual reading and was caught up in adoration at the Holy Sacrifice'. He had eleven children, one of whom became a Marist brother, two others nuns, and numerous grandchildren, 155, 218, 420, 450, 468, 500.
- Bretherton, Peter, engaged in business in Birmingham where he had a horse and carriage repository, was connected with the Oratorians both at Alcester Street and Edgbaston. Newman baptised his daughter Elizabeth in 1850, another daughter Eleanor born five years earlier, used to go to confession to Newman, and he was always anxious for her welfare, and for that of her family after she married. Bretherton was Vice-Chairman of the Birmingham Catholic Association in 1855. Newman noted the day of his death in his book of anniversaries, 20 Jan. 1864. One of his sons, William, emigrated to New Zealand about 1866, 8, 23, 156, 436.
- Bretherton, Mrs Peter, 25, 156, 436, 450, 468.
- Bridges, Mr, 112.
- Bridges, the Misses, 311.
- Brownlow, William Robert (1830-91), son of the Rector of Wilmslow, Cheshire, was at Rugby School and Trinity College, Cambridge, where he graduated ninth senior optime in 1852. The following year he took Orders in the Church of England and was Curate of Great Wyrley, Staffs, until 1860, when he became Curate of St Bartholomew's, Moor Lane, London. In July 1863, through his friend James Marshall, he made an inquiry of Newman, and then wrote to him direct, explaining that for eight years he had been 'troubled with misgiving' about the Church of England. At the same time he felt his responsibility since 'many true and faithful souls' depended on him. History was leading him to the Catholic Church. He turned to Newman because he did not urge people beyond their convictions. See the letters of Oct. and Nov. 1863. Brownlow came to the Oratory and was received into the Church by Newman on 15 Nov. He then studied at the Collegio Pio, and was ordained for the diocese of Plymouth in 1866. He was at St Mary Church, Torquay, from 1867 until 1888, and attached to Plymouth Cathedral, 1888 to 1894, during which time he was Vicar-General. 'And during these years he never ceased to study and write. With Dr Northcote he published a classic work on the catacombs, *Roma Sotteranea*, and two historical books, *The Early History of the Church of God and Slavery and Serfdom in Europe*. Brownlow was almost 64 when he was consecrated fourth Bishop of Clifton on May 1st, 1894, and he ruled the diocese for barely seven years. But in those seven years he won a place in the public life of the great city of Bristol that makes him unique among the bishops of this see. In all its social activities he was a much welcomed leader, and especially in the work of the Royal Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children'. Philip Hughes in *The English Catholics, 1850-1950*, edited by G. A. Beck, London 1950, pp. 216-17, 3, 8, 15, 114.
- Buckler, Albert (1830-1913), brother of Charles, and became a Catholic soon after him, in 1846. He joined the Dominicans in 1853, and most of his life was spent at the Dominican Priory in London, 292.
- Buckler, Charles (1825-1905), son of John Chessell Buckler (1770-1851), the architect, was himself an architect at Oxford. He became a Catholic in 1846, and later held the office of Surrey Herald Extraordinary, 292.
- Burke, Edmund, 49.
- Burke, Henry, born about 1850 and died in 1911. Deputy Lieutenant of Cork, 49.
- Burke, William (1831-77?), Cardinal Wiseman's nephew and ward, was for a time an Oblate of St Charles under Manning. He was the priest at St John's Wood, London,

- 1869-74, and his name disappears from the Catholic Directory in 1878, 79.
- Butler, Joseph (1692-1752), Bishop of Durham (*DNB*, III, 519), 68, 129.
- Cabrera, Ramon, Count de Morella (1806-77), 3, 8.
- Cabrera, Ramon, eldest son of the above, born in 1850, 3, 4.
- Campbell, Baron Stratheden and Campbell (1824-93), succeeded his father in 1861, 426.
- Capes, Frederick (1816-88), younger brother of J. M. Capes, was at King's College, London, and then became a Proctor in Doctor's Commons—the College of Doctors of Civil Law, dissolved in 1858. It dealt chiefly with ecclesiastical cases and on his conversion Capes had to relinquish an income of £1200-1500 a year. He continued to practise as a solicitor in London, 137, 475.
- Capes, Gerard, son of Frederick, came to the Oratory School in 1860, and was later an officer in the Royal Navy, 137.
- Capes, John Moore (1812-89), was at Westminster School and went up to Balliol College in 1831. He was opposed to the Tractarians and wrote against Newman. He took Orders, and devoted a great part of his fortune to building a church at Eastover, Bridgewater, Somerset. On 3 June 1845, he wrote to Newman for advice, because for two or three years he had regarded the Church of England as being in schism. He stayed for a week at Littlemore, and then on 27 June was received by Wiseman at Oscott, his wife, however, waiting to see what course Newman would take. After teaching for a while at Prior Park, he founded the *Rambler* in 1848, receiving frequent advice from Newman, and remained connected with it until 1858, by which time he was drifting away from the Church. In 1870 he attacked Newman for accepting the definition of Infallibility. On 24 May 1865 Newman wrote of him to his brother Frederick, 'he is too religious to do without religion, and too clever to be satisfied with any but the Catholic'. This judgment was verified, and J. M. Capes spent his last years as a Catholic. (*Boase*, IV, 598, *Pre. Pos.* pp. 359 and 362.), 475.
- Castlerosse, Valentine Augustus Browne, Viscount (1825-1905) succeeded to the courtesy title of Viscount Castlerosse when his father became Earl of Kenmare at the end of 1853. He was Member of Parliament for County Kerry 1852-71, and held appointments at Court, ending as Lord Chamberlain, in 1880-6. In 1858 he married Gertrude, only daughter of Lord Charles Thynne, and succeeded as fourth Earl of Kenmare in 1871, 368, 376, 384.
- Caswall, Edward (1814-78), at Brasenose College, Second in Classics 1836, took Orders in 1839, and in the following year became Perpetual Curate of Stratford-sub-Castle, near Salisbury. As an undergraduate he wrote humorous books, *A new Art, teaching how to be plucked*, *Sketches of Young Ladies*, etc. In 1841 he married Louisa, only daughter of General Walker, of Taunton. In 1846, shortly before resigning his living, he published a volume of sermons, *The Seen and the Unseen*. He was received by Cardinal Acton in Newman's presence on 18 Jan. 1847, attributing his conversion to Newman and *Dev.* His wife became a Catholic about the same time, and a few months after her death on 14 Sept. 1849, Caswall joined the Oratory and remained always with Newman in Birmingham. He spent his time in parish work, and in the translation of French spiritual books, but is chiefly famous as a writer and translator of hymns. (*DNB*, III, 1185), 50, 114, 204, 390.
- Caswall, Henry (1810-70), brother of the above, after being at Chigwell Grammar School went to Kenyon College, Ohio, and was ordained deacon by the Bishop of Ohio. He was the author of *America and the American Church*, 1839, 2nd ed. 1851. In 1843 he returned to England, and was Vicar of Figheldean, Wilts, 1848-70, and from 1860 a prebendary of Salisbury as well. (*Boase*, I, 569), 98.
- Cephasia, Sister, 229.
- Chapman and Hall, publishing firm founded in 1834, publishers of works by Dickens, Carlyle, Trollope and many others, 148, 184.
- Charlton Edward, M.D., D.C.L., (1814-74) of an old Catholic family in Northumberland, spent his life as a doctor in Newcastle upon Tyne, and was President of the British Medical Association in 1870. (*Boase*, I, 595), 30.
- Chatterton, Lady Henrietta Georgina Marcia Lascelles (1806-76), was the only child of Lascelles Iremonger, Prebendary of Winchester, and his second wife Harriett, youngest sister of Admiral Lord Gambier, whose sister was a close connection by marriage of the elder Pitt. In 1824 Henrietta Georgina married Sir William Abraham Chatterton, baronet (1794-1855), of Castle Mahon, County Cork, who lost his rents in the Irish famine. Lady Chatterton's first book was *Aunt Dorothy's Tales*, London 1837. *Rambles in the South of Ireland, during the year 1838*, London 1839, went at once into a second edition. During the rest of her life she produced a series of stories, verses, selections and translations. In 1859 Lady Georgina married Edward Heneage Dering, but

Chatterton, Lady Henrietta—(continued). continued to be known as Lady Chatterton. She and her husband were received into the Church by Newman on 20 Sept. 1865, contrary to what is stated in *DNB*. Lady Georgina, however, continued to have religious difficulties, which were not removed until a year before her death. (*DNB*, iv, 143), 117, 125, 139, 353, 381.

Church, Richard William (1815–90), went up to Wadham College in 1833, but did not meet Newman until 1836, having been already impressed by his preaching. In 1837 he translated the Catecheses of S Cyril in the *Library of the Fathers*, and from 1838 when he was elected a Fellow of Oriel, their friendship was close. Church was one of the Proctors who in 1845 vetoed the proposal to censure *Tract 90*. Although Newman wrote to Dalgrains on 16 Dec 1845 'Church is the only person (with Johnson) whom I can speak to', their friendship was suspended until 1864, to be renewed then almost as before. Church was appointed Dean of St Paul's in 1871. (*DNB*, Suppl., xxii, 431), xiii, 98, 100, 102–6, 117, 353, 451, 489, 496.

Cleveland, Henry (1803 or 4–89), at King's School, Canterbury, went to St John's College, Cambridge, in 1821, and in 1827 was Curate of St Andrew the Less, Cambridge. He was Rector of Barkstone, Lincs, 1829–50, and of Romald-Kirk, Yorks, 1850 to death. He was also a Justice of the Peace for the North Riding. His son, William Henry, 1831–1913, was related to Charles Kingsley, through his wife, 135.

Clutton, Henry (1819–93), of a Cheshire family, on his father's death in 1834, began training as an architect under Edward Blore, and travelled for study in Belgium, France, Germany and Italy. In 1858 he was received into the Church by Manning at Farm Street, and in 1860 he married Caroline Alice, eldest daughter of George Ryder. As an architect he developed a large practice, and although his eyesight forced him to retire in 1880, he left a fortune of nearly £100,000. Among his many works were St Mark's College, Chelsea, St Mary's Cathedral in the Isle of Man, Anglican churches at Woburn, Woburn Sands, and Tavistock, Catholic churches at Bethnal Green, Leamington and Hertford, and the cloister and school at the Birmingham Oratory. He restored the Chapter House at Salisbury, and the chapel at All Souls', Oxford, but in 1872 was prevented from completing that work, which was begun in 1869, because the Fellows had come to realise that he was a Catholic. Clutton also drew up two sets of plans for Westminster Cathedral, and was

the author of *Remarks, with illustrations, on the Domestic Architecture of France*, London 1853, 284–5, 292, 313, 320, 354.

Cochin, Pierre Augustin (1823–72), was a liberal Catholic, who wrote on social questions, and was the friend of Montal-embert and Lacordaire, 316.

Coffin, Robert Aston (1819–85), at Harrow School and matriculated in 1837 at Christ Church, was from 1843 to 1845, Vicar of St Mary Magdalen's, Oxford. 'On Dec. 2, 1845, when (if I remember rightly) he was rather wavering, I took him down to Prior Park, where various converts had been, and there he was received on St Francis Xavier's day by Dr Brindle.' (Newman to Fr Bridgett, 27 Apr. 1885; cf. letter of 10 Dec. 1846 to Dalgrains). After being a tutor in the family of A. L. Philipps, Coffin joined Newman in his Oratorian novitiate at Rome in 1847, and was ordained there on 31 Oct. From 1848 to 1850 he was in charge of the house at St Wilfrid's, Cotton. He was chosen to go to the London Oratory, but at the end of 1850 he joined the Redemptorists, being their Provincial from 1865 to 1882, and from then until his death, Bishop of Southwark. He wrote affectionately and gratefully to Newman at the time of the *Apologia*, but, at least after this, was among those who opposed him. (*DNB*, iv, 675), 113.

Colenso, John William (1814–83), at St John's College, Cambridge, where he was a Fellow 1837–46, was appointed Bishop of Natal in 1853. His book *The Pentateuch and Book of Joshua critically examined*, London 1862, aimed at disproving the literal accuracy of the first books of the Old Testament and led to a *cause célèbre* in the Church of England. (*DNB*, iv, 746), 267, 395, 402, 504.

Coleridge, Henry James (1822–93), second son of Sir John Taylor Coleridge, was at Eton and Trinity College, Oxford. He was elected a Fellow of Oriel in 1845, but left in 1848 to become curate at Alphington in Devon, near his family. In April 1852 he was received into the Catholic Church, about whose actual state in England he knew very little. He studied in Rome, was ordained priest in 1856 and entered the Jesuit novitiate in the following year. In 1865 he was sent to Farm Street to edit the *Month*, which he continued to do until 1881. He also wrote *The Life of our Lord* in a number of volumes, and other spiritual books. He became a close friend and frequent correspondent of Newman's. (*DNB*, xxii Suppl., 468), 129, 137, 160, 364, 451, 461, 493, 496.

Coleridge, John Duke (1820–94), brother of Henry James Coleridge, at Eton, and Balliol College, Oxford, where he was a

- friend of Arthur Hugh Clough and Matthew Arnold. He was a Fellow of Exeter College from 1843 until 1846, when he was called to the Bar. He contributed to the *Guardian*, *Quarterly* and *Edinburgh* reviews. He sat as Liberal M.P. for Exeter from 1865 until his appointment as Lord Chief Justice in 1873. He was counsel in the Tichborne Case 1871-2. In 1874 he was created Baron Coleridge. He had known Newman at Oxford, and after the *Apologia* became an admirer and close friend (*DNB*, xxii Suppl., 469), 137, 259, 262. Coleridge, Miss, 210.
- Comberbach, Alexander, a priest whose family came from Antwerp, was in charge of the Catholic mission at Oxford, from 1860 until 1868. He then moved to Stonor, Henley-on-Thames, where he remained until 1877. He died in 1881, 231, 233, 332.
- Connelly, Cornelia (1809-79), daughter of Ralph Peacock of Philadelphia, married in 1831 Pierce Connelly, an Episcopalian clergyman. She preceded him into the Church, in 1835; and in 1844, with papal approval, became a nun, in order that he might become a priest, provision being made for their three children. She entered first the Society of the Sacred Heart in Rome, and then was led to found an Order of her own, the Society of the Holy Child, which Newman mentions with appreciation in his letter to Miss Giberne of 18 July 1846. On 18 Aug. Mrs Connelly arrived at the Convent of Mercy, Handsworth, Birmingham, and met Newman. Probably through his influence, Emily Bowles joined her and accompanied her to the opening of the first Convent at Derby on 13 Oct. 1846. Mrs Connelly moved to St Leonards in 1848, the trials caused her by her husband having already begun. From St Leonards she superintended the Order she had founded, until death. (*DAB*, iv, 347), 329.
- Connelly, Pierce (1804-83), an Episcopalian clergyman, who brought about his wife's conversion, but became a Catholic three months after her, in Rome in March 1836. Lord Shrewsbury was his sponsor, and Connelly decided to become a priest, and his wife, while urging deliberation, accepted the sacrifice. In 1844 a deed of separation was drawn up in Rome, Connelly was ordained in 1845, and in May left Rome with Lord Shrewsbury, to become his chaplain at Alton Towers. He wished to control his wife's Convent, and so in 1848 was instituting proceedings to reclaim her, which eventually failed. He then went on to attack the Church, leaving England with his children, in about 1853, and spent the remainder of his life as Rector of the Episcopalian Church in Florence, 180.
- Cook, John Douglas (1811-68), (*DNB*, iv, 997), 63.
- Copeland, William John (1804-85), went to Trinity College in 1824, and was successively Scholar and Fellow there. After three years absence as a curate at Hackney, he returned to Oxford for the period 1832-49, and was at the centre of the Tractarian movement. He was a close friend of Newman, and became his curate at Littlemore in 1840, still living there after Newman's departure. In 1849 he took the College living of Farnham, Essex. He said farewell to Newman at Oxford in Feb. 1846, and met him again accidentally in London on 3 June 1862. The old friendship was renewed, Copeland stayed at the Oratory the following month, and brought Keble, Rogers and Church once more into touch with Newman. He re-edited *P.S.* in 1868. (*DNB*, iv, 1093), xiii, 23-4, 55, 70-1, 90-1, 97, 103, 108, 118, 182, 220-1, 225-6, 340, 354, 364, 420, 427, 439, 467, 478, 481.
- Cox, George William (1827-1902), at Rugby School, went up to Trinity College, Oxford, as a Scholar, in 1845. He took Orders, as a High Churchman, in 1850, but before long became thoroughly Broad Church in his views. He accompanied Colenso on his first visit to Natal as bishop in 1853, became his ardent defender, and in 1888 wrote his life. After his return to England Cox published a number of historical works. He wrote offering to help Newman against Kingsley in 1864, and reviewed *Apo.* in the *Westminster Review*, Oct. 1864, from a liberal standpoint. He blamed Newman's Protestant critics as illogical when they objected to his accepting the external authority of Rome, while they accepted the external authority of the Bible. In 1880 Cox was appointed Vicar of Bekebourne by Archbishop Tait, and from 1881 until 1897 was Rector of Scrayingham, Yorkshire. In 1886 he was chosen Bishop of Natal by the followers of Colenso, but Archbishop Benson refused to consecrate him. (*DNB*, 1901-11, 433), 394, 402.
- Cullen, Paul (1803-78), born in Co. Kildare, Ireland, went to Propaganda in 1820, was ordained in 1829, then appointed Vice-Rector and in 1832 Rector of the Irish College in Rome, where he remained until appointed Archbishop of Armagh in Dec. 1849. He was censor, with Perrone, of Newman's *Dissertatiunculæ quaedam Critico-Theologicae*; *T.T.* pp. 1-91. In 1852 Cullen was translated to Dublin. He had invited Newman to found the Catholic University there the previous year, but as to its nature they held different conceptions. Cullen, although friendly, was far from trustful, and one of Newman's

- Cullen, Paul—(*continued*)
reasons for retiring from the University was the former's 'impracticability.' Cullen defended Newman at a critical moment in 1867, and Newman said after his death, 'I ever had the greatest, the truest reverence for the good Cardinal Cullen.' *Add.* p. 234. He was the first Irish bishop to be made a Cardinal (1866). (*DNB*, v, 277), 79, 331, 339, 397, 442, 501.
- Darnell, Nicholas (1817-92), was the second son of William Nicholas Darnell, theological writer and antiquary, who was Keble's tutor at Corpus Christi College, and Rector of Stanhope. Nicholas was at Winchester, went up to Exeter in 1836, and the following year became a Fellow of New College. He was called to the Bar at Lincoln's Inn in 1844. In 1847 he resigned his Fellowship, became a Catholic, joined Faber's Wilfridians, and with them the Oratory in Feb. 1848. He was ordained 2 June 1849, and in 1859 became the first headmaster of the Oratory School. He resigned in 1861 with all the masters, when Newman insisted that the School was under the control of himself and the Oratory. He worked for a time as a private tutor and later as a priest in Northumberland, 449.
- Daunt, William Joseph O'Neill (1807-94), born at Tullamore, became a Catholic in 1827 and sat for a few months in the first reformed Parliament as M.P. for Mallow. An ardent nationalist, he was one of the original members of the Repeal Association in 1840, and was secretary to Daniel O'Connell when the latter became Lord Mayor of Dublin in 1841. He was the author of a novel, *The Wife-Hunter*, in 1838, and of various books about Ireland. In 1856 he was among those who inaugurated the movement which led to the disestablishment of the Church of Ireland. (*Boase*, v, 23), 165, 195.
- Dayman, Flavia, 292.
- Dean, Edward, was the son of Richard Betenson Brietrcke, of a Polish family, who changed his name to Dean. Edward Dean, matriculated at Christ Church, Oxford, 10 Nov. 1831 at the age of seventeen, was a Fellow of All Souls 1836-55, B.C.L. 1838, D.C.L. 1843, and also Vicar of Lewknor, near Oxford. He became a Catholic in 1855, and in 1859 married Charlotte, sister of Fanny Margaret Taylor. Charlotte had joined her sister as a nurse at Scutari, during the Crimean War, and was received into the Church by Fr Brownbill in 1857. Four children of the marriage survived, the youngest, Aimée Dean, succeeding her aunt as Mother General of the Poor Servants of the Mother of God, 185, 215.
- De Lisle, Ambrose Phillipps (1809-78), (known as Ambrose Lisle Phillipps until he assumed the name of de Lisle in 1862 on the death of his father), became a Catholic at school, at the age of fifteen. In 1826 he was sent to Trinity College, Cambridge, but left two years later owing to ill health. Phillipps was an enthusiast, the friend of Montalembert, Lord Shrewsbury and Pugin, and used his wealth and position for the restoration of the Catholic Church in England. He made approaches to Newman through Bloxam in 1840-1, with a view to effecting a union between the Anglican and the Catholic Church, and in the autumn of 1842 he met Newman at Oxford. The latter, however, always refused to act independently of his bishop. Phillipps' enthusiasm continued and he was one of the founders of the Association for the Promotion of the Unity of Christendom in 1857, from which Catholics were ordered to withdraw in 1864. (*DNB*, v, 77), 228, 415.
- Denison, George Anthony (1805-96), at Eton and Christ Church, was elected a Fellow of Oriel in 1828, and a College tutor in 1830. He found the society uncongenial and retired to a vicarage in Dorset in 1838. In 1851 he became Archdeacon of Taunton and Vicar of East Brent in Somerset. He was a strong High Churchman, who joined in the opposition to Hampden and Gorham. He was prosecuted for his High Church eucharistic teaching, and although condemned at a court in the presence of Archbishop Sumner of Canterbury in 1856 and sentenced to deprivation, he appealed to the Court of Arches and was acquitted on a technicality. The case was finally dismissed in Feb. 1858. He later helped to secure the condemnation of Bishop Colenso and of *Essays and Reviews*, and was opposed to all compromise in regard to Church control over education. On 4 Sept. 1838 he married Georgiana (1819-1908), eldest daughter of Joseph Warner Henley. (*DNB*, Suppl. xxii, 552), 386.
- Dering, Edward Heneage (1827-92), son of Cholmeley Edward John Dering, Rector of Pluckley, Kent, became a Lieutenant in the Coldstream Guards, but sold out in 1851. In 1859 he married Lady Chatterton, and both were received into the Church by Newman in Sept. 1865. Dering wrote a number of novels and a memoir of his wife. (*Boase*, v, 83), 139, 196.
- Devine, Pius (1838-1912), born in County Sligo, joined the Passionists in 1858, and in 1861 was ordained priest in London. He taught theology until 1867, when he returned to Ireland, where the rest of his life was spent. He was the author of *Life of Father Ignatius Spencer*, Dublin 1866, 112.

- Dodson, John George, first Baron Monk-Bretton (1825-97), M.P. for East Sussex 1857-74. (*DNB*, xxii Suppl., 569), 88, 141.
- Döllinger, Johann Joseph Ignaz von (1799-1890), the church historian at Munich, was the friend of Wiseman and Hope and took a great interest in English affairs. He refused to accept the definition of infallibility in 1870, 42, 48, 83.
- Drew, Joseph William Wright (1842-96), went up to St Alban Hall, Oxford, in 1862, B.A. 1864, in which year he became a Catholic. As a result his name was removed from the books of his Hall. He came to teach at the Oratory School in the spring of 1865, and was a novice at the Birmingham Oratory for two and a half years. In 1869 he was ordained for the diocese of Westminster, and was the priest at Romford until 1885. In 1880, he took his M.A. without belonging to any college, 390, 399, 406, 417, 443.
- Dunne, David Basil (1828?-92), of Lismore, County Waterford, went to the Irish College in Rome, and took doctorates in philosophy and theology in 1852, but gave up the idea of becoming a priest. Newman appointed him Lecturer in Logic at the Catholic University, in the autumn of 1854, and he was also a tutor at University House. He later became Professor of Law and Logic, and in 1879 was made one of the Joint Secretaries of the Royal University. He appears to have been very devoted to Newman, and in 1880 Lord O'Hagan was to write to him, after a visit to Edgbaston, that Newman had spoken of him 'with lively memory and in the kindest way'. Dunne married in 1856 and five of his children grew to manhood. His younger brother became Archbishop of Brisbane, and died in 1917, 389, 397, 421, 472, 500.
- Dunraven, third Earl of, Edwin Richard Windham Wyndham-Quin (1812-71), succeeded in 1850, until when he was known as Lord Adare. He was at Trinity College, Dublin, and Conservative M.P. for Glamorganshire 1837-50. He was interested in Irish archaeology and in spiritualism. In 1855 he became a Catholic and was much influenced by Newman. (*DNB*, xvi, 548), 168.
- Du Boulay, Susan, Sister Mary Gabriel (1826-1906), was the eldest daughter of James Du Boulay, Rector of Heddington, Wilts. She lived at Clifton with her aunt, Catherine Ward, and was received into the Church by Newman at the Oratory in King William Street, on 15 April 1850. She then spent a year travelling in Italy with her friend Augusta Theodosia Dranc, and together they entered Mother Margaret Hallahan's convent at Clifton. They were both professed in the newly opened convent at Stone, on 8 Dec. 1853, 131, 359.
- Dupanloup, Félix Antoine Philibert (1802-78), French educationalist, who began the conferences at Notre Dame in Paris, and reconciled Talleyrand on his deathbed. Dupanloup became Bishop of Orléans in 1849 and championed Catholic schools. He supported the temporal power, but put forward a reasonable interpretation of the 'Syllabus of Errors,' and was one of the leaders of the Inopportunist at the Vatican Council, for which he invited Newman to be his theologian, 41, 66, 436.
- Earle, John Charles (1814-85), was matriculated at St Edmund Hall, Oxford, in 1834 and took his B.A. in 1842. He was a poet and a friend of Isaac Williams. After being Incumbent of Christ Church, Bradford, Wilts, in 1847, he was curate of St James's, Bristol, until 1851 when he became a Catholic. In 1878 his book of sonnets *The Spiritual Body*, London 1878, and a pamphlet *The Forty Days: or, Christ between His Resurrection and Ascension*, pp. 45, London 1876, were placed on the Index, apparently because he was thought unduly to spiritualise the doctrine of the resurrection of the body. Earle then asserted that he had never meant to contravene Catholic doctrine, which he entirely accepted, 147.
- Ensor, Mrs., 210.
- Evans, George Fabian (1810?-73), was a Scholar of Caius College, Cambridge, 1829-32. After becoming M.D. in 1839 he built up a large medical practice in Birmingham, and was Physician to the Birmingham Hospital. His brother became Headmaster of Sedbergh. When Dr Evans died in 1873, Newman wrote of him on 19 Sept. to Edward Bellasis, 'To me he was a true friend. He watched over me, I may say with quite a solicitude, for nearly 20 years. He never would take a fee. I had done nothing to merit such rare kindness. All I have been able to do is to pray for his Soul.' *Coram Cardinali*, London 1917, p. 81, 5, 22, 40.
- Eyre, William Henry (1823-98), ordained priest in 1853 and became a Jesuit a year later. He was one of the leading Jesuits at Farm Street, London, 1857-64, and received many converts. From 1879 to 1885 he was Rector of Stonyhurst College. (*Boase*, v, 259), 414-16, 445-6.
- Eyston, Ferdinand, 388.
- Faber, Frederick William (1814-63), after two years at Harrow went to Balliol College in 1833. He became a Scholar at University College in the following year, and a Fellow in 1837. He was a poet, and in that year began a friendship with Wordsworth, and also met Newman, whom he already

- Faber, Frederick William—(continued)
 admired. He took Orders in 1839, and was made Rector of Elton in Huntingdonshire in 1842. There he introduced various practices of the Catholic Church, to which he felt increasingly drawn, and which he admired in his travels abroad. He was received on 16 Nov. 1845, and founded in Birmingham a community of Brothers of the Will of God, a number of youths from his former parish joining it. He visited Italy again in the summer of 1846, but returned in Aug. in time to move his community to St Wilfrid's Cotton, near Alton Towers. In 1848 he and his 'Wilfridians' joined the English Oratory, and when the London Oratory was founded in the following year Newman put Faber in charge, and when it became independent, he was its superior until his death (*DNB*, vi, 992), 87, 202, 404.
- Farquharson, Francis, a boy who came to the Oratory School in 1862, 8.
- Feilding, Viscount, Rudolph William Basil Feilding (1823–92), at Eton and Trinity College, Cambridge, was received into the Church with his wife, Louisa Pennant in Aug. 1850, and became prominent as a Catholic, being honorary treasurer of the Peter Pence Association and one of the founders of the *Universe* in 1860. His wife died in 1853, and in 1857 he married a second time, Mary, daughter of Robert Berkeley of Spetchley Park. In 1865 he succeeded his father as eighth Earl of Denbigh. (*Boase*, v, 71), 197, 307, 391.
- Ffoulkes, Edmund Salusbury (1819–94), was at Shrewsbury School, and then at Jesus College, Oxford, Fellow 1842, and Vice-Principal 1846–54. He became a Catholic in 1855, but in 1870 returned to the Church of England, and was Vicar of St Mary's, Oxford, from 1878. He produced a 'Counter Theory' to Newman's in *Dev.* See letter of 1 June 1853 to him. As a Catholic he contributed to the *Union Review*, and wished to open a hall for Catholics at Oxford. (*Boase*, v, 290), 87, 141, 160, 185, 214, 227, 229, 257, 424.
- Fisher, John Cowley (1807–87), matriculated at Queen's College, Oxford on 15 Oct. 1827, B.A. 1832, M.A. 1844. In 1858, he succeeded his father at Woodhall, Cocker-mouth, and as Lord of the Manor of Huthwaite, Cumberland, where he was a Justice of the Peace. Fisher was an Evangelical, who published *Liturgical Purity our Rightful Inheritance*, London 1857. In 1882 he republished his Ellerton Prize Essay, *The Death of Christ a Propitiatory Sacrifice*, with an introduction in which he attacked the Tractarians for not preaching sufficiently the doctrine of the Atonement. Newman criticised this pamphlet in letters to G. T. Edwards during Feb. 1883. His only meeting with Fisher is described in the letter of 29 July 1861 to Bittleston, 313.
- Fitzgerald, Edward and James, sons of Thomas Fitzgerald of 23 Fitzwilliam Place, Dublin, came to the Oratory School in 1861, 4, 22.
- Fitzgerald, Mrs. 476.
- Fitzpatrick, William John (1803–95), at Clongowes Wood College, author chiefly of Irish biographies, beginning with the lives of Lord Cloncurry, 1855, and Bishop Doyle, 1861. He tried to maintain that the Waverley novels were written by Sir Walter Scott's brother. (*DNB*, xxii Suppl., 641), 72, 76.
- Flanagan, John Stanislas (1821–1905), in youth a figure in the social life of his country, Ireland, and in the hunting field, suddenly disappeared to study for the priesthood at Saint Sulpice, and then in 1848 left there to join the Oratory, arriving in Aug. 1848. He was ordained priest at Oscott two years later, and was a sound and well read theologian. He had business acumen, and liked active work, but eventually found community life irksome, and in 1865 returned to Ireland, where through the influence of Lord Dunraven he became parish priest of Adare. There he remained until death, always affectionate towards Newman and friendly with the community he had left. See *Journal of Theological Studies*, ix, 2 (Oct. 1958), pp. 324–9, C. S. Dessain, 'An Unpublished Paper by Cardinal Newman on the Development of Doctrine,' 43, 66, 429.
- Forbes, Helen Douglas, 248, 452, 463.
- Formby, Henry (1816–84), after being at Charterhouse School, went to Brasenose College in 1834 as a Scholar, and came under Newman's influence. He was Vicar at Ruardean in the diocese of Gloucester, and he resigned his living in the autumn of 1845. He then travelled in Belgium before being received on 24 Jan. 1846 at Oscott. There he remained and was ordained in Sept. 1847. He tried his vocation as an Oratorian for a short while in 1848, and the rest of his active life was spent as a priest around Birmingham. He was an enthusiast for Plain Chant and much of his prolific literary output was on this subject. (*Boase*, i, 1082, *Gillow*, ii, 309), 15, 32, 74–5, 464.
- Fortescue, Edward Bowles Knottesford (1816–77), after going up to Wadham College in 1834, took Orders in 1840 and was Perpetual Curate of Wilmcote, Warwickshire 1844–51. He was in 1851 Dean, and then Provost of St Ninian's Cathedral Perth, 1853 to 1871, also President of the Association for the Promotion of the Unity of Christendom 1857–71. He became a Catholic in 1871,

- and founded a Catholic Grammar School in Holloway. (See also *Moz.* II, 435). (*Boase*, v, 330), 400.
- Fraser, William (1824-77), matriculated at Worcester College, Oxford in 1841, and was Vicar of Alton, Staffs, 1858 until death. (*Boase*, I, 1102), 247, 336.
- Froude, Catherine (1809 or 10-78), was the daughter of Arthur Howe Holdsworth, born 1780 or 81, educated at Eton, M.P. for the rotten borough of Dartmouth 1802-20, and Governor of Dartmouth Castle from 1807 until his death in 1860. She knew Newman and was already in correspondence with him before her marriage in 1839 to R. H. Froude's brother, William, railway and naval engineer. In 1857 she became a Catholic and most of her children followed her, but not her husband, although he shared her close friendship with Newman, 43, 80, 162, 254, 425.
- Froude, Eliza Margaret (1840-1931), always known as Isy, was the eldest daughter of William Froude, and became a Catholic in May 1859. In 1880 she married Baron Anatole von Hügel, brother of Friedrich. When Anatole was appointed Curator of the University Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology in 1883, he and his wife went to live at Cambridge. Their house, Croft Cottage, became a meeting place for many interesting people. Baroness Isy was always a faithful friend of Newman, and in her later years she used to give readings from his works to students from Newnham College, 228.
- Froude, James Anthony (1818-94), the historian, younger brother of R. H. and of William. (*DNB*, xxII, Suppl. 679), 12, 406.
- Froude, Mary Catherine (1848-64), Mrs William Froude's younger daughter, the only one of her children who did not become a Catholic, 43, 80, 111.
- Froude, Richard Hurrell, (1803-36), the friend who had so great an influence on Newman and the Oxford Movement. (*DNB*, vii, 730), 93, 96, 103-4, 187, 504.
- Froude, Richard Hurrell (1842-1932), eldest son of William Froude and Newman's godson. After his birth his mother wrote to ask if Newman would be godfather to 'another Richard Hurrell Froude.' He was received into the Church by Newman on Christmas Eve 1859. Being a convert, he was unable to enter any good College at Oxford, and resided with Professor Donkin. In 1874 he married Beatrice, daughter of George Ryder. After her death in 1877 survived by a daughter Mary, he married in 1881 Agnes, daughter of Henry Wilberforce. She died in 1890, and he then married Ruth Collis, who brought up the three children of his second marriage, 428.
- Froude, Robert Edmund (1846-1924), third son of William Froude, was educated at Bradfield College. On 9 April 1863, Newman received him into the Church, and he then spent a year at the Oratory School. From 1871 to 1879 he served under his father in the Admiralty Experimental Works at Torquay, and was himself Superintendent, 1879 to 1919, when his father's apparatus was removed to Haslar, near Gosport. He wrote on naval architecture, and other scientific subjects, was a Fellow of the Royal Society, and in 1911 was made a Commander of the Bath. He was unmarried, 112, 159, 161-2, 170-75, 179-81, 188, 191, 254-5, 343, 398, 425.
- Froude, William (1810-79), fourth son of Archdeacon Froude, was at Westminster School and Oriel College, and took a First in Mathematics 1832, his brother R. H. Froude being for a time his tutor. He worked as a railway engineer under Brunel, retiring in 1846, so as to live at Dartington with his father, whose health was failing. He took up naval work, studied the effect of waves on ships, and became a celebrated naval architect, for whom the Admiralty provided a large covered experimental tank at Torquay. He remained always a friend of Newman, who corresponded with him at length, in the hope of meeting his agnostic difficulties, nor was their friendship impaired by the conversion of Froude's wife and family. Newman was drafting a long letter to him on assent and certitude, when he learned of his death, (*Ward*, II, 586). (*DNB*, vii, 731), 3, 56, 80, 93, 96, 111, 159, 173, 188, 191, 245, 398.
- Fullerton, Alexander George (1808-1907), at Eton and St Mary's Hall Oxford, Captain in Royal Horse Guards, then attaché in Paris, where, in 1833, he married Lady Georgiana Leveson-Gower, younger daughter of the ambassador, the first Earl Granville. They left Paris in 1841, and lived in Rome, where in 1843, Fullerton became a Catholic. Their only child, a son, died in 1855, aged 21, 302, 489.
- Fullerton, Lady Georgiana (1812-85), daughter of the first Earl Granville and of Lady Harriet Cavendish (daughter of the fifth Duke of Devonshire), married in 1833 in Paris, where her father was ambassador, Alexander George Fullerton, a captain in the Royal Horse Guards. He became a Catholic at Rome in 1843, and she was already much influenced by the Tractarian revival. Her first novel, *Ellen Middleton*, appeared the following year, and on 29 March 1846 she too was received. Further works appeared which were highly praised. After the death of her only son in 1855, she dressed poorly and gave herself entirely to works of charity, (*DNB*, vii, 765), 149-50, 489.

- Gabell, J. H. L., 485, 493.
- Gaisford, Horace Charles (1851-79), eldest son of Thomas Gaisford, was at the Oratory School, 1860-8, and then went up to Christ Church, Oxford, 37, 39.
- Gaisford, Thomas (1816-98), eldest son of Dean Gaisford, was at Rugby School and Christ Church, Oxford. He became a Captain in the 79th Highlanders, and lived at Offington in Sussex, where he was a Justice of the Peace, and Deputy Lieutenant of the County. He was received into the Church in 1857. In 1850 he married Horatia, daughter of Rear Admiral Charles Feilding. She died the following year. In 1859 he married Emily St Lawrence, daughter of the third Earl of Howth. She died in 1868. In 1870 he married Lady Alice Kerr, youngest daughter of the seventh Marquis of Lothian. He had issue by each of his marriages, 39, 168, 196, 200, 215, 218, 230, 241, 271, 279, 287, 290, 306, 333, 343, 349, 363, 366, 380, 509.
- Gallwey, Peter (1820-1906), born at Killylarny, became a Jesuit in 1836 and was ordained priest in 1852. From 1857 until 1869 and from 1877 until death, he was at Farm Street, London, where he exercised considerable influence as a preacher and director. He was Provincial of the English Jesuits 1873-6, and was involved in controversy with Herbert Vaughan, Bishop of Salford. Gallwey opened a school in Manchester in spite of the bishop's opposition, and, after an appeal to Rome, was ordered to close it. (*DNB*, 1901-1911, 70), 150, 159, 164, 183, 421-2.
- Garbett, E. L., 497.
- Garside, Charles Brierley (1818-76), was a Scholar at Brasenose College, 1837-40, curate at Tetbury, Gloucestershire in 1842, and then in 1847 at Margaret Street Chapel. He was received on 21 June 1850, ordained at Rome in 1854, and then worked as a priest in London, 87.
- Gascoyne, John, 71.
- Giberne, Maria Rosina (1802-85), of a Huguenot family, became an Evangelical at twenty. Her sister married Walter Mayers, who effected Newman's conversion in 1816. Maria met Newman in 1827, and visited his family in Jan. 1828 at the time of the illness and death of his sister Mary. In the same year she adopted High Church views, and later became an enthusiastic Tractarian, with Newman as her director. She was greatly disturbed by his hesitations and conversion. He took her to see the Jesuit Father Brownbill, and a month later, 19 Dec. 1845 she was received. Her companion, Selina Bacchus, was married in the following Jan., and for a time Miss Giberne lived at the Convent of Mercy, Handsworth. In the autumn of 1846 she went out to Rome, staying with the Colonna family, and making a living by painting. In 1851 she was of great assistance in collecting witnesses for the Achilli trial. She spent four more years in Rome, this time with the Borghese, and in 1856 decided to become a nun. Pius IX recommended the Visitation Order and she was eventually professed at Autun in 1863, after which she still kept up her frequent correspondence with Newman. (MS. Autobiography at the Birmingham Oratory), 6, 17, 31, 50, 70, 77-8, 206, 271, 356, 480.
- Giles, John Allen (1808-84), editor and translator of many historical works. See first note to letter of 28 Dec. 1864 to Pusey. (*DNB*, vii, 1227), 360, 400.
- Gladstone, William Ewart, 88.
- Glyn, Ashley Carr (1839-75), son of Carr Glyn, who was made first Baron Wolverton in 1869, went up to University College, Oxford, in 1858, B.A. 1862. He became a Barrister, Inner Temple 1864. He was a Puseyite, and in the face of great family opposition, he was received into the Church by Fr Butler, of the Oblates. He had been much influenced by Newman's writings. In 1871 he married Mary Louisa, daughter of the hon. Arthur Duncombe, 389-90, 392-3.
- Godwin, Thomas, Faber's servant at Elton, followed him to the Wilfridians and the Oratorians, becoming a lay brother. He remained in Birmingham, where, after some years, he left the Oratory, married (which, not being bound by vows, he was free to do,) and set up a milk shop. Before this, he acted as Newman's housekeeper in Dublin, 8.
- Goss, Alexander (1814-72), after being ordained priest at Rome in 1841, was one of those in charge of St Edward's College, Everton. He was made Coadjutor Bishop of Liverpool in 1853, succeeding in 1856. He was a courageous leader of his flock and also a local historian. He strongly approved of Newman's attitude to the definition of papal infallibility. (*DNB*, viii, 256), 347.
- Grant, Thomas (1816-70), son of Sergeant (eventually Captain) Grant of 71st Highlanders, was at Ushaw and in 1836 sent to the English College, Rome, where he was ordained in 1841. He was for two years Cardinal Acton's secretary, and from 1844 to 1851 Rector of the English College, and also agent for the English Bishops. He was appointed first Bishop of Southwark in 1851, and although scrupulous, was remarkable for humble devotion and hard work. (*DNB*, viii, 403), 308, 443.
- Greenhill, William Alexander (1814-94), Exhibitioner at Trinity College, was a physician and author. A pupil of Arnold

at Rugby and a friend of Jowett, he became one of Newman's parishioners in 1839, and was appointed by him a churchwarden of St Mary's. He was one of the younger Liberals who objected to the condemnation of *Tract XC*, and among the religious parties he was said to maintain 'an armed neutrality'. He remained always on friendly terms with Newman. (*DNB*, Suppl. xxii, 774), 247, 250.

Gwynne, John (*DNB*, viii, 848), 211.

Hall, Joseph (*DNB*, viii, 959), 34.

Hallahan, Mother Margaret Mary (1802-68), was born in London of poor Irish parents, her father being a casual labourer, who died when she was nine, followed by her mother a few months later. These months were spent by Margaret in an orphanage, where she had already been going to school, conducted by exiled Frenchwomen in Somers Town, under the guidance of the émigré priest, Abbé Carron. She left to enter service as a maid and nurse, chiefly in Catholic families, and with one such she went in 1827 to Bruges. Besides the duties of her employment, she devoted herself to prayer and good works, and in 1834 became a Dominican Tertiary. About 1840 she tried to establish a community of Tertiaries, and although the attempt failed, it was clear in what esteem she was held. In 1842 she was sent to work as a schoolmistress under Ullathorne, then in charge of the Benedictine mission at Coventry. Here she introduced the devotions to our Lady she had learned in Belgium, and in 1844 began a new community of Tertiaries. At Ullathorne's consecration as Vicar Apostolic of the Western District on 21 June 1846, Newman met 'Mother Margaret' for the first time, 'in whom even before his conversion, she had always felt the deepest interest, and the friendship between them once formed, remained unbroken to the day of her death.' *Life of Mother Margaret Mary Hallahan*, by her religious children, London 1869, p. 125. In the same year Mother Margaret moved her convent to Clifton, following in the wake of Bishop Ullathorne. There several of Newman's friends joined her, among them the two Miss Pooles, Susan du Boulay and Mary Moore, spiritual affinity drawing persons whose intellectual training had been so different from hers. The Achilli trial, caused by an ex-Dominican, deepened Newman's friendship to Mother Margaret, and he set special store by her prayers and encouragement. She rendered Newman the further service of teaching Ullathorne to appreciate him and to treat him cordially, with decisive results for which Newman was always extremely grateful.

In 1851 Mother Margaret opened a house in the Potteries, (now at Stoke-on-Trent), and in 1853 a house was opened at Stone, to be novitiate and mother house. Newman preached at the opening of the church there in May 1854. In 1859 the convents were formed into a Congregation of Dominican nuns, with Mother Margaret at their head. She remained in close touch with Newman until her death, and especially admired his *Letter to Pusey* (1866). The Cause for her Canonization was introduced in 1936. (*DNB*, viii, 980), 131, 464.

Hanley, D., son-in-law of Ambrose Smith, was a solicitor at 20 Queen Street, Oxford, and a Catholic, 185, 192, 382, 416.

Hanmer, Anthony John (1817-1907), son of John Hanmer, Vicar of Hanmer, of an old Flintshire family. After being at Manchester Grammar School, he was matriculated at St John's College, Cambridge, Michaelmas 1835. He first saw Newman in Feb. 1839, when his father took him to Oxford, and to the afternoon service at St Mary's. Afterwards, the father wrote to his son, 'I delight in what I saw and heard from him, and have ordered his Sermons. . . . ' Anthony Hanmer took Orders the following year, and was appointed Curate at Tiverton in Devon. He was received on 15 Dec. 1849, at Spanish Place, after corresponding with Newman, and tried his vocation at the London Oratory in the following April. He lived, a bachelor, at Manchester, and was always a supporter of Newman, notably over the latter's Oxford plans. (*Mrs Sophia Ainsworth, a Memoir*, privately printed, 2nd ed. 1899), 328, 375, 403.

Hardman, John (1812-67), one of the leading Birmingham Catholics, owner of ecclesiastical metal works. He played a part in the Catholic revival, was a friend of Pugin, and prominent in collecting money for Newman during the Achilli trial, contributing generously to this, as to other Catholic charities. (*Boase*, I, 1329), 62, 302, Harper, Thomas Morton (1821-93), at St Paul's School 1835-40, then at Queen's College, Oxford, B.A. 1844. As a High Church curate at Barnstaple, he became involved in a collision with his bishop, Phillpotts of Exeter. He then bought a proprietary chapel in Pimlico, but his ritualism brought him into conflict with Blomfield, Bishop of London. In 1851 he became a Catholic, and joined the Jesuits in 1852. He was ordained priest in 1859, and appointed Professor of Theology at St Beuno's College, North Wales, in 1860. He later taught Logic and Metaphysics at Stonyhurst, and afterwards worked as a parish priest. His chief writings were *Peace through the Truth*, or *Essays on*

- Harper, Thomas William—(*continued*)
Subjects Connected with Dr. Pusey's Eirenicon, two series, London 1866-74, and *The Metaphysics of the Schools*, three volumes, London 1879-84. When *A Grammar of Assent* was published he criticized it from a scholastic viewpoint, in the *Month*. His considerable powers of abstract thought were said to be impaired by excessive subtlety, and he tended rather to anglicize the scholastic terminology than to translate the scholastic conceptions into modern language. (*Boase*, v, 583), 53.
- Harris, Miss, 504.
- Harrison, W. J. R., 429.
- Hawkins, Edward (1789-1882), went up to St John's College, Oxford, in 1807, took a double first in 1811 and was elected a Fellow of Oriel in 1813. On 31 May 1818 he preached his sermon on Tradition in St Mary's, Oxford, and in 1823 he was appointed Vicar of that church. In 1828 he was elected Provost of Oriel, and held the post until death, allowing a Vice-Provost to be appointed in 1874. Newman spoke with affection in *Apo.* of his debt to Hawkins, who, was, however, an opponent both of the Tractarians and of the efforts of Newman and R. H. Froude to raise the standards at Oriel. (*DNB*, ix, 208), 119.
- Hayden, Thomas (1823-81), of a Tipperary family connected by marriage with the Duke of Wellington, became a Licentiate of the Royal College of Surgeons in Ireland in 1850. He was Professor of Anatomy and Physiology at the Catholic University from 1855 until his death, and Physician of the Mater Misericordiae Hospital from its foundation. He contributed articles to medical journals and also to the *Atlantis*. From 1875 to 1877 he was Vice-President of the College of Physicians in Ireland. 'Hayden was so remarkably courteous, and his demeanour was always so calm, that he received the soubriquet of the "Gentle Thomas".' Sir Charles A. Cameron, *History of the Royal College of Surgeons in Ireland*, Dublin 1886, p. 603. (*Boase*, v, 615), 233, 246.
- Hecker, Isaac Thomas (1819-88), of a family of New York bakers, became a friend of Orestes Brownson, and was received into the Church in 1844. He joined the Redemptorists in 1845, and was ordained priest by Wiseman in 1849 in London. In 1857 he went to Rome to appeal for an English-speaking house in America, where the Redemptorists were German. As a result he left the Order and was dispensed from his vows by Pius IX. In 1858 he founded the American Society of St Paul, of which he was Superior till death, and also the *Catholic World*. He emphasised that the Church was democratic and American. (*DAB*, viii, 495), 345.
- Heneage, Henry Pelham, was at Oscott as a boy, 1818-25, and after being an attaché at the embassy in Paris, returned to Oscott to study for Ordination, 1841-3. He remained on the staff there until 1852. He died in 1875, after having been for many years chaplain to the Good Shepherd Convent at Hammersmith, 87.
- Henry, See Bittleston.
- Hermann, Augustine, 292, 310.
- Herries, eleventh Baron, William Constable-Maxwell (1804-76), educated at Stonyhurst College, married in 1835 Marcia Vavasour, niece of the sixteenth Lord Stourton. Lord Herries' claim to his ancient Scottish barony was recognised by the House of Lords in 1858. (*Boase*, v, 639; *Gillow*, iii, 283), 385.
- Hogan, John Baptist (1829-1901), born near Ennis in County Clare, Ireland, went at fifteen to school in Bordeaux. He joined the Sulpicians at Issy, and was ordained priest in 1852. After thirty two years teaching dogmatic or moral theology and liturgy at Saint Sulpice, he was, in 1884, appointed first President of the newly erected seminary at Boston. He was President of the graduate theological seminary connected with the Catholic University of Washington from 1889 until 1894, when he returned to Boston. Hogan's was a liberalising influence, and his pupils at Saint Sulpice included Mgr d'Hulst, Mgr Mignot, Marcel Hébert and Félix Klein, 142.
- Holmes, Mary (1815?-78), brought up in Devon, where as a child she knew W. M. Thackeray and his cousins at Ottery St Mary, spent her life as a governess. She was a musician, knew German, wrote stories and poems and read *Dev.* with pleasure. She introduced herself to Newman in 1840 by letter, having begun a religious life three years earlier. In 1839 she accepted the doctrines of the *Tracts for the Times*. She met Newman for the first time on 9 Nov. 1842, when he invited her and Coffin to lunch in Oxford. Newman was her director until she became a Catholic in 1844. She was one of his major correspondents. He helped her to find posts, but she never stayed long in one place. In 1852 she corresponded with Thackeray, whom she had not seen for twenty years, and came to London as music mistress to his daughters. 'But the charm that he found in her letters proved to be absent from her person. She had red hair and a red nose and sought anxiously to make a Catholic of him.' Gordon N. Ray, *The Letters and Papers of William Makepeace Thackeray*, London 1945, i, p. cxl. After Thackeray's death she corresponded with Anthony Trollope, and was his most regular correspondent for the

- nine years preceding her death. Two days after her death he wrote to her niece Miss Brackenbury: '... I found her letters to be full of piety, good sense, and of most excellent literary criticism. ... She was an honest, religious, and a high-minded lady, and I feel that her death has robbed me of a friend. ...' *The Letters of Anthony Trollope*, ed. Bradford Allen Booth, London 1951, p. 403, 50, 91, 126, 182, 201, 207, 365, 372, 406, 409, 464, 481.
- Hood, Edwin Paxton (1820-85), became a Congregationalist minister in 1852, and from 1862 to 1873 officiated at Queen Street, Brighton. Hood held liberal views and was a prolific writer. He was for a number of years editor of the *Eclectic and Congregational Review*. (*DNB*, ix, 1150), 187.
- Hope-Scott, James Robert (1812-73), a grandson of the second Earl of Hopetoun, was at Eton and Chirst Church, and in 1833 was elected a Fellow of Merton College. He adopted the views of the Tractarians and interested himself in medieval canon law. His friendship with Newman began in Aug. 1837 and was soon close. In the winter of 1840 he travelled abroad, meeting Manzoni and the General of the Jesuits, J. P. Roothaan. Hope, with Badeley was the chief legal adviser of the Tractarians. The affairs of *Tract XC* and the Jerusalem bishopric undermined his faith in the Anglican Church. In 1847 he married Charlotte Lockhart, the granddaughter of Sir Walter Scott. Through her in 1853 he inherited Abbotsford and changed his name to Hope-Scott. By this time he was making a fortune as a parliamentary lawyer for the railway companies and was princely in his charities. He became a Catholic with Manning in 1851. Newman constantly turned to him for advice, as did others, and 'ask Hope' was a proverb. He stood by Newman during the Achilli trial, and when consulted as to the launching of the Catholic University in Dublin, he replied: 'First get Newman.' Hope-Scott's first wife died in 1858, leaving one daughter, Mary Monica. In 1861 he married Lady Victoria Fitzalan Howard, eldest daughter of the fourteenth Duke of Norfolk. She died in 1870. (*DNB*, ix, 1224), xiii, 93, 107, 144, 168, 192, 197, 203, 211, 230, 237, 273, 281, 307, 321, 452.
- Hornby, Vincent Joseph (1849-1929), second son of John Vincent Hornby and of Charlotte Mary, daughter of Charles Langdale, came to the Oratory School in Sept. 1859. He became a Jesuit in 1867, was ordained priest in 1881, and was later Superior of the Missions in British Guiana and Barbados. He was author of *The Faith of Old England* ... , London 1902, and *The Religion of our Forefathers*, London 1906, 4, 8.
- Hostage, John (1815-72), a Chester solicitor, grandson of John Hostage, Proctor of Chester Cathedral. His first wife, by whom he had two children, died in 1851. He married again, and by his second wife had seven children, 28.
- Hostage, John Brayne Arthur (1848-1914), only son of John Hostage by his first wife, came to the Oratory School in Sept. 1864. He later emigrated to the United States of America, where he married Catherine Dunn of New York, 28.
- Howard, Lord Edward (1818-83), created first Baron Howard of Glossop in 1869, was the second son of the thirteenth Duke of Norfolk. From 1848 to 1868 he sat in Parliament first for Horsham and then for Arundel. He took up the cause of Catholic schools and from 1869 to 1877 was Chairman of the Catholic Poor Schools Committee. (*DNB*, x, 13), 23, 178.
- Husenbeth, Frederick Charles (1796-1872), antiquary and Catholic controversialist, spent all his life at Cossey in Norfolk as chaplain to Lord Stafford. (*DNB*, x, 320), 123.
- Hutton, Richard Holt (1826-97), son of a Unitarian minister at Leeds, was at University College School and then at University College, London, where he became the friend of Walter Bagehot. In 1850 he was one of those who attended Newman's lectures on difficulties of Anglicanism. Hutton proposed to enter the Unitarian ministry and for two years from 1851 was editor of the Unitarian weekly, the *Inquirer*. However, he was gradually drawn to accept the main principles of the Church of England, and was much influenced by F. D. Maurice. In 1861 Hutton became joint editor of the *Spectator*, in charge of the department of literature, and exercised a wide influence. He resigned only a few months before his death. He intervened decisively on Newman's side in the controversy with Kingsley, reviewed *A Grammar of Assent* sympathetically and at length in 1870, and in 1891 published one of the first and one of the best short biographies of Newman. Hutton defended Christianity against agnostics and rationalists, and became increasingly sympathetic to Catholicism, as his correspondence with Newman reveals. (*DNB*, xxii Suppl., 891), 55, 60, 67, 89, 120-22, 482.
- Ingleby, Clement Mansfield (1823-86), of Edgbaston, went up to Trinity College, Cambridge, in 1847, and worked in the office of his father, a Birmingham solicitor until 1859. Already a Shakespearean scholar, he now gave up the Law, left Birmingham, and spent the rest of his life

Ingleby, Clement Mansfield—(*continued*)
writing on Shakespeare and literary and
philosophical subjects. (*DNB*, x, 436),
170.

Jones, Daniel Joseph St George (1816-69),
born in County Sligo, was educated at
Prior Park, Louvain and Trinity College,
Dublin. He succeeded to his family estate
and became a magistrate and Deputy
Lieutenant for Sligo. In 1844 he entered
the Jesuit novitiate at Hodder, Stonyhurst,
as a novice for the Irish Vice-Province. In
1846-7 he taught Grammar at Clongowes
Wood. He was ordained priest in 1851 and
appointed assistant to the Novice Master
at Hodder. In 1854 he became Professor of
Moral Theology at St Beuno's, and in
1856 Professor of Hebrew and Spiritual
Father. In 1857 he moved to the Jesuit
house, Gardiner Street, Dublin, as
missioner. He was made Rector of Mill-
town Park in 1860 and was Master of
Novices for the new Irish Province, until
1864. He was also three times Procurator
in Rome of the Province, and just before
his death at Milltown Park, he was elected
Provincial, but was never told. He had the
reputation of being both a profound
theologian and a humble man, 250.

Jones, Mrs Owen, wife of the architect and
ornamental designer, and mother of
Alphonse Jones, who came to the Oratory
School in 1860, 247.

Jowett, Benjamin (1817-93), went up to
Balliol College, Oxford, in 1836, and in
1838, while still an undergraduate, was
elected a Fellow. In 1870 he became
Master of Balliol. His theological views
were broad, and his essay on the 'Inter-
pretation of Scripture' was one of the most
controversial in *Essays and Reviews*. (*DNB*,
xxii Suppl., 921), 304.

Kearney, R. C., 138, 167.

Kebbel, Mary, daughter of Henry Kebbel
(1772-1867), who was Perpetual Curate of
Kilby and Vicar of Wistow, Leicestershire,
from 1813 until his death. She corres-
ponded with Newman in 1864 and 1865,
when she was full of doubts about remain-
ing in the Church of England, but fearful
of becoming a Catholic during her father's
lifetime, 450.

Keble, John (1792-1866), was elected to an
Oriental Fellowship in 1811, and from 1818
to 1823 was a tutor in the College. The
Assize Sermon Keble preached from the
pulpit of St Mary's on 14 July 1833,
Newman always considered to be the
beginning of the Oxford Movement. In
1835 he married, and in 1836 he was
appointed Vicar of Hursley near Win-
chester, where he remained for the rest of
his life. After Newman's conversion the

two did not meet until Sept. 1865. (*DNB*,
x, 1179), xiii, xiv, 29, 34, 76, 97, 103-4,
118, 129, 137, 143, 340-1, 355, 364-5, 461,
478, 488.

Kerr, Lord Henry (1800-82), second son of
the sixth Marquis of Lothian, became
Rector of Dittisham, Devon in 1830, and
in 1832 married the sister of James Hope-
Scott, Louisa Dorothea only daughter of
General the Hon. Alexander Hope. Lord
Henry Kerr was influenced by the Oxford
Movement, visited Newman at Littlemore
in Sept. 1843, and heard him preach at St
Mary's on 10 Sept. (*The Life of Henrietta
Kerr*, edited by John Morris, S. J., Roe-
hampton 1886, p. 9). The Gorham case
shook his confidence in the Church of
England. In April 1852 he resigned his
living, in spite of the remonstrances of
Bishop Phillpotts of Exeter, and of Pusey.
He was received at Clifton on 24 Aug.
1852, followed, in the course of the year by
his wife, and five of his six children, 179.

Kingsley, Charles (1819-75), at the Grammar
School, Helston, Cornwall, at King's
College, London, went in Oct. 1838 to
Magdalene College, Cambridge, being
'senior optime' in the mathematical tripos
and then taking the last place in the first
class of the classical tripos 1842. He had
religious doubts, resolved by reading the
works of F. D. Maurice and others,
reacted strongly against the Oxford Move-
ment, and took Orders in 1842. In 1844 he
married Fanny Grenfell, and was made
Rector of Eversley, Hampshire. He became
one of the Christian Socialists in 1848, and
his first novels were written under their
influence. Later he developed a xenophobic
patriotism and became an advocate of
muscular Christianity. In 1859 he was
appointed Chaplain-in-Ordinary to Queen
Victoria, and in 1860 Regius Professor of
Modern History at Cambridge. His lectures
were criticised as being those of a historical
novelist. He had more than one breakdown
from overwork. He resigned his Cambridge
Professorship in 1869, was appointed a
Canon of Chester in 1869, and then of
Westminster in 1873. After his death
Newman wrote that he could not feel
resentment towards Kingsley who had
accidentally given him the opportunity to
vindicate his career. He had hoped they
might have met, and felt sure that he,
Newman, would have felt no embarrass-
ment. (*DNB*, xi, 175), xiii, xvi, 10-15, 18-
20, 24-27, 33, 35-9, 44-5, 47, 52-3, 61-4,
67, 69, 70, 73-4, 79, 81, 85, 89, 90, 92-4,
99-101, 120, 127, 131, 134, 259-60.

Kirby, Tobias (1803-95), of Waterford,
appointed in 1835 Vice-Rector of the Irish
College, Rome, succeeded Cullen as
Rector in 1848, and held the post until
1894. (*Boase*, v, 830), 40.

Köller, Mildred von, 140, 288.

Lacordaire, Henri Dominique (1802-61), after a conversion from unbelief, was ordained priest in 1827. He worked with Lamennais and Montalembert, combining political liberalism with ultramontanist. In 1835 he preached the first of his famous Conferences in Notre Dame at Paris. In 1839 joined the Dominicans and re-established them in France, resuming his Conferences in 1843. He was elected a deputy in the Chamber of 1848, and continued to work for the liberal cause in politics, 43, 440.

Lambert, John (1815-92), a solicitor at Salisbury, educated at Downside. He was a gifted musician whose hobby was plain chant, about which he produced a number of books. He took a leading part in local politics, in 1857 was appointed a poor law inspector, and in 1871 the first permanent secretary of the local government board, receiving a K.C.B. in 1879, and in 1885 becoming a member of the privy council. (*DNB*, xi, 459), 214.

Laprimaundaye, Catherine (1839-64), sister-in-law of J. H. Pollen, became a Catholic with the rest of her family in 1851. At the age of seventeen she joined the Holy Child nuns under Mother Connelly. She soon became an invalid and died a holy death at St Leonards, 289, 329.

La Serre, Henri, a priest from St Omer, who came to the Oratory School as French master in Jan. 1862, and left in July 1865. He became a schoolmaster in France, 8, 178.

Lathbury, Daniel Conner (1831-1922), eldest son of Thomas Lathbury, ecclesiastical historian, was at King's College, London, and in 1850 went up to Brasenose College, Oxford. He was President of the Oxford Union, became a Barrister, Lincoln's Inn, but devoted his life to journalism. He was joint editor of the *Economist*, 1878-81, editor of the *Guardian*, 1883-99, and founder and editor of the *Pilot*, 1900-4. He published *Correspondence on Church and Religion of William Ewart Gladstone*, two volumes, London 1910. His wife was Bertha, daughter of Professor Bonamy Price, 282.

Leahy, Patrick (1806-75), studied for the priesthood at Maynooth, and not long after his ordination became a professor and then President of St Patrick's College, Thurles. He was one of the secretaries of the national synod of Thurles in 1850 and later Vicar General of the diocese of Cashel. In 1851 he was appointed a member of the Sub-Committee on the Organization of the Catholic University of Ireland and in 1854 he was made Vice-Rector and Professor of Exegetics. Newman paid a tribute to him in his first Report on the Catholic University, *Campaign* pp. 13-14. In April

1857 Leahy was appointed Archbishop of Cashel and resigned his University posts, but continued in sympathy with Newman. (*DNB*, xi, 757), 54.

Lee, Frederick George (1832-1902), went up to St Edmund Hall, Oxford in 1851, and was one of the first students at Cuddesdon Theological College, when it opened in 1854. He was among the founders of the Association for the Promotion of the Unity of Christendom in 1857, and in 1863 started the *Union Review*. After championing the Anglo-Catholic cause in London, he became the incumbent of St John's episcopalian church, Aberdeen, in the summer of 1859. On 7 June 1859 he married a second cousin once removed of Newman, Elvira Louisa Ostrehan, who became a Catholic in 1881. Lee was Vicar of All Saints, Lambeth, 1867 to 1899. In 1877 he was secretly consecrated a bishop at Venice, and in 1901 he too became a Catholic. (*DNB*, 1901-1911, ii, 440), 264.

Leeds, Duchess of, Louisa Catherine Caton (1792-1874), daughter of Richard Caton, of an English Catholic family who had emigrated to Maryland, and his wife Mary, daughter of Charles Carroll the only Catholic signatory of the Declaration of Independence. When Louisa and two of her sisters came to England in 1816 they were known as the three graces. One married the first Marquis Wellesley, one Lord Stafford, and Louisa, in 1817, Felton Harvey Bathurst, who had been Wellington's A.D.C. at Waterloo. He died in 1819, and in 1828 his widow married the Marquis of Carmarthen, who succeeded as seventh Duke of Leeds in 1838. Dr Logan was for a while her chaplain. See letter of 8 Dec. 1854 to Countess Granville. The Duke died in 1859, after which the Duchess devoted herself and her wealth to good works, founding orphanages and assisting Mother Cornelia Connelly, at whose convent at St Leonards she came to live in 1862, 215, 217, 301, 311.

Leigh, William (1802-73), the son of a wealthy Liverpool merchant, was at Eton and at Brasenose College, Oxford, followed the Tractarian Movement, and became a Catholic in 1844. In Nov. 1845 he bought Woodchester Park near Stroud, and founded a Passionist Monastery nearby, later taken over by the Dominicans. (*Gillow*, iv, 196), 50.

Leigh, Mrs William (1808-78), Caroline, fifth daughter of Sir John Geers Cotterell, of Garnons, Hereford, married William Leigh in 1828, 50.

Lewis, David (1814-95), in 1834 Scholar and from 1839 Fellow of Jesus College, Oxford, was Vice-Principal from 1845 to 1846, becoming a Catholic on 30 May of that year. He was the curate of Newman during

- Lewis, David—(*continued*)
his last years as Vicar of St Mary's, and was a student of canon law. In 1848 he assisted Lucas with the editing of the *Tablet*; in Dec. 1849 he married the daughter of the first Lord Methuen, and in 1860 went to live at Arundel. He translated N. Sanders *Rise and Growth of the Anglican Schism*, and the works of St Theresa and St John of the Cross, (*DNB*, 1901-II, II, 459), 126, 347.
- Liddon, Henry Parry (1829-90), the eldest son among the ten children of Captain Matthew Liddon R.N., who accompanied Parry to the Arctic, was at King's College School, London. He went up to Christ Church, Oxford, in 1846, and became Pusey's devoted follower. He was curate of W. J. Butler at Wantage, 1852-4, and then first Vice-Principal of Cuddesdon Theological College, 1854-9, but was forced to resign owing to his high Tractarian views. Liddon remained in Oxford as Vice-Principal of St Edmund Hall, and in 1870 was appointed Dean Ireland Professor of Exegesis, and a Canon of St Paul's. He exercised great influence, defending High Church principles both at Oxford and in London, and resisted the movement against the use of the Athanasian Creed. In 1889 he vehemently denounced *Lux Mundi*. His Bampton Lectures on the Divinity of Christ, in 1866, published in 1867, and his series of sermons in St Paul's, also published, were considered to be masterpieces. Liddon also wrote the first three volumes of the *Life of Edward Bouverie Pusey*. (*DNB*, XI, 1102), 88, 167.
- Lintott, William Henry (1810-77), Newman's dentist after the death of William Crompton Landzelle in 1852. Lintott was in practice at 23 Wimpole Street from 1853 until his death, and appears to have been a founder member of the College of Dentists, 158-60, 489.
- Litchfield, Francis, went to Clare College, Cambridge 1769, and in 1775 became Curate of Brampton, Northants. He appears afterwards to have become Rector of Farthinghoe, Northants, until his death about 1838, 108.
- Littledale, Richard Frederick (1833-90), entered Trinity College, Dublin, where he obtained a First in Classics. He held curacies for a short while in England, but ill health forced him to give up parochial work in 1861. He became a leading Anglo-Catholic controversialist, his *Plain Reasons against joining the Church of Rome*, London 1880, evoking a reply from Ignatius Ryder. (*DNB*, XI, 1243), 349.
- Littlemore, 241.
- Lloyd, J. F., 247.
- Lockhart, William (1819-92), only son of Alexander Lockhart by his second wife, was at Exeter College from 1838 to 1842, and on taking his B.A. joined Newman at Littlemore in July of that year. He was already drawn towards the Catholic Church and realised that Newman hesitated as to his own power to confer the Sacrament of Penance. He promised that he would make no move for three years, but he was so unhappy that in Aug. 1843 he went away to consult Father Gentili, and was received after three days. The defection led Newman to resign his living of St Mary's and to preach his last Anglican sermon, 'the Parting of Friends'. Lockhart at once joined the Rosminians and was professed at Ratcliffe College on 8 Sept. 1845. He spent his life as a missionary and writer, known as an exemplary religious and as one full of charity for his former co-religionists. He remained always the disciple of Newman and wrote after his death, *Cardinal Newman: Reminiscences of Fifty Years since*, by one of his oldest living disciples, 1891. (*DNB*, XII, 52), 142, 465-6.
- Lomax, Mrs., was married in 1837 to Thomas Grimshaw Lomax (1816-65) of Westfield House, Preston. She died in 1875, 154.
- Londonderry, Marchioness of, Elizabeth Frances Charlotte Jocelyn (1813-84), eldest daughter of the third Earl of Roden and a famous beauty, married the sixth Viscount Powerscourt in 1836. He died in 1844, and in 1846 his widow married the fourth Marquis of Londonderry, who died in 1872. Lady Londonderry became a Catholic in the fifties, and devoted herself to works of charity in London with Lady Georgiana Fullerton, Lady Lothian and others, 414.
- Longman, William (1813-77), partner in the publishing house of Longman, Green, Longman, Roberts and Green. (*DNB*, XII, 123), 32, 45, 56, 97, 101-2, 160.
- Lowe, Robert (1811-92), went up to University College, Oxford in 1829. He entered Parliament in 1852 and held office in liberal Governments until 1874. (*DNB*, XII, 197), 79.
- Lucas, Edward (1822-99), of a Quaker family, became a Catholic in 1853, and was secretary of the Academia of the Catholic Religion in London, from 1863 until 1875. He wrote his brother's biography, *The Life of Frederick Lucas*, two volumes, London 1886 (*Boase*, VI, 86), 98, 114.
- Lyttleton, George William, fourth Baron Lyttleton (1817-76), grandson through his mother of the second Earl Spencer, at Eton and Trinity College, Cambridge, succeeded his father in 1837. In 1839, he and Gladstone were married on the same day to the two sisters Mary and Catherine Glyne. In the same year Lyttleton was made Lord Lieutenant of Worcestershire. In 1845 he became Principal of Queen's

- College, Birmingham and in 1853 first President of the Birmingham and Midland Institute. He was Under Secretary of State for the Colonies in Peel's last government, Jan.-July 1846. (*DNB*, XII, 375), 167, 169, 178, 503.
- Macdonald, Sir Archibald Keppel, (1820-1901), succeeded as third Baronet in 1832, became a Captain in the Scots Fusilier Guards and equerry to the Duke of Sussex. He married in 1849 Lady Margaret Sophia Coke, daughter of the first Earl of Leicester, and in 1869 Catherine Coulthurst, widow of Thomas Edward Stonor, 284, 287.
- McGhee, Thomas Darcy (*DNB*, XII, 529), 470.
- MacIvor, James (*Boase*, II, 615), 473.
- McLean and Haes, photographers and miniature painters, 26 Haymarket, London, 160.
- MacLeod, John George (1826-1914), went up to Exeter College, Oxford in 1844, was a curate at Stoke Newington under T. A. Pope, and became a Catholic in 1854. In 1855 he joined the Jesuits, was ordained in 1861 and worked in Glasgow. It was he who brought together the two MS volumes of Gerard Manley Hopkins's Journal, 434.
- MacMahon, John Henry (1829-1900), entered Trinity College, Dublin, as a pensioner, in 1846, took his B.A. 1852, being senior moderator and gold medallist in ethics and logic. He took Orders in 1853, and was curate at St Werburgh's, Dublin, 1860-71. He was chaplain to the Lord Lieutenant from 1884 until his death. His works included *A Treatise on Metaphysics chiefly in reference to Revealed Religion*, London 1860, and *Church and State in England: its Origin and Use*, London 1873. (*DNB*, XXII Suppl., 1002), 101, 164, 179.
- Macmillan, Alexander (1818-96), son of an Ayrshire farmer, kept a small school near Paisley until 1839. In that year he took employment with the publisher E. B. Seeley in London. In 1843 he became a bookseller and publisher with his elder brother Daniel, and moved the publishing to Cambridge. In 1863 the headquarters of the firm returned to London for good. Alexander Macmillan began *Macmillan's Magazine* in Nov. 1859, and the last number appeared in Oct. 1907. He was publisher to Cambridge University 1860-80, and to Oxford University 1863 to 1880. (*Boase*, VI, 133), 12, 25, 30, 46, 53, 120, 240.
- Macmullen, Richard Gell (1814-95), Scholar and then Fellow of Corpus Christi College 'from week to week enjoyed the blessedness of hearing' the words of Newman in St Mary's. On account of his Tractarian views, Hampden the Regius Professor of Divinity tried to prevent him from taking the degree of B.D., necessary for retaining his Fellowship. In the autumn of 1846 Pusey sent him to St Saviour's Leeds. There he became a Catholic on 1 Jan. 1847. He was ordained the following year, and was from 1856 to 1880 the priest at St Mary's, Chelsea. (*Boase*, VI, 134, *Add.* p. 272), 81, 87.
- Madan, Mr and Mrs, parents of Julian, who was at the Oratory School from Oct. 1863 to Oct. 1865, 149.
- Madan, Martin (*DNB*, XII, 732), 14.
- Maguire, John (1801-65), who as a professor at St Edmund's, Ware, had called on Newman in 1835, (see *Moz.* II, pp. 118, 124 and 131), was Wiseman's Vicar General in London. He was deprived of his office when he took the side of Archbishop Errington in 1858. (W. Ward, *The Life and Times of Cardinal Wiseman*, 2nd ed., London 1897, II, pp. 273-85), 79, 80, 82, 86-7, 109, 158, 284, 494, 499.
- Maher, Michael (1798-1862), journalist, and Catholic bookseller and publisher in Birmingham. (*Gillow*, IV, 390), 128.
- Maling, Miss E. A., 148-9, 152, 156, 160, 226.
- Manning, Henry Edward (1808-92), at Harrow School, and went to Balliol College in 1827. In 1832 he was elected a Fellow of Merton and took Orders. In the following year he left Oxford and married Caroline Sargent. In 1840 he was Archdeacon of Chichester. Although never entirely a Tractarian he helped to rally the High Church party after Newman's departure. He became a Catholic in 1851 and was ordained priest after ten weeks. In 1857 he founded the Oblates of St Charles in London, and was made Provost of the Westminster Chapter. He was made Archbishop of Westminster in 1865 and a Cardinal ten years later. (*DNB*, XII, 947), xiii-xvi, 28, 40, 43, 70, 76, 84, 87, 109, 127, 150, 206, 279, 308, 315, 323, 340, 348, 397, 405, 410, 413-14, 466, 471, 477-8, 481, 483, 488-9, 492, 498-9, 505.
- Marriott, Charles (1811-58), entered Balliol College as a Scholar in 1829, and was elected a Fellow of Oriel in 1833. He became the disciple and close friend of Newman, and was one of the chief editors of the *Library of the Fathers*. He helped to rally the Tractarians after 1845 and bought Newman's buildings at Littlemore, to ensure they were not used for Catholic purposes. (*DNB*, XII, 1081), 305.
- Marshall, James (1829-89), at the age of sixteen lost his arm through a gun accident. He was matriculated at Exeter College, Oxford, in 1849 and was Curate of St Bartholomew's, Moor Lane, London, from 1854 until 1857, when he became a Catholic. His disability debarred him from the priesthood, and after being bursar and choir master for Manning's Oblates of St

- Marshall, James—(*continued*)
Charles at Bayswater, and a private tutor, he became a master at the Oratory School in Oct. 1861. There, besides endearing himself to the boys, he enjoyed Newman's friendship. On the advice of Serjeant Bellasis Marshall left in the summer of 1866 in order to become a barrister. In 1873 he was made Chief Magistrate of the Gold Coast, and in 1879 Chief Justice. He was knighted in 1882, and did not finally leave the Gold Coast until 1888. In July 1889 he saw Newman for the last time, and received from him £100 for the West Africa Missions. (*DNB* xii, 1123), 261.
- Masson, David (1822–1907), at Aberdeen Grammar School and from 1835 to 1839 at Aberdeen University, where he took first place among the M.A.'s of his year. He moved to London in 1847, began to contribute to various reviews, and became a friend of the Carlyles. In 1853 he was appointed Professor of English Literature at University College, London, in succession to Arthur Clough. His chief work was a life of Milton in six volumes. He was the editor of *Macmillan's Magazine* from its foundation in 1859 until 1867. From 1865 until 1895 he was professor of English Literature at Edinburgh University. (*DNB*, 1901–1911, 583), 12.
- Maurice, Frederick Denison (1805–72), son of a Unitarian minister, went to Trinity College, Cambridge, in 1823, and then in 1830, having accepted Anglicanism, to Exeter College, Oxford. His chief work *The Kingdom of Christ; or Hints to a Quaker concerning the Principle, Constitution and Ordinances of the Catholic Church*, 1838, was obscure and misunderstood. In 1840 he was appointed a professor at King's College, London, and in *The Epistle to the Hebrews*, in 1846, controverted *Dev.* After 1848 Maurice became one of the 'Christian Socialists,' and in 1853 his views on the eternity of future punishment led to his resignation from King's College. In *What is Revelation*, 1859, he attacked Mansel's Bampton Lectures. In 1866 he was appointed Knightsbridge Professor of Moral Theology at Cambridge. (*DNB*, xiii, 97), 68, 100, 504.
- Maxwell, Patrick (1817–97), solicitor, 37 North Great George Street, Dublin, with Piersie Kelly (*Boase*, vi, 188), 32.
- Meadows, Philippa, was a first cousin once removed of Mark Pattison and his friend from childhood. She taught herself Latin and Greek. She and her mother, Mary Meadows (1789–1860), who were for a short time Keble's parishioners at Hursley, became Catholics and met Newman at Rome in 1847. See letter of 13 Jan. 1860 to Ormsby. Philippa Meadows died in 1891, 210, 246.
- Meyler, Walter (1784–1864), Vicar General of the Archdiocese of Dublin, and Dean of the Chapter, 11.
- Meynell, Charles (1828–82), of an old Catholic family at Wolverhampton, was at Oscott College from 1845 until 1849, when he went to the English College at Rome. He was ordained there in 1856 and returned to Oscott the same year as Professor of Philosophy. Among his pupils was Wilfrid Scawen Blunt, who described him as 'a poet by temperament if not by performance, and accomplished in up to date metaphysics'. Edith Finch, *Life of Wilfrid Scawen Blunt*, London 1938, p. 27. He taught Blunt to rank Keats and Shelley above Scott, Byron and Wordsworth. Blunt also claimed that he learned from him that great reliance on reason in religion, to which he attributed his own later agnosticism. Meynell remained at Oscott until 1870, and Newman consulted him frequently while writing *A Grammar of Assent*. After three years at St Chad's Cathedral, Birmingham, Meynell spent his last years in charge of the small mission of Caverswall in Staffordshire. Among his publications, besides articles in the *Rambler* and *D R*, were *Short Sermons on Doctrinal Subjects*, London 1866, and *Proteus and Amadeus: A Correspondence*, London 1878, edited by Aubrey de Vere. Proteus was Wilfrid Scawen Blunt, while 'Dr Meynell sustains the part of Amadeus, the assertor and defender of the God of natural reason in the face of modern infidel objections. As Amadeus he appears as a shrewd and most genial disputant, and as a close observer and tender admirer of the animal creation.' Short memoir by Henry Ignatius Dudley Ryder, prefixed to Meynell's posthumous *Sermons for the Spring Quarter*, London 1883. Newman, however, criticised Meynell for not exerting his ability to the full in so serious a subject. Ryder, after describing his interest in literature and metaphysics, remarked of him that 'he attracted everyone who came across him without effort'. loc. cit. (*DNB*, xiii, 317; *Gillow*, v, 2), 92, 263, 359.
- Meyrick, Frederick (1827–1906), heard Newman's last University Sermon when standing for a scholarship at Trinity College, where in 1847 he became a Fellow. In 1859 he was appointed an inspector of schools, and from 1868 until death he was Rector of Blickling in Norfolk. For forty-six years he was secretary of the Anglo-continental Society and interested himself in ecclesiastical bodies which were opposed to the Church of Rome. He helped to organise the Bonn Conferences after the Vatican Council. (*DNB*, 1901–11, 617), 94.

- Mills, Henry Austin (1823-1903), the son of a former Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, and himself an undergraduate there, was received into the Church in Jan. 1846. He joined Faber's Brothers of the Will of God and with them became an Oratorian in 1848. His life was spent at Birmingham and he is one of those mentioned at the end of *Apo.*, 156, 164-6.
- Mills, Mrs Richard, Emma Jane Bowden (1833-1908), daughter of Henry Bowden by his first wife, became a Catholic in 1852, 112.
- Milner, Isaac (1750-1820), Evangelical and friend of William Wilberforce, was President of Queen's College, Cambridge, 1788 until death, and Dean of Carlisle, 1791 until death. (*DNB*, XIII, 456), 14.
- Moiij de Sons, Baron Charles Ernest, 243.
- Molesworth, John Edward Nassau (1790-1877), at Trinity College, Oxford, which he left after taking his B.A. in 1812, to be curate at Millbrook, Hampshire, until 1829. He was Vicar of St Martin's, Canterbury, 1829 to 1839, and Vicar of Rochdale, 1840 until death. At Rochdale he engaged in controversy with the Dissenters, led by John Bright, and thanks to the industrial development of the town over the vicarage estate, increased his income to £5000 by 1866. In that year, thanks to the Rochdale Vicarage Act, he converted thirteen chapels of ease into parishes, and increased their endowments, his own income being limited to £4000. Molesworth was a High Churchman before the Tractarians, and a friend of Hugh James Rose. (*DNB*, XIII, 566), 213.
- Molesworth, William Nassau (1816-90), eldest son of the above, at St John's and Pembroke Colleges, Cambridge, took Orders in 1839, and became the curate of his father, who presented him to the Vicarage of Spotland near Rochdale in 1844, which he held until 1889. Molesworth was a radical in politics, and wrote on nineteenth century English history. (*DNB*, XIII, 572), 213.
- Monro, see Munro.
- Monzell, William (1812-94), at school at Winchester, went up to Oriel College in 1831. In 1836 he married the sister of Lord Adare. He was M.P. for Limerick Aug. 1847 until created Lord Emly in 1874, and held various offices in liberal governments. He was received into the Church in 1850, and became one of Newman's close friends and correspondents. His first wife died in 1855, and in 1857 he married Berthe, youngest daughter of the Count de Montigny. Monsell was the friend of Montalembert and others of his school. (*DNB*, XXII Suppl., 1059), 10, 28, 40-2, 66, 72, 104, 119-20, 138, 148, 150-1, 156-7, 159-60, 167, 183, 194, 225, 275, 316, 357, 383, 390, 404, 406, 428-9, 442, 459, 477, 498, 501.
- Montalembert, Charles René Forbes, Count de (1810-70), born in London, of an émigré father and an English mother, joined Lamennais and Lacordaire in 1832 in their campaign for liberal Catholicism. In the House of Peers, and still more in the Chamber of Deputies after 1848, Montalembert championed Catholic principles and the cause of Catholic education in France. In *Le Correspondant* and at the Congress of Malines in 1863 he continued to advocate the separation of Church and State and freedom of conscience, thus earning the disapproval of conservative Catholics. He was an inopportunist at the Vatican Council. Among his writings were *The Life of St Elizabeth of Hungary*, 1836, and *The Monks of the West*, 1860-7, 9, 10, 40-2, 48, 56, 66.
- Monteith, Joseph (1852-1911), son of Robert, of Cranley, Lanarkshire, was at the Oratory School from 1862 to 1864. In 1874 he married Florence, who died in 1900, daughter of John Arthur Herbert of Llanarth, and had seven sons and six daughters. He was a J.P. and Deputy Lieutenant for Lanarkshire, 176.
- Monteith, Robert, (1812-84), only son of a rich Glasgow cotton merchant, whose family had been driven from the Highlands by Rob Roy, was at Trinity College, Cambridge, where he met and became the friend of Tennyson. In June 1844 he called on Newman at Littlemore, and two years later became a Catholic. In 1845 he married Wilhelmina, daughter of Joseph Mellish, of Blyth, Nottinghamshire. He succeeded to his father's estate, Carstairs, Lanark, in 1848, and gave large benefactions to the Church in Scotland, 176, 198, 282, 294, 392.
- Moore, Charles (1804-69), born in Ireland, was a Liverpool shipowner. He purchased large estates in Ireland, and was M.P. for Tipperary from 1865 until death. (*Boase*, II, 944), 289.
- Morell, J. Reynell, was appointed an Inspector of Schools in 1857, in which year he seems also to have become a Catholic. He was dismissed on 1 March 1864 on the ground that he had been guilty of two minor irregularities in his work, and was considered to have been the victim of anti-Catholic prejudice. His three sons were later taken into the Oratory School at greatly reduced fees, 65, 247.
- Moriarty, David (1814-77), born in Kerry, was sent to the school of the abbé Haffreingue at Boulogne, and then in 1831 to Maynooth, where he was ordained in 1839. He was Vice-Rector of the Irish College at Paris until 1847, when he became President of All Hallows College, Drumcondra. On

- Moriarty, David—*continued*
 24 May 1849 he stayed at the Oratory in Alcester Street, and became a life long friend of Newman, who frequently consulted him on his Irish problems. In 1854 Moriarty was consecrated Coadjutor to the Bishop of Kerry and succeeded him two years later. Although he was a friend of the Young Irelanders, in his later years he opposed the Fenians and home rule. He was renowned as a preacher and for his activity in his diocese, and was an inopportunist at the Vatican Council. (*DNB*, XIII, 940), xiv, 221.
- Morris, John (1826–93), went to Trinity College, Cambridge in Oct. 1845. His conversion on 20 May 1846 led to the resignation of his tutor and friend F. A. Paley. He came to Rome in the following Nov. with a view to entering the English College. He was later secretary to Wiseman and Manning, joined the Jesuits in 1867, and was a well known writer. (*DNB*, XIII, 995), 87, 149.
- Morris, John Brande (1812–80), went to Balliol College in 1830 and was elected a Fellow of Exeter in 1837. He was a patristic scholar and orientalist, and assisted Pusey who was Hebrew Professor. He was also an extremist and an eccentric, embarrassing the Tractarians by extravagant sermons (*K.C.* 36–9), and had the nickname of 'Simon Stylites'. He became a Catholic on 16 Jan. 1846, and, joining Newman's community at Maryvale, received a severe rebuke in the letter of 8 May 1846. He left for good soon afterwards, the first to do so, and was ordained at Oscott in 1849. Most of his life was now spent as a chaplain to various patrons, his delicate health and restless character preventing him from doing any work of great permanence. Bishop Amherst said of him after his death that 'his intellect was so moulded that he could not apprehend the incongruous'. (*DNB*, XIII, 996), 298.
- Mozley, Mrs John, Jemima Newman (1808–79), the younger of Newman's surviving sisters, married in April 1836 John Mozley, printer and publisher at Derby, and had six children. Although Jemima was far from approving of Newman's conversion, she always remained on more or less friendly terms and they corresponded regularly, 3, 4, 56, 58, 69, 73, 77, 101, 454, 458, 479.
- Mozley, John Rickards (1840–1931), second son of Newman's sister Jemima, went as a Colleger to Eton in 1851, and in 1858 as a Scholar to King's College, Cambridge, where in 1862 he was 12th Wrangler and 5th Classic. He also won the Chancellor's Medal and in 1863 the Lebas Prize. He was a Fellow of King's, 1861 to 1869, and Professor of Pure Mathematics at Owens College, Manchester, 1865 to 1885. In 1868 he married Edith Merivale, daughter of Bonamy Price, 4.
- Munro, Miss G. Wiseman wrote early in Nov. 1845 to Dr Russell of Maynooth: 'I shall receive into the Church tomorrow a Miss Munro, whose mother is remarried to Sir R. Doherty, who ought to be a Catholic'. (W. Ward, *Life and Times of Cardinal Wiseman* 1, p. 435). Miss Munro was known to Pusey and Oakeley, and was or became a friend of Dr Whitty, from whose letters to Newman in the autumn of 1848 it appears that she was then about twenty-five or six, had a capital of her own of over £6000, and was thinking of becoming a nun. In the following year there was question of her coming to teach in Birmingham. She never became a nun and Newman acted as her director, his last known letter to her being written in 1882. She died about 1913, 228.
- Munro, Philip Gun (1825–1901), at Magdalen Hall, Oxford, and then curate at Ware, Hertfordshire, became a Catholic in 1852, and in 1865 thought of joining the Oratory under Newman. Instead he became a priest in the diocese of Southwark, and was for a while chaplain to the Earl of Gainsborough, 158, 227.
- Neate, Charles (1806–79), Fellow of Oriel College from 1829 until death. He was Member of Parliament for Oxford City 1863–8. (*DNB*, XIV, 150), 411.
- Neve, Frederick Robert (1806–86), after going to school at Eton entered Oriel College in 1824. He took Orders and was Rector of Poole Keynes in Wiltshire. He became a Catholic in the autumn of 1845 and at once joined the staff at Prior Park, but with others resigned in Sept. 1846. In the following Nov. he came to Rome to the English College. He was ordained in March 1848, and in May began to work at Clifton, where he was the friend and chaplain of Mother Margaret Hallahan and her community. After the setting up of the Hierarchy he was one of the first canons of Clifton. In 1863 he was made Rector of the English College in Rome, but in 1867 was obliged to resign, having, among other things, aroused the ire of Manning and Talbot, by his support of Newman. After his return to England he became Provost of the Clifton Chapter and later Vicar General. He remained always the grateful friend of Newman. (*Venerabile*, periodical of the English College, (April 1931), pp. 160–72, (Oct. 1931), pp. 274–85), 166, 394, 397.
- Neville, William Paine (1824–1905), was at Winchester and Trinity College, where he was matriculated on 7 March 1844. He

- took his B.A. in 1849, and the same year went as a lay-helper to St Saviour's Leeds, acting as almoner and opening a night school. He was received into the Church by Newman at Leeds, on 3 April 1851. A week later he came to stay at the Oratory in Birmingham, entered as a novice the following Sept. and remained there for the rest of his life. Always a hesitant undecided person, he was not ordained priest until 1861. After the death of Ambrose St John in 1875, he increasingly attended on Newman, and became his secretary and nurse, so that the whispered 'William, William' were Newman's last recorded words. After his death, as the chief literary executor, he tirelessly collected and copied Newman's letters and papers, publishing *M.D., Add., and Campaign*, but was unable to make up his mind definitely to entrust the biography to Wilfrid Ward, 4, 6, 8, 16, 111-12, 114, 136, 223, 290, 499.
- Newman, Francis William (1805-97), enabled to go to Worcester College, thanks to the help of his eldest brother John, took a double first in 1826, and was in the same year elected a Fellow of Balliol College. He resigned four years later, on the ground of holding nonconformist views which prevented his signing the Thirty Nine Articles. From 1830 to 1833 he was a missionary in Persia. In 1840 he was appointed Professor of Classical Literature at Manchester, and in 1846 to the chair of Latin at University College, London, where he remained until 1869. Meanwhile he was abandoning his Christian beliefs, and eventually became a Unitarian. In later life he espoused various eccentric causes. He and Newman had very early drifted apart, but always kept in touch and met from time to time. Francis published the rather bitter *Early History of Cardinal Newman*, in 1891, after the latter's death. (*DNB*, Suppl., xxii, 1093), 247.
- Newman, John Henry,
 On belief in God and Infidelity, 111, 235-6, 255, 394-6, 402, 473.
 On Revelation and the development of doctrine, 120-1, 370.
 On the Sacraments, 207, 248.
 On our Lady, 34-5, 96, 124, 136, 165, 195, 401.
 On the Inspiration of Scripture, 72, 265-8, 395, 402-3, 432-3, 482, 491.
 On faith and reason and probable arguments, 129, 146, 245, 270.
 On the Catholic Church, 13, 14, 34, 84, 120-1, 133, 139, 195, 224, 248-9, 255, 264, 275, 314-15, 324-5, 336, 366, 370-2, 377-8, 423, 456, 463. The Papacy, 460, 470.
 On the Church of England, 13, 14, 53-4, 77, 106, 209-10, 228, 249, 299, 313-14, 323, 337, 349.
 On free discussion and on persecution, 9, 23, 41-3, 48-9, 66, 75, 83-4, 138, 144, 160-1.
 On the Oratory, 54-5, 62, 85, 172, 190, 250, 253, 281, 320.
 On the Syllabus and *Quanta Cura*, 378, 385, 391-2, 415, 436, 476.
 On the laity, 28, 327, 343, 374, 384, 436, 442, 457.
 On Catholics at Oxford and Higher Education, 28, 40, 43, 88, 141, 161, 164, 186, 197-200, 203-4, 206, 208, 211-12, 215-17, 219-21, 226-7, 230, 232, 234-5, 239, 241, 252-3, 274, 276, 279-83, 288, 294, 296, 298-300, 308-10, 314, 318-22, 324, 327-33, 338-44, 346-8, 351-4, 356-62, 365, 367-9, 372-4, 379-80, 383-4, 388, 390-1, 394, 397-8, 400-1, 403-16, 418, 421, 435-6, 440-3, 449, 453, 457, 472, 477, 486-7, 492, 500, 507-11.
 On the Oratory School, 3-4, 8, 15-16, 21, 28-9, 51, 55, 89, 144, 149, 205, 261, 348, 367, 368, 438, 443, 453-4, 499.
 On vocations, 45, 159, 161-3, 170-5, 180-1, 188-9, 191.
 On lying and equivocation, 13, 14, 25, 92-4, 109-10, 113, 152, 154, 164.
 Spiritual Counsel, 31, 43-4, 51, 80, 127, 135-7, 140, 248-9, 325-6, 331, 335, 359, 374, 387, 399, 452, 463.
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 The Catholic University, 212, 246, 317, 327, 331, 339, 397, 422, 491. University Church, 11, 19, 246, 328.
Apologia, 92-3, 95-120, 123-35, 137-8, 142-3, 145-7, 154, 158, 160, 164, 176-8, 183-5, 213, 221, 233-4, 243, 245, 247, 255, 259, 316, 324, 345-6, 356, 408, 419, 447-8, 449-50, 459-60, 470, 502-4.
Tract XC, 77, 93, 95, 102, 262, 372, 399, 400, 450.
 Terence's *Phormio*, 8, 22, 29, 51, 473-4, 476.
 Sermon on 'Wisdom and Innocence', 10, 35-9, 63-4, 69.
Parochial and Plain Sermons, 71, 90, 182, 263, 372.
Loss and Gain, 60, 120.
Lyra Apostolica, 68-9.
Dream of Gerontius, 498.
Idea of a University, 23.
Difficulties of Anglicans, 68.
 'On Consulting the Faithful', 110.
Arians, 420.
 Newman, Mrs John, Jemima Fourdrinier (1772-1836), Newman's mother, married in 1799, 3.
 Newman, Mary (1809-28), Newman's youngest sister, 6, 7.

- Norfolk, Duchess of, Augusta Mary Minna Catherine (1820-86), younger daughter of Edmund, first Lord Lyons, married in 1839 Henry Granville, Earl of Arundel, who succeeded as fourteenth Duke of Norfolk in 1856. She became a Catholic 27 Jan. 1850, and like her husband was generous in her charities, 144, 149.
- Northcote, James Spencer (1821-1907), Scholar at Corpus Christi College, Oxford, in 1837, First in Classics in 1841, was greatly influenced by Newman, and also a close friend of Pusey. He was appointed curate at Ilfracombe in 1840, and two years later married his cousin, Susannah Spencer Ruscombe Poole. Three of her sisters became Catholics in Sept. 1845, she in Nov., and her husband in the following Jan. at Prior Park, where he taught for six months. He then travelled in Italy and became an authority on Christian antiquities. From 1852 to 1854 he was editor of the *Rambler*. After his wife's death in 1853, he studied for the priesthood under Newman at Birmingham. From 1860 to 1876 he was President of Oscott, and Provost of the Birmingham Chapter from 1885. (*DNB*, 1901-11, III, 26), 263, 309, 321, 373.
- Oakeley, Frederick (1802-80), youngest son of Sir Charles Oakeley, Bart., went up to Christ Church in 1820. In 1827 he took Orders and was elected a Fellow of Balliol College. He joined the Tractarians with W. G. Ward. From 1839 to 1845 he was at Margaret Street Chapel in London which he made a Tractarian centre. He defended *Tract XC* and as a result was suspended by his Bishop, C. J. Blomfield. During Sept. 1845 he stayed in W. G. Ward's house at Littlemore, and met Newman frequently. He was received in the Catholic chapel at Oxford on 29 Oct. and was confirmed with Newman at Oscott three days later. He studied for the priesthood at St Edmund's College, Ware, was one of the first canons of Westminster, and spent the rest of his life as the priest at Islington. He remained always Newman's friend and defender. (*DNB*, XIV, 731), 80, 82, 87, 124, 158.
- O'Bryen, H. H., 330.
- Ogle, Octavius (1829-94), fourth son of James Adey Ogle, was a Scholar at Wadham College, Oxford, 1846-52. He was a Fellow of Lincoln College, 1852-9, and Sub-Rector 1855. In 1858 he married Maud Burland, and lived in Oxford, where he was Public Examiner 1879-80. He was also chaplain to the Warneford Asylum and to the Oxford Workhouse. He continued his father's friendship with Newman, but they do not appear to have met until Newman visited Oxford as a Cardinal. (*Boase*, II, 1222), 334, 375.
- O'Hagan, John (1822-90), the son of a merchant at Newry, went to Trinity College, Dublin, and, in 1842, was called to the Irish Bar. He was an active member of the Young Ireland Party, and one of the counsel for Charles Gavan Duffy in 1848. He was also a poet and wrote patriotic songs. He was a good scholar, a contributor to the *Atlantis* and later published literary essays. As a lawyer he was respected for his integrity and described as 'a nineteenth century edition of Blessed Thomas More'. In 1854 Newman appointed him Lecturer in Political Economy at the Catholic University, and the two became close friends. After Newman's return to Birmingham, O'Hagan frequently visited him there. He was made a Commissioner of the Board of National Education in 1861, and Gladstone appointed him Chief Judicial Commissioner for the Irish Land Commission in 1881, with the rank of a judge. In 1865 he married Frances, daughter of Thomas, later Lord, O'Hagan. (*DNB*, XIV, 947; *The Irish Monthly*, (Feb. 1903), pp. 61-85), 317, 326.
- O'Hagan, a master who came to the Oratory School in Jan. 1863, and coached especially those boys who were intended for the Royal Military Academy at Woolwich, 23.
- Oldham, George Alfred (1820-75), at Trinity College, Cambridge, took Orders and from 1854 to 1859 was a curate at Dorking. In 1860 he became a Catholic and a priest, and founded the mission of St Mary Magdalen, Brighton, 285.
- O'Reilly, Edmund, 251.
- O'Reilly, Myles (1825-80), of Knock Abbey, County Louth, country gentleman, educated at Ushaw College. He was a member of the Committee for setting up the Catholic University in Ireland, and also of the Sub-Committee, and at least once acted as Examiner in Classics there, on Newman's invitation. In 1860 he commanded the Irish Brigade in the Papal army, and, after a gallant defence, surrendered Spoleto to one of Garibaldi's captains. He sat in Parliament from 1862 to 1879 as a member of the home rule party, and in the latter year was appointed Assistant Commissioner of Intermediate Education in Ireland. (*DNB*, XIV, 1144), 153.
- Ormsby, Robert (1820-89), at Lincoln College, taking a first in Classics in 1840, and a Fellow of Trinity College, Oxford, 1843. He married Dalgairns's sister Elizabeth in 1846, and was curate at St Olave's Chichester. In May 1847 he became a Catholic, his wife a year later. He assisted Lucas in editing the *Tablet*,

and in 1854 Newman appointed him professor of Greek and Latin at the Catholic University. He later became Tutor to the fifteenth Duke of Norfolk, returning in 1874 to his old post at Dublin, at the request of the Irish bishops. In 1882 he was elected a Fellow of the Royal University of Ireland. Author of *Memoirs of James Robert Hope-Scott*, London 1884. (DNB, xiv, 1158), 19, 152, 166, 246, 330, 340, 470.

Oscott, 3, 457.

O'Sullivan, Michael (1823-92), born in Ireland, worked at St Peter's, Birmingham, after his return from the English College, Rome, in 1848. He was the priest at Stafford, 1859-66. He then became Ullathorne's Vicar General, and a prominent Birmingham figure, 23-4, 34, 407.

Oxenham, Henry Nutcombe (1829-88), was educated at Harrow School, where his father was second master, and won a classical scholarship at Balliol in Nov. 1846. He spoiled his chance of Fellowships by airing his High Church views at the Oxford Union. He was ordained by Samuel Wilberforce in 1854 and was Curate at Worminghall, Bucks, and St Bartholomew's, Cripplegate. He was one of the founders of the Association for the Promotion of the Unity of Christendom on 8 Sept. 1857, and was received into the Catholic Church by Manning on 31 Oct. following. Newman hoped to have him as an assistant in Dublin, but, after trying his vocation at the London Oratory, he went to St Edmund's College, Ware, and was given the four Minor Orders there. In a letter to the *Rambler*, (July 1860), signed XYZ, he attacked the seminary system, quoting Newman on his side. When Newman replied, signing himself H.O., Oxenham answered sharply, that H. O. misunderstood Newman. After the identities of the combatants became known, Oxenham expressed great regret for his discourtesy towards Newman, whom he admired. One result of Oxenham's attack on seminaries was that Wiseman refused to confer on him Major Orders. (Victor Conzemius, *Ignaz von Döllinger, Lord Acton, Briefwechsel*, 1, 1850-60, p. 191.) It has often been suggested that Oxenham refused Major Orders himself, because he believed in the validity of his Anglican Orders, but this is unlikely to have been a bar before *Apostolicae Curiae*, and Oxenham had already accepted Catholic Minor Orders. See also *The Journals and Papers of Gerard Manley Hopkins*, edited by Humphrey House, London 1959, p. 320. For the autumn term of 1861 he was a master at the Oratory School, and helped to bring about the crisis which led to his departure and that

of the headmaster, Nicholas Darnell, and others, at Christmas. In 1863 Acton sent him to Munich to study under Döllinger, whose friend he became, and some of whose works he translated into English. Oxenham himself wrote *The Catholic Doctrine of the Atonement*, London 1865, and *Catholic Eschatology and Universalism*, London 1876. He welcomed Pusey's *Eirenicon*, and always remained friendly with Anglicans. In 1874 he attended at Bonn the meeting of 'Old Catholics' but later disapproved of that movement. He also helped Gladstone with his pamphlet *Vaticanism* in Feb. 1875, but, with all his peculiarities, remained faithful to the Church he had joined in 1857. (DNB, xv, 13), 391, 466.

Paley, William (1743-1805), author of *The Evidences of Christianity*. (DNB, xv, 101), 25, 92.

Palgrave, W. G., 484.

Palmer, William (1803-85), of Worcester College, Oxford, one of the most learned of the original Tractarians, and champion of the 'Branch Theory' of the Church, especially in *Treatise on the Church of Christ*, two volumes, London 1838. (DNB, xv, 168), xiv, 419.

Palmer, William (1811-79), the eldest son of the Rector of Mixbury, Oxfordshire, whose second son became the first Earl of Selborne, was at Rugby School, and went to Magdalen College, Oxford, in 1826, as a Demy. He gained a first in Classics and in 1832 was elected a Fellow of his college. The following year he went as Classics tutor to the new University of Durham, and there, under the influence of J. H. Rose became a Tractarian. In 1836 he returned, to Magdalen, and was ordained deacon, which was necessary if he was to retain his Fellowship. Palmer became interested in the Eastern Church and in 1840, shortly before his first visit to Russia, wrote *Praefatio in XXXIX Articulos*, in the line of *Tract XC*, though independently of it. He paid a second visit to Russia in 1842, but did not succeed in obtaining recognition of the Anglican Church or in being allowed to communicate in the Church of Russia. He was an adherent of the Branch Theory, with an ecumenical aim in view, but appealed without success to the Scottish Church to support his interpretation of the 39 Articles. Newman's conversion made him still more dissatisfied with the Church of England, and in 1849 he went to Greece, hoping to join the Orthodox Church there, where it was not subject to the State. However in Greece he found that he would have to be rebaptised unconditionally, before being admitted to the Church. Eventually, early in 1855 he

- Palmer, William—(*continued*)
came to Rome and became, apparently somewhat unwillingly, a Catholic. In May he arrived in England and wrote to Newman. The rest of his life was spent in Rome, where he proved a friend in need to many, among others to Ambrose St John in 1867. There he continued his studies, adding those of early Christian Symbolism and Egyptology. He died just before Newman came to Rome to receive the Cardinal's hat. He made him his literary heir, and in 1882 Newman published Palmer's *Notes on a Visit to the Russian Church*, with a preface by himself. (*DNB*, xv, 167), 214.
- Parsons, Daniel (1811–87), went to Oriel College, Oxford, from Sherborne School, in 1828. He was curate at Marden, Wilts, and from 1841 at Longton, Staffordshire. In 1843 he became a Catholic, and in 1845 married Gertrude Hext, also a convert, who wrote Catholic novels. They lived at Little Malvern. (*Boase*, II, 1369), 148, 150.
- Patterson, James Laird (1822–1902), was at Trinity College, Oxford, then curate at St Thomas's, Oxford. He became a Catholic in 1850 at Jerusalem, and after studying in Rome, worked as a priest in London. He was President of St Edmund's College, Ware, 1870–80, and then auxiliary bishop to Manning at Westminster, 79, 87, 98, 114, 116, 277, 284–5, 292, 300, 310, 317, 328.
- Pattison, Mark (1813–84), went up to Oriel College in 1832, where after a few years he came under Newman's influence and adopted Tractarian views. He was elected a Fellow of Lincoln College in 1839 and in 1841 took Orders. He helped to edit the 'Library of the Fathers' and contributed Stephen Langton and St Edmund of Canterbury to the *Lives of the English Saints*. He was one of those who came to say farewell to Newman the day before he left Oxford in Feb. 1846. By 1848 Pattison had given up Tractarianism, and after that his religious beliefs became attenuated. He was interested in university reform, wrote on the history of scholarship and was one of the contributors to *Essays and Reviews*. Newman remained his friend, they corresponded occasionally, and on 18 July 1861 met by accident in the train from London to Oxford. In 1861, also, Pattison was elected Rector of Lincoln, and married. He helped Newman over the negotiations for the Oxford Oratory site. Newman always hoped that he would become a Catholic, and in his old age visited him when he lay dying. (*DNB*, xv, 503), 88, 208, 210, 220, 276, 388, 393, 417.
- Perrin, John F., 224.
- Petre, William Bernard, twelfth Baron (1817–84), at Oscott College and St Edmund's, Ware, succeeded his father in 1850. In 1869 he received the Grand Cross of the Order of Pius IX. (*Boase*, vi, 390), 98–9, 116.
- Pisani, Marion, related to the Knox family of Dungannon, County Tyrone, was the wife of Count Alexander Bartholomew Stephen Pisani, who worked in the British Embassy at Constantinople from 1814 to 1877. In 1844 he became Director of the Diplomatic Chancery. Marion Pisani, who became a Catholic, was the author of four three-volume novels, one of them an adaptation from the Italian of G. Rosini. A memoir of hers on Pius IX Newman offered in 1859 to the *Rambler* and in 1864 to the *Month*. (*Boase*, vi, 401), 365, 476.
- Pius IX (1792–1878), 42, 435–6.
- Platt, Ralph (1812–74), at Ushaw College, and Vicar General of the Diocese of Hexham from 1856 until his resignation in 1868, was an antiquarian and Hebrew scholar. (*Gillow*, v, 321), 233.
- Pollen, John Hungerford (1820–1902), great great nephew of Pepys and nephew of Sir John Walter Pollen, second Baronet, of Redenham, Hampshire, was at Eton and Christ Church. He was a Fellow of Merton 1842–52, and came under the influence of the Tractarians. In 1844 he was curate at St Peter-le-Bailey, Oxford, and from 1847 to 1851 worked on the staff of St Saviour's, Leeds. In 1850 he refused the living of Kibworth in Leicestershire, nearly £1000 a year, because he was unsure of his religious position. He returned to Oxford for a year, and was Senior Proctor. In 1852 he became a Catholic, following the example of many of his friends. He decided to devote himself professionally to art and architecture. In 1855 he came to Dublin as Newman's Professor of Fine Arts, and built the University Church. Two years later he settled in London and was always busy with artistic work. He was at the South Kensington Museum from 1863 to 1876, when he became private secretary to the Marquis of Ripon. He married Maria La Primaudaye in 1855 and had a large family. Two of his sons became Jesuits and one joined Newman at the Oratory. Pollen himself was one of Newman's most devoted and faithful friends. (*DNB*, 1901–11, 122), 289, 329, 393, 416, 441, 443, 467.
- Poncia, Eliza (1820–73), wife of John Poncia a leading Birmingham Catholic, had been brought up at a Benedictine nuns' school and was remarkable for her piety and charity. She became the Lady Bountiful to the poor around the Birmingham Oratory. Bishop Ullathorne preached at her funeral in Dec. 1873, 22.
- Poole, Maria Spencer Ruscombe, Sister Imelda (1815–81), sister of Mrs Anstice, Mrs Northcote, and Lucy Poole, was left

- an orphan when her father, a solicitor at Bridgewater, died in 1843. She and her sisters had already been greatly influenced by the *Tracts* and Newman's sermons. In 1844 they came under the direction of Pusey at Ilfracombe, who is said to have encouraged them to practise austerities which undermined their health. They were greatly affected by the conversion of J. M. Capes in June 1845, and moved to Bath, where Maria, Lucy and the widowed Mrs Anstice were received. Maria wrote at the time an account of her steps towards the Church 'The Modern Pilgrim's Progress, or the History of Puseyism in a Dream', which was published in the *Rambler*, xi, (Feb. 1853), pp. 122-135, and referred to in *Apo.* p. 218. She and her sisters went out to Rome in the autumn of 1846 and remained abroad two years. On 23 April 1849, with her sister Lucy, she entered St Catherine's Convent at Clifton, taking the name of Sister Mary Imelda. She was professed in the following year and became the Prioress at Stone. Like Mother Margaret Hallahan, whom she succeeded in 1868 as Provincial, she was a devoted friend of Newman, 132, 295, 505.
- Pope, Richard Vercoe (1830-1903), brother of T. A. Pope, was brought up as a Wesleyan. He attended London University, became an Anglican and was sent by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel as a missionary to South East India, where he married a daughter of General Richard Rodney Ricketts, of the Indian Army. The example of Indian Catholics led to his conversion about 1859. In order to support his wife, who did not become a Catholic, and his two children, he took a post as Vice-Principal of St Bernard's College, Gibraltar. From there he came at the beginning of 1862 to the Oratory School. Not long afterwards his wife died, leaving him with four young children. In about 1867 he married again, Elizabeth Agnes, daughter of Mrs Lucy Agnes Vaughan Phillips, and had four more children, the eldest of whom became Fr Hugh Pope, O.P. Richard Pope retired from the Oratory School in 1900, and spent his last years in India, 205-6.
- Pope, Thomas Alder (1819-1904), born at Bedeque, Prince Edward Island, was at school at Saltash, Cornwall, and went up to Jesus College, Cambridge in 1839, B.A. 1844, M.A. 1847. He came under the influence of Tractarianism at Cambridge, and in 1847 went as curate to Stoke Newington, becoming Perpetual Curate of St Matthias, Stoke Newington, in 1849. During the 'papal aggression' agitation in 1850, was burned in effigy by those of his parishioners who objected to his High Church ways. In 1853 he was received into the Catholic Church, and his wife having died, he was left a widower with two small children. He went over to France and put his daughter at a convent in Havre, while he and his son lived at Monsieur Labbé's school at Yvetôt. Pope was for three years a master at the Oratory School, and then joined the Birmingham Oratory in 1867. His two children had died, the son John Archdale in 1866, when he was buried in the Oratorian cemetery at Rednal. Pope was ordained priest in 1869, and ten years later accompanied Newman to Rome, when he received the Cardinalate. He published *An Introduction to the History of France*, London 1860, and a translation of A. Capécilat's *The Life of St Philip Neri*, London 1882, 116.
- Pope, William (1825-1905), son of a clergyman at Whitby and a nephew of Richard Whately, was at Christ's College, Cambridge, 1844-8, and curate at Lever Bridge, Lancs., 1850-1. He became a Catholic in 1853 and was later the priest at Harrogate. It was he who sent Newman the copy of *Macmillan's Magazine* for Jan. 1864, which led to *Apo.*, 62.
- Porter, Mary Josephine, 430.
- Powell, Edward, 444, 447.
- Prevost, Sir George, second Baronet (1804-93), entered Oriel College in 1821. In 1828 he married Isaac Williams's only sister Jane, and in 1834 became Perpetual Curate of Stinchcombe, Gloucestershire, where he remained for the rest of his life. (*DNB*, xvi, 321), 458.
- Pusey, Edward Bouverie (1800-82), at Eton and Christ Church. Fellow of Oriel College in 1823, and close friend of Newman. Regius Professor of Hebrew and a Canon of Christ Church in 1828. He joined the Tractarians at the end of 1833. In 1843 he was condemned by the Vice-Chancellor for his views on the Eucharist. He was the leader of the Tractarians after Newman's conversion, and although the two only met three times after Newman left Oxford, they corresponded (with a break of a few years) frequently and intimately. (*DNB*, xvi, 496), 72, 76, 167, 212, 303-4, 314, 322, 324, 340-1, 360, 364, 366, 368, 376, 399, 400-1, 410.
- Puttock, Alban, 490.
- Ransford, Edward (1835-1901), son of an Edinburgh doctor, was at Durham School, went to Trinity College, Dublin, in 1854, and St John's College, Cambridge in 1857. He became a Catholic and took a post as a master at the Oratory School in the summer of 1859. There he remained for a year, after which he taught at Oscott College. He received Minor Orders, and was on the staff of the *Dublin Review* in 1870. Later, however, he returned to the Church of

Ransford, Edward—(*continued*)

England, took Orders, and was curate at Elizabeth, New Jersey, 424.

Renouf, Peter le Page (1822–97), of an old Guernsey family, went up to Pembroke College in 1840, and was elected a Scholar there in 1841. He read 14 to 16 hours a day, and was much influenced by Newman whose sermons he attended. He studied the Catholic question, and in Oct. 1841 published an anonymous pamphlet, *The Doctrine of the Catholic Church in England on the Holy Eucharist*, based on the Anglican divines, and attributed by many to Newman. In 1842 he made up his mind to become a Catholic. He went to Oscott and was received there at Easter. Wiseman gave him employment as a professor, and he also studied for ordination. In June 1846 he left Oscott, having decided not to be a priest. He now became tutor to the son of Count de Vaulchier, near Besançon, travelling with the family and continuing his studies.

In 1854 Newman invited him to Dublin to be Professor of Ancient History and Geography. The idea of helping Newman greatly appealed to him, and he came to Dublin, bringing his pupil as one of the students. In 1857 he married the Bavarian Ludovica Brentano, known from her infancy to Dollinger, whom she tried to bring back into communion with Rome, under Leo XIII.

With Newman gone, Dublin ceased to attract, and Renouf after planning to take Catholic pupils at Oxford, accepted in 1864 an appointment as Inspector of Catholic Schools in England. He took a great interest in the controversies over infallibility, and in 1868 wrote a pamphlet on the condemnation of Pope Honorius, which was put on the Index. He turned his attention increasingly to Egyptology and, on relinquishing his Inspectorship, was appointed, in 1886, Keeper of the Egyptian and Assyrian Antiquities at the British Museum, being forced to retire in 1891. There is a biography of him, evidently written by Sir Rowland Blennerhassett, in *The Life Work of Sir Peter le Page Renouf*, First Series, Vol. IV, *The Book of the Dead*, continued by Prof. E. Naville, Paris 1907, pp. v–ccxxiii. (*DNB*, xxii Suppl., 1166), 78, 112.

Richmond, Legh (*DNB*, xvi, 1144), 261.

Riddell, Charles Edward, born in 1849, only son of Charles Francis Riddell and Mary Catherine, daughter of Michael Blount of Mapledurham, was at the Oratory School 1862–6, 89, 396.

Rivington, W., 31–3, 46, 56, III.

Roberts, John William, was the son of Captain Roberts R.N. who married the sister of John Sargent of Lavington. J. W.

Roberts was thus a first cousin of Manning's wife. He was matriculated at Jesus College, Oxford, 27 Feb. 1840 aged 17, Scholar 1842–46, B.A. 1843. He became a Catholic with his mother about 1852, joined Manning's Oblates of St Charles, and worked as a priest in London, 79, 87.

Rodmell, J. T., 124.

Rogers, Frederic (1811–89) after six years at Eton, came to Oriel College in 1828. Newman was his tutor, and, having become during his last year, the only pupil, spent the long vacation of 1831 with Newman and his family at Ifley. In the following year he took a double First, and was a Fellow of Oriel from 1833 to 1845. He was an adherent of the Movement and Newman's most intimate friend until their religious differences, which began in 1839, led, in 1843, to a cessation of external relations though not of esteem. Early in 1845 Rogers came to Newman's defence with the pamphlet *A short appeal to Members of Convocation on the Proposed Censure of No. 90*. At this time Rogers began to occupy official posts in London. In 1847 he married. In 1851 he succeeded his father as eighth baronet. He was Permanent under Secretary of State for the Colonies from 1860 to 1871, in which year he was created Lord Blachford. Meanwhile in 1863 Rogers visited Newman at Birmingham and the old friendship was renewed. At the end of his life Newman maintained, that of his Oxford friendships 'none had approached his intimacy with Lord Blachford'. (*DNB*, xvii, 119), xiii, 36–7, 96, 99, 103, 105, 157, 159, 350, 479, 485, 489, 494, 496, 502–3.

Rose, Henry John (1800–73), younger brother of Hugh James Rose, went up to St Peter's College, Cambridge in 1817, migrating the following year to St John's, where he was a Fellow, 1824–38. In 1837 his College appointed him to the valuable rectory of Houghton Conquest, Bedfordshire. (*DNB*, xvii, 232), 154.

Rose, Hugh James (1795–1838) (*DNB*, xvii, 240), 72.

Rossi, Carlo (1802–83), born in Rome and joined the Oratory there in 1830, ordained 1832. He was chosen to train the English Oratorians at Santa Croce in the summer of 1847. In the autumn he left Rome on a mission to Berlin. When Newman visited Rome in 1855, Rossi was away ill, and so they did not meet until Newman went to Rome for the Cardinalate in 1879. Rossi was reported to have inclined too much to the popular side during the Roman Revolution in 1849. He was Superior of the Roman Oratory 1857–66 and 1872–8, 413.

- Russell, Charles William (1812-80), of the family of the barons of Killough in Ireland, where he was born. He was sent to Maynooth in 1826, and was ordained there in 1835. In the same year he joined the staff of the College and was made professor of Church History in 1845. He refused several offers of bishoprics, and in 1857 was appointed President of Maynooth. He had a reputation as an antiquary, but is best known for his sympathy with the Tractarians, and friendship with Newman. Cf. *Apo.* p. 194. (*DNB*, xvii, 428), xiv, 107, 130, 425, 447, 455, 459, 469.
- Ryder, Henry Ignatius Dudley (1837-1907), eldest son of George Ryder, after studying at the Birmingham Oratory, and the Catholic University of Ireland, joined the Oratory in 1856, taking the name of Ignatius. He was ordained priest in 1862, and the pastoral work, on which he then engaged, included the care of Catholics in the Birmingham workhouse and prison. He was a theologian and a poet. In 1867-8 he opposed W. G. Ward's extreme views on infallibility, beginning with *Idealism in Theology, A Review of Dr Ward's Scheme of Dogmatic Authority*, which was followed by two pamphlets. Ryder's *Catholic Controversy*, London 1881, was a reply to R. F. Littledale's *Plain Reasons against joining the Church of Rome*. Ryder was Superior of the Birmingham Oratory after Newman's death in 1890, until 1905. His *Essays*, edited by Francis Bacchus, were published in 1911, 496.
- Ryder, Sophia (1817-1901) youngest daughter of the Bishop of Lichfield and Coventry, and sister of George Ryder, with whom she was received into the Church at Rome in 1846. In 1849 she became a Good Shepherd nun. (Anon, *A Daughter of the Venerable Mother Pelletier, Sister Mary of the Sacred Heart Ryder*, 1902), 29.
- Ryley, Edward (1812-96), was secretary of the Australian Colonial and General Life Assurance Company and then an actuary in London. He worked with Wiseman to obtain equal rights for Catholics in prisons, workhouses and the Army. In politics he was a Tory, and so was opposed to Archbishop Cullen. (*Boase*, III, 370), 103.
- St John, Ambrose (1815-75), grandson of St Andrew St John, Dean of Worcester, was at Westminster School, and went up to Christ Church in 1834. He took his degree in 1837 and was elected to a studentship in 1838, which he held until 1845. He was a good classical scholar, and an orientalist. He was curate to Henry Wilberforce from 1841 to 1843, in which year his close association with Newman began. In Aug. 1843 he came to live at Littlemore and left it on 30 Sept. 1845 for Prior Park, where he was received three days later. He was, until his death, the companion of Newman, who paid him a well-known tribute in *Apo.* 283. (*Gillow*, v, 466), 4, 5, 7, 15, 22, 24, 29, 30, 98, 116, 136, 159-60, 165, 168, 177, 182, 189, 190, 205, 214, 217, 220, 223, 236, 244, 251, 285, 289, 367, 377, 448, 495.
- St Maur, Madame du Pré de, 183, 194.
- Scott, William (1813-72), went up to Queen's College, Oxford, as Michel Exhibitioner in 1831. He took Orders in 1836, and became one of the leading Tractarians in London championing the High Church causes. He was co-editor of the *Christian Remembrancer* when it was founded in 1841, and later for a long period sole editor. He also wrote for the *Saturday Review*. For his opinion of Newman see letter of 28 Feb. 1864. Cf. *Moz.* II, pp. 395-6. (*DNB*, xvii, 1050), 63.
- Scott-Murray, Charles Robert (1818-82), of Danesfield, Bucks, was at Eton and Christ Church. He inherited a large fortune and was M.P. for Bucks, 1841-5. He was received into the Church by Cardinal Fransoni in Rome in 1844. In 1846 he married Amelia Fraser, daughter of the fourteenth Lord Lovat, and later sent his sons to the Oratory School. (*Boase*, vii, 461), 197, 380.
- Scrutton, Thomas (1821-95), was matriculated at Christ Church in 1839, B.A. 1846. He was curate to F. Balston at Benson in Oxfordshire and became a Catholic in March 1850. In May he tried his vocation as an Oratorian in Birmingham, but left early the following year. Newman appointed him Secretary to the Catholic University, in which office he remained until 1879. Four of his daughters became nuns, 19.
- Sheil, Sir Justin (1803-71), brother of Richard Lalor Sheil, was educated at Stonyhurst, and joined the Indian Army. In 1836 he was appointed secretary to the British Legation in Persia, and from 1844 to 1854 was British Minister at Teheran. He was made Knight Commander of the Bath in 1855, and a Major-General in 1859. In 1847 he married Mary, (1823-69), daughter of Stephen Woulfe, Chief Baron of the Irish Exchequer, by whom he had ten children. (*DNB*, xviii, 16), 8, 426, 428.
- Sibthorpe, Richard Waldo (1792-1879), Fellow of Magdalen and from 1830 to 1841 incumbent of St James's Ryde, although not a Tractarian, visited Oscott, against Newman's advice. There in Oct. 1842 was received into the Catholic Church. He was ordained priest the following year and in 1843 returned to the Church of England. In 1847 he was reinstated as a clergyman, but became a Catholic again at the end of 1864, his

- Sibthorpe, Richard Waldo—(*continued*)
 censure being removed by Manning on 8 Jan. 1865. When he died he had first a Catholic and then an Anglican funeral. (*DNB*, xviii, 190), 408, 410.
- Simcox, Edith, 127.
- Simeon, Charles (1759–1836), Evangelical leader, Perpetual Curate of Holy Trinity, Cambridge, 1782 until death. (*DNB*, xviii, 255), 14.
- Simeon, Sir John (1815–70), of Swainston in the Isle of Wight, went up to Christ Church, Oxford, in 1834, and succeeded his father as third Baronet in 1854. He was liberal Member of Parliament for the Isle of Wight from 1847 to May 1851, when he thought it his duty to resign, having been received into the Church by James Brownbill the previous month. His wife too became a Catholic. He soon became a friend of Newman, turned to him for advice, and supported him with the Oratory School, and in his efforts to found an Oratory at Oxford. Tennyson was also a close friend of Simeon, and other friends included Aubrey de Vere, Leslie Stephen, Jowett and Manning. In the sixties his London house was a rendezvous for literary and political society. He was re-elected to Parliament in 1865, in spite of the intervention of W. G. Ward. Ward who supported his conservative opponent and was praised for putting party before religion, replied with heat that he objected precisely to Simeon's liberal Catholic religious opinions. When Simeon died Tennyson wrote on the afternoon of the funeral the poem 'To Sir John Simeon', in the Garden at Swainston. (*Boase*, iii, 575), 204–6, 305, 343, 379, 391, 397, 411, 435, 504.
- Simpson, Richard (1820–76) went up to Oriel College in 1839, and took a Second in Classics in 1843. In 1844 he was appointed Vicar of the valuable living of Mitcham, but resigned in the following year and became a Catholic in Aug. 1846. He travelled abroad with his wife for some years, spending the autumn of 1846, and most of 1847 in Rome. He was one of the ablest of the converts, a linguist and a Shakespearian scholar, besides being deeply interested in theological matters. He later collaborated with Acton over the *Rambler* and the *Home and Foreign Review*. He was a devout and also a 'liberal' Catholic, whose extravagances Newman tried to moderate. (*DNB*, xviii, 276), 293, 347, 492–3.
- Smith, Ambrose, 'a devout old man', an Oxford Catholic, who bought the five acre site in Oxford, and offered it to Newman. He died on 16 Oct. 1864, 192, 200, 208–9, 216, 219, 221, 223, 226–9, 233, 244, 252, 258, 272.
- Smith, Bernard (1812–92), born in County Cavan, went to the Irish College, Rome, in 1834. He was ordained in 1839, but was professed as a Benedictine at Monte Cassino in 1847. Newman met him on 5 Sept. of that year. Not long afterwards he was separated from his community owing to difficulty with the Italian government, and was incardinated in the diocese of Dublin by Archbishop Murray. He was made Vice-Rector of the Irish College, and held the post until 1855. He was also agent in Rome of many of the English-speaking bishops. In 1857 he rejoined the Benedictines, but at St Paul's outside the Walls. He lectured on theology at Propaganda and in 1859 was acting head of the North American College. In 1868 he became Rector of Sant' Anselmo and Leo XIII made him a titular abbot. In 1867 he was unfriendly to Newman, as St John found out when he visited Rome. *Ward*, ii, p. 164, 28.
- Smith, George Bernard, son of Ambrose Smith, 269, 344, 355, 429, 437.
- Smith, Miss C., a convert, the daughter of a clergyman in Essex, 284, 343.
- Sparrow, John, of Blackburn, J.P., 170, 376, 429.
- Sparrow, William John (1850–1914), at the Oratory School, 1863–7, and returned as tutor, 1869–74. He went to London University, and was called to the Bar, Lincoln's Inn, 1878. He practised in Liverpool, and was a member of the Liverpool School Board, and of the Catholic Education Council, 170, 376.
- Spearing, J. B., 210, 256, 311, 364, 414.
- Spencer, George (1799–1864), youngest son of the second Earl Spencer, after being at Eton and Trinity College, Cambridge, took Orders in 1824 and was appointed Rector of Brington, Northants. He became a Catholic in 1830, and after working as a priest at West Bromwich became a professor at Oscott, 1839–46. In 1840 he visited Oxford to ask Anglicans to join in his plan of prayers for unity. Newman agreed to receive him at Oriel and has described the interview. (*Apo.* p. 124 and *K.C.* p. 51). In Jan. 1847 Spencer joined the Passionists, taking the name of Ignatius of St Paul. (*Boase*, iii, 686), 295, 504.
- Spry, John Hume (1777 or 8–1854), at Eton and Oriel College, Oxford, Rector of St Marylebone, London, 1825 to death, and Prebendary of Canterbury 1828 to death. He belonged to the old High Church school, and welcomed the beginning of the Oxford Movement. (*Boase*, iii, 695), 14.
- Stanley, Arthur Penrhyn (1815–81), at Rugby, where he was one of Arnold's favourite disciples, and Balliol College, Oxford, became a leader of liberalism at Oxford and in the Church of England. He

- was a Fellow of University College from 1838 until 1850, then Canon of Canterbury 1851-8, Professor of Ecclesiastical History at Oxford 1856-64, and Dean of Westminster 1864 until death. (*DNB*, xviii, 931), xiv, 279, 449.
- Stephen, James Fitzjames (1829-94), of Evangelical parentage, was at Eton, where he was bullied. He went to Trinity College, Cambridge, in 1847, entered the Inner Temple and was called to the Bar in 1854. He worked on the Midland Circuit, and also wrote for the *Saturday Review* from 1855, and the *Pall Mall Gazette* from 1865. He wrote on theological subjects in *Fraser's Magazine* and the *Fortnightly*, criticising both *Apo.* and *G.A.* His views became increasingly agnostic. He was the friend of J. A. Froude, Carlyle, Jowett and Dean Stanley. He worked in India 1869-72, and in 1879 was made a judge. (*DNB*, xviii, 1051), 255.
- Stevens, Thomas (1819-69), at King's College, London, and an Anglican clergyman, was received into the Church on 9 May 1865. He studied for the priesthood at Oscott College, and died while in deacon's Orders, 457, 463.
- Stokes, Charles Scott (1818-80), son of Charles Scott Stokes, a London solicitor, and brother of Scott Nasmyth Stokes, was at St Paul's School, where in 1837 he won the Latin and the Greek Verse Prizes. He then went to Trinity College, Cambridge, but left in about 1841, apparently because he had committed the double offence of becoming a Catholic and marrying an Irish dancing girl. In 1846-9, he was living in Birmingham, and was a generous supporter of the Oratory. He was a private banker, said to have lost two fortunes, the second being lent to Napoleon III. He died in Spanish America, whither he had gone in 1873, on a Mission for the King of Spain, 45, 57-9.
- Stokes, John Marie Scott (1847-1918), son of Charles Scott Stokes, was born at Erdington near Birmingham and spent his first six years at Florence. He was one of the first boys to come to the Oratory School in 1859, sent by his uncle Scott Nasmyth Stokes, and left in July 1862. He then worked at the Portuguese Office, which dealt with that country's foreign loans in London. He wanted, however, to be a priest, and returned to the Oratory in Oct. 1863, in order to help in the sacristy and continue his studies. See letters of 8 Feb. 1864 to his father and 24 Feb. 1864 to T. W. Allies. John Stokes taught in the Oratory School and thought of joining the Birmingham Oratory, where he remained until about the age of twenty-three. The weekly journal he edited during the Lent term 1868, contained G. M. Hopkins's *The Elopement*. See *Poems of Gerard Manley Hopkins*, edited by Robert Bridges, third edition by W. H. Gardner, London 1956, p. 293. John Stokes was a clerk in the Post Office, Second Division, for forty years, until he retired at the age of sixty-five. He was also a free lance journalist and a member of the Savage Club. *The Catholic Who's Who*, 1913, says of him that he 'has a first hand acquaintance with out-of-the-way French and Italian peasants and seafaring men. The classics are his hobby. . . . ' His first wife died after a few months, and he went to live at Caterham, where the priest, Francis Roe, who had been at the Oratory School with him, was his friend. He married a second time in 1891, Ethel Harriett Johnstone, and left four children. He kept a photograph of Newman in his room until his death, 15, 45.
- Stretton, C. W., 495.
- Suffield, Robert Rodolph (1821-91), came of old Catholic stock through his paternal grandmother, and was baptised a Catholic. His father, however, was free thinking, and his Evangelical mother brought him up as an Anglican. In 1841 he went to Peterhouse, Cambridge, where he found himself drawn towards the Catholic Church. Two years later he left Cambridge and in 1846 became a Catholic. After studies at S. Sulpice and Ushaw, he was ordained priest in 1850. He spent a year on the mission, and then joined a community of secular priests at Wooler in Northumberland. In 1860 he became a Dominican friar, soon renowned as a giver of retreats and missions. In the early part of 1870 he was still giving missions, but left the Church that summer, blaming the Infallibility definition, and also admitted that his doubt about Catholicism had existed for some time. He had a last interview with Newman, in Aug. In Sept. 1870 he became a Unitarian minister, settling at Croydon, and at the end of 1871 he married. (*DNB*, xix, 152), 156, 159, 161-3, 171-5, 343.
- Sullivan, William Kirby (1821 or 2-90), was born at Dripsey near Cork, where his father owned a paper mill. He studied chemistry in Liebig's laboratory at Gies-sen, returning to Ireland about 1844. In 1846 he was appointed Assistant Chemist and later Chemist to the Museum of Irish Industry in Dublin, under the Director, Sir Robert Kane. There he carried out investigations into the natural resources of Ireland, and contributed articles to learned periodicals. He was an ardent Young Irelander and is said only to have been kept out of the rising of 1848 by illness. In 1856 he resigned his post of Chemist to the Industrial Museum on accepting from Newman the Professorship

- Sullivan, Willam Kirby-(*continued*)
of Chemistry at the Catholic University. There he remained until 1873 when he became President of Queen's College, Cork. Newman relied on his advice, see *Campaign*, p. 297, and wrote of him to Monsell on 24 Nov. 1856, 'Sullivan is a rough man, but clever and, to me, engaging, from his honesty and sharpness.' In 1858 when Newman established the *Atlantis*, Sullivan acted as editor and wrote articles notably on philology. Later he was a contributor to Acton's *Home and Foreign Review*, and in 1862 edited, with learned notes and an introduction that filled the first volume, his friend O'Curry's *Lectures on the Manners and Customs of the Ancient Irish*. Sullivan married Frances, sister of Henry Hennessy. (*Boase*, III, 826; T. S. Wheeler, pp. 21-36), 'Life and Work of William K. Sullivan,' *Studies*, (March 1945), 233, 246.
- Talbot, George (1816-86), fifth son of the third Baron Talbot of Malahide, after being at Eton and St Mary's Hall Oxford, was in 1840 appointed to the family living of Evercreech in Somerset. He was received into the Church by Wiseman at Oscott in 1843 and ordained there on 6 June 1846. He applied to join Newman's Oratory, but was politely refused on 2 March 1847. He worked in London at St George's, Southwark 1847-9, and then through Wiseman's influence was appointed a Canon of St Peter's and a Papal Chamberlain. The biographies of Ullathorne, Manning and of Newman himself have made known the part he played in English affairs, while in Rome. In 1868 he was removed to an asylum at Passy, Paris. (*Boase*, VI, 658), xv, 28, 40, 87, 144-5, 164-8, 189, 216-7.
- Talbot, Gilbert Chetwynd (1816-96), seventh son of the second Earl Talbot and brother of the eighteenth Earl of Shrewsbury, was at Eton and Christ Church, Oxford. He was a Fellow of All Souls from 1838 until 1851, when he became a Catholic. After being ordained he worked as a priest in London, and was from 1869 until 1895 in charge of the church of the Assumption, Warwick Street. He was made a canon of the Westminster Chapter in 1889, and in 1895 Provost. (*Boase*, III, 869), 87.
- Taylor, Fanny Margaret, Mother Magdalen (1832-1900), was the youngest of the ten surviving children of Henry Taylor, Rector of Stoke Rochford, Lincolnshire. After his death in 1842 the family moved to London, where Fanny became increasingly High Church. In 1848 she joined Miss Sellon's Sisterhood at Plymouth, but could not settle, and returned to London to work among the poor and teach in Ragged Schools. In 1854 she went as one of Florence Nightingale's nurses to the Crimea, and largely owing to the example of wounded and dying Irish Catholic soldiers, was received into the Church at the camp hospital near Scutari. On returning to her mother, she again devoted herself to the poor, and in 1857 published *Eastern Hospitals and English Nurses*, two volumes, giving an unvarnished account of the disgraceful condition of the military hospitals. In the same year she first met Lady Georgiana Fullerton, who was to be her life-long friend and supporter. In 1862 Fanny Taylor became the proprietor of the popular Catholic monthly *The Lamp*, and continued with it until 1871. In 1864, with the help of some Jesuits and of Newman, she founded and edited for its first year, the *Month*, after which it was taken over by the Jesuits. By 1867 it was clear to her that her life's work was to be among the poor, and with Lady Georgiana Fullerton, she saw the need of an order of nuns to work among them. The first beginnings were made in 1868, the 'Poor Servants of the Mother of God' grew rapidly, and in 1879 received Roman approval. The foundress governed the Order until her death, and also continued to write Catholic novels, her first having been *Tyborne and Who went Thither*, 1857. She wrote a number of other works, including *Memoir of Father Dignam S.J.*, London 1895, and *The Inner Life of Lady Georgiana Fullerton*, London 1889. (*Boase*, VI, 666; *Gillow*, v, 538), 74, 148-9, 151, 156, 159, 164, 365, 431.
- Taylor, J. P., 255, 283.
- Telford, Henry, the priest at Ryde, Isle of Wight, and a friend of Mrs and Miss Wood, 134, 408.
- Thackeray, William Makepeace (1811-63), 120.
- Thompson, Edward Healy (1813?-91), after being at Emmanuel College, Cambridge, from 1832 to 1836 and holding several curacies, became a Catholic in 1846, under Newman's influence. He devoted himself to religious, literary and translation work, helped by his wife, who was a writer on her own account. Newman put him forward as lecturer in English Literature at the Catholic University in Dublin in 1853, but he never acted. He was uncle to Francis Thompson the poet. (*Gillow*, v, 540-1), 361, 373.
- Thynne, Lord Charles (1813-94), seventh and youngest son of the second Marquis of Bath, was at Christ Church, Oxford, and took Orders in 1837, becoming Rector of Longbridge and Kingston Deverell, Wilts, and in 1845 a Canon of Canterbury. In 1837 he married Harriet Frances, daughter of Richard Bagot, Bishop of Oxford

- 1829-45, and then of Bath and Wells until his death in 1854. Lord Charles became a Catholic with his wife, in 1852, and after her death in 1881, was ordained priest at Rome in 1886, by Cardinal Manning. (*Gillow*, v, 543), 85, 128, 342, 421. Lady Thynne, 471, 480.
- Timmins, Samuel (1826-1902), Birmingham manufacturer and booklover. He helped to collect the Birmingham Shakespeare Library, and was a historian of the Midland Counties, 51.
- Todd, Jane, who described herself in 1865 as 'old', came under the influence of the Tractarian Movement. When in 1846, she and her sister had to leave their home, she planned to live at Littlemore, thinking, as she wrote on 27 June 1864 to Newman, 'if I might go where you *had been*, I might regain that peace and comfort in the Services of the Church, which for two years had forsaken me.' Instead she took rooms in York, which turned out to be close to the Catholic church there, and in 1847 she became a Catholic. She eventually settled in Scarborough, where she seems for a period to have acted as housekeeper to Canon Walker. She felt she owed an enormous debt to Newman, writing for example, on 23 Sept. 1865, 'My *understanding* has seen His Truth in you, and never in any other human being. I know you are His Work, and His Own Servant—as I feel the sun and stars are His—and my mind rises to Him in praise and confidence—because He so condescends to show me signs and tokens of Eternal Life.' She read *Apo.* with great appreciation, but already before that Newman had described her to his sister, 'There is a lady I have never seen, who is ever throwing flannels and silks at me, in spite of my protesting and sometimes sending them back.' (Letter of 23 Feb. 1864 to Mrs John Mozley). See also *Trevor*, II, p. 504. Newman's last letter to Jane Todd was written on 8 Dec. 1887, 57.
- Towneley, John (1806-78), Colonel in the Royal Lancashire Militia, Member of Parliament for Beverley, married in 1840 Lucy Ellen, who died in 1878, daughter of Sir Henry Joseph Tichborne. (*Boase*, III, 997), 221, 449.
- Towneley, Richard Henry (1849-77), son of Colonel John Towneley, of Towneley, Lancashire, was at the Oratory School from 1861 until 1867, when he went up to Christ Church, Oxford. He was a lieutenant in the 2nd Life Guards, 221.
- Trappes, Michael, 115.
- Trutch, Miss S. M., 202.
- Tuyll, Baroness Agnes de, lived at Versailles, and was a supporter of the proposed Oxford Oratory, 340.
- Ullathorne, William Bernard (1806-89), after organizing the Church in Australia, was put in charge of the Benedictine mission at Coventry in 1841, and on 21 June 1846 consecrated there as Vicar Apostolic of the Western District. He was transferred to the Central District in 1848 and became the first Bishop of Birmingham two years later. (*DNB*, xx, 19), xiv, xvi, 28, 206, 231, 234, 237, 239, 258, 273, 277-8, 284, 295, 299, 319, 346-9, 353, 362, 404, 412, 417, 443, 446, 457, 472.
- Valroger, Hyacinth (1814-76), born at Caen was ordained in 1837 and in 1852 joined Gratry in refounding the French Oratory of Bérulle. He wrote a number of apologetic works. His brother, Achille became a Sulpician, and was a professor at the seminary in Nantes for thirty-six years. Newman's sister Harriett and her husband, Thomas Mozley, met the two brothers in Normandy in the summer of 1843. See T. Mozley, *Reminiscences chiefly of Oriel College and the Oxford Movement*, second edition, London 1882, II pp. 290-6, 142, 194.
- Van Mildert, William (1765-1836), Regius Professor of Divinity at Oxford, 1813, Bishop of Llandaff 1819, to which was added in 1820 the Deanery of St Paul's. In 1826 he became Bishop of Durham, the last to hold the see as Count Palatine. He was one of the founders of the University of Durham in 1832. (*DNB*, xx, 133), 14.
- Vaughan, Roger William Bede (1834-83), younger brother of Cardinal Vaughan, became a Benedictine at Downside Abbey in 1851. He was Prior of Belmont from 1862 to 1873. In that year he was consecrated co-adjutor to Archbishop Polding of Sydney, succeeding him in 1877. (*Boase*, III, 1082; *Gillow*, v, 564), 256, 261.
- Vere, Aubrey de (1814-1902), son of the Baronet of the same name, of Curragh Chase, Adare, County Limerick. He was at Trinity College, Dublin, 1832-8, and in the latter year visited Oxford, and first met Newman. He was an admirer of Wordsworth, and became the friend of Tennyson and Browning. De Vere published his first volume of poems in 1842. His experience of the Irish famine greatly affected him, and in 1851 he became a Catholic. In 1855 Newman appointed him Professor of Political and Social Science at the Catholic University, a post he held until Newman's retirement in 1858. He never married, and the rest of his life was spent at his family home, where he continued to write poetry. He also wrote on Irish political questions. (*DNB*, 1901-11, 492), 145, 150.
- Wagner, Henry Michel (1793-1870), at Eton and King's College, Cambridge, Fellow of

INDEX OF PERSONS AND PLACES

- Wagner, Henry Michel—(*continued*)
King's 1815–24, and from 1817 to 1824 tutor to the two sons of the Duke of Wellington. Wagner was Vicar of Brighton from 1824 until death. (*Boase*, III, 1125), 378.
- Waldron, Laurence (1811–75), called to the Bar in Ireland in 1840. He lived at Helen Park, Tipperary, and was Member of Parliament for Tipperary, 1857–65. (*Boase*, III, 1136), 197.
- Walford, J. T. (1834–94), 449.
- Walker, John (1800–73), educated at Ushaw and ordained there in 1826, was the priest at Scarborough from 1835 until his death. In 1851 he was made a Canon of the new diocese of Beverley. He was a close friend and correspondent of Lingard, who wrote of him, 'He can write, and write well, if he please, but though he may begin, he never goes through with anything.' (M. Haile and E. Bonney, *Life and Letters of John Lingard*, London n.d., p. 261). Charles Newsham advised Newman against making use of him for the translation of the Bible, in 1857, because of his tendency to 'cavil'. He was a priest of the old school and became one of Newman's major correspondents, 91, 107, 116, 146, 184, 270, 298, 323, 340, 346, 418, 457.
- Walker, William (1820–93), born at Layton Hall, near Blackpool, at Ushaw College 1835–45, and then a professor there. Rector of St Augustine's, Preston, 1859–69, and of St Peter's, Lancaster, 1869 to death. Provost of Liverpool Chapter. (*Boase*, III, 1155), 130.
- Wallis, John E. (1821–88), matriculated at London University 1842, Barrister, Inner Temple, 1847. A 'born' Catholic and a Tory, Wallis became editor of the *Tablet* in 1856, and brought it back to London from Dublin. He continued as editor until 1868, when the paper was bought and edited by Herbert Vaughan. Under Wallis the *Tablet* allowed the voice of those who followed Newman rather than Manning to be heard, and in his final leading article he spoke of the attachment of the old English Catholics to England, and the absence among them of 'cantankerous feelings' towards their fellow countrymen or any 'wish to pull down the old house for the chance of getting better rooms in a new one.' Wallis married in 1859 and two of his daughters became nuns of Notre Dame. In 1874 he went to Cairo as Vice-Consul, was Consul at Port Said in 1879, and from 1882 until death, Judge of the International Court at Cairo. (*Boase*, IV, 1170), 55.
- Walpole, Frederick Goulburn, 397.
- Walsh, Henry, Oxford lawyer who lived at Ifley, and from 1843 was Registrar to the Oxford Archdeaconry. Newman first knew him in 1824, and wrote on 17 Aug. 1856 to Mrs Wootten, 'I have always a lively remembrance of his kindness to us at Littlemore.' Newman consulted him again in 1864 about the purchase of land in Oxford, 312.
- Ward, Francis (1846–66), eldest son of F. R. Ward, was one of the first boys at the Oratory School in 1859. In 1865 he went to the Royal Military Academy at Woolwich, where he won golden opinions. He died a holy death a year later of diphtheria, 23, 444–5.
- Ward, Mrs F. R., Eliza Welsford, became a Catholic with her husband early in 1851, and was soon one of Newman's close friends. She died on 29 April 1889 in her 78th year, 52.
- Ward, William George (1812–82), the extremist Tractarian, whose *Ideal of the Christian Church* was condemned and he himself degraded by the Oxford Convocation, in Feb. 1845. In the following month he married Frances Wingfield. He resigned his Fellowship at Balliol, and came to live at Rose Hill, Littlemore, remaining there until the summer of 1846. On 5 Sept. 1845 he and his wife were received into the Church in London. For a time he taught first philosophy and then theology at St Edmund's, Ware. From 1863 to 1878 he edited *DR*, and made it the organ of extreme ultramontaniam. (*DNB*, xx, 801), 8, 9, 40, 56, 84, 87, 144, 308, 340, 348, 361.
- Wegg-Prosser, Francis Richard (1824–1911), only son of Francis Haggitt, Rector of Nuneham Courtenay and Prebendary of Durham, took the name of Wegg-Prosser in 1849, on succeeding to the property at Belmont in Herefordshire which belonged to his great-uncle, Richard Prosser, also a Prebendary of Durham. Wegg-Prosser was at Eton and Balliol, taking a First in Mathematics in 1845. In 1850 he married Harriet Catherine, daughter of the second Earl Somers, Lord Lieutenant of Herefordshire. He was member of Parliament for Herefordshire 1847–52, resigning when he was received into the Church by Bishop Grant in Dec. of that year. He had begun to correspond with Newman in Sept. 1851. Wegg-Prosser as a Catholic was a prominent member of the Society of St Vincent de Paul, and built for the English Benedictines the church and monastery at Belmont, 256, 261.
- Weld-Blundell, Thomas (1808–87), second son of Joseph Weld of Lulworth Castle, educated at Stonyhurst, took the additional name of Blundell in 1840, on acquiring by bequest the Ince-Blundell estates and fine collection of pictures. He married Teresa daughter of W. M. Vaughan of Courtfield, and was sheriff of Lancashire in 1852. (*Boase*, VI, 821), 390, 404, 410.

Wetherell, Thomas Frederick (1830-1908) second son of Peter Wetherell of Shouldham, Norfolk, went to Brasenose College, Oxford, in 1850. By 1855 he had become a Catholic, and having been cut out of an inheritance by an uncle, was glad to take a clerkship at the War Office. He wrote 'Catholic Unity and English Parties,' *DR*, (Sept. 1857) pp. 172-206 [a reference wrongly given in Volume xvii], in which he showed himself unfavourable to the idea of Corporate Reunion. He also helped H. Wilberforce with the *Weekly Register* until they differed over politics. In the autumn of 1859 Wetherell, encouraged by Newman, became co-editor of the *Rambler* with Acton. After that he was co-editor of the *Home and Foreign Review* until it came to an end in 1864. He then edited for Acton the *Chronicle* 1867-8, (in which he urged home rule as the solution of the Irish question), and the *North British Review* 1869-71, when his health broke down. Acton obtained for him a post as private secretary to Earl Granville at the Foreign Office 1869-72. In 1880 he was elected a member of the Athenaeum. During his later years, when ill health obliged him to live a retired life, he worked on a bibliography of Acton's writings. (*The Times*, 4 June 1908, p. 12), 282, 284, 287, 372, 381, 386, 388, 393, 400, 406, 413, 435, 445, 456, 486-7, 489, 500.

Whately, Richard (1787-1863), went up to Oriel College in 1805, and was a Fellow 1811-21. He was Principal of Alban Hall, Oxford, from 1825 until he became Archbishop of Dublin in 1831. At Oriel he was one of the leading Noetics, and his views on logic and on the Church greatly influenced Newman, as he explained in *Apo.* (*DNB*, xx, 1334), 18, 72, 76, 179.

Wheble, Ernest Joseph, born in 1854, second son of James Joseph, was at the Oratory School 1863-73, 176.

Wheble, James Joseph, of Bulmershe Court, Berkshire, J.P. and Deputy Lieutenant of Berkshire, married in 1850. Lady Catherine St Lawrence (1831-1913), daughter of the third Earl of Howth. Wheble died in 1884, 176.

Wheble, James St Lawrence (1853-1925), eldest son of the above, was at the Oratory School 1862-70, and became a Captain in the Royal Artillery, 176.

Whitty, Robert (1817-95), was born at Wexford and entered St Patrick's College, Maynooth, in 1830. He was ordained at St Edmund's College, Ware, by Bishop Griffiths in 1840, and left Ireland permanently. He introduced himself to Newman by letter in 1843, and on 26 Jan. 1844 Newman wrote to consult him concerning the practice of confession, but they did not

meet until Newman visited St Edmund's on 21 Nov. 1845. He showed great sympathy with the converts, and thought of coming out to Rome to join Newman in 1847. He had plans for founding an Oratory in London, but was so slow in becoming a novice of the English Oratory, only on 25 Jan. 1849, that he could not be sent with the original band of Oratorians to London in the following May. Father Faber too disliked him. He left the Birmingham Oratory later in 1849, and his connection with the Oratory was finally severed in Oct. 1850, although he remained always attached to Newman. In the same year Wiseman made him Vicar General of Westminster, and in 1852 Rector of St Mary Moorfields and Provost of the newly erected Chapter. These offices he held until he left in 1857 to enter the Jesuit novitiate at Verona. As a Jesuit he was soon given important posts, being at various times Superior of the Scottish Mission, English Provincial and Assistant to the General. (*Boase*, vi, 862), 434.

Wilberforce, Arthur (1839-1904), eldest surviving son of Henry Wilberforce, went to Ushaw College in 1853, and in 1864 joined the Dominican Order, in which he earned a considerable reputation as a spiritual guide and giver of missions, 133.

Wilberforce, Henry Edward (1847-1938), son of H. W. Wilberforce, at the Oratory School from 1859 to 1863, was for thirty-six years an Officer of the Probate, Divorce and Admiralty Division of the High Court of Justice. In 1885 he married Emily, daughter of R. S. Moody. She died in 1951 aged a hundred, 29.

Wilberforce, Henry William (1807-73), fourth and youngest son of the philanthropist was privately educated, chiefly by Revd. John Sargent, one of whose daughters he later married. He came up to Oriel College in 1826, was Newman's pupil and read with him during the long vacations. In 1830 he graduated, with a First in Classics and a Second in Mathematics. At first he intended to be a lawyer, but Newman persuaded him to take Orders in 1834, in which year also he married, and became Perpetual Curate at Bransgore in Hampshire. In 1841 he was Vicar of Walmer, and in 1843 was presented, at the wish of Prince Albert to the rich living of East Farleigh in Kent, which he resigned in 1850 when first his wife, and then he and his children became Catholics. After two years as secretary of the Catholic Defence Association in Dublin, he turned to journalism and became proprietor and editor of the *Catholic Standard*, amalgamated in the following year with the *Weekly Register*. Newman preached at his

- Wilberforce, Henry William—(continued)
funeral, and wrote a short memoir of him. (DNB, xxi, 200; H. W. Wilberforce, *The Church and the Empires*, 1874, pp. 1-16), 28, 58, 67, 133, 209, 297, 488.
- Wilberforce, Samuel (1805-73), third son of the philanthropist, who went up to Oriel College in 1823, and in 1828 married the eldest daughter and heiress of Revd. John Sargent, and took Orders. In 1841 he was appointed a chaplain to Prince Albert and in May 1845 Dean of Westminster. In the following October he was appointed Bishop of Oxford, where he remained until translated to Winchester in 1869. Unlike so many of his family, he remained staunchly Anglican, and particularly disapproved of the converts. (DNB, xxi, 204), 334, 375.
- Wilberforce, Wilfrid (1850-1910), son of H. W. Wilberforce, at the Oratory School 1859-63, was on the staff of the British Museum. In 1893 he married Helen, daughter of the Hon. Bryan John Stapleton, 4, 5, 28-9, 67, 297.
- Wilberforce, William Basil (1850-1913), of Markington, only son of William (1821-1900), and grandson of William (1798-1879), was at the Oratory School 1862-3. In 1889 he married Margaret, daughter of R. S. Moody, 15, 16, 67.
- Williams, Isaac (1802-65), was at Harrow School and Trinity College, Oxford, where he became a Scholar in 1822 and a Fellow in 1831. He took Orders in the same year, remained a tutor at Trinity until 1842, and was also in close touch with the Oriel Fellows. A poet and a retiring person he became involved in controversy over his *Tract*, No. 80, 'On Reserve in communicating Religious Knowledge'; and his failure to succeed to the Poetry Professorship after Keble's resignation in 1842 was a serious defeat for the Tractarians. From 1842 to 1848, he was Thomas Keble's curate at Bisley. He had been Newman's curate at St Mary's and Littlemore, and they continued to correspond occasionally after Newman's conversion, although they did not meet until Newman paid Williams a farewell visit when he was dying. Newman's affection is shown in his dedication of *The Church of the Fathers* in 1840 to 'my dear and much admired Isaac Williams', altered in 1857 to 'A friend who is as dear to me now as when his name stood here. . .' (DNB, xxi, 408), 119, 250, 439, 441, 448, 451, 454, 456, 458, 467.
- Wilson, Lavinia (1834-1906), born at Edgerton, Huddersfield, joined the Oxford Sisterhood, the Community of St Thomas-the-Martyr, founded in 1851 by Thomas Chamberlain, the incumbent of the church of that name. The sisters taught in schools and visited the poor. The first superior was Sister Edith, followed by Sister Beatrice. Towards the end of 1864 Lavinia Wilson was practically convinced that she ought to become a Catholic, and wrote to Newman to that effect. He encouraged her, suggested she should stay in the Handsworth convent of the Sisters of Mercy at Birmingham, and received her into the Church on Good Friday 1865. In Aug. 1865 she joined Mother Margaret Hallahan's Dominican nuns at Stone, was professed in 1867, and took the name of Mary Frances Joseph. She died in 1906. Her sister Fanny also became a Catholic, 325, 331, 335, 355, 374, 387, 399, 444-7, 466, 490.
- Wing, Francis, 7, 46.
- Wingfield, William (1813-74), at Christ Church, Oxford, and a curate at St Mark's, North Audley Street, became a Catholic with his wife in 1845. He was a brother-in-law of W. G. Ward, 428.
- Wiseman, Nicholas (1802-65), was Rector of the English College in Rome from 1828 to 1840, and from 1840 to 1847 Coadjutor to Bishop Walsh in the Midland District, and President of Oscott College. Newman called on him twice in Rome in 1833, and in July 1841 Wiseman visited Newman at Oriel. Wiseman's article in *D R* on the Monophysites had been among the 'blows' that upset Newman. Wiseman followed the Tractarian movement eagerly, and it was he above all who welcomed the converts. In 1847 he moved to London, where in 1849 he succeeded Bishop Walsh, being thus the last Vicar Apostolic of the London District. In the following year he was made the first Archbishop of Westminster and a Cardinal. (DNB, xxi, 714), xiii, xv, xvi, 28, 49, 79, 80, 98, 139, 149, 201, 207, 242, 285-6, 328, 346-8, 375, 388, 403, 410, 412, 417, 418, 424, 426, 459.
- Withers, Edward (*Boase*, vi, 932), 502.
- Wolseley, Lady, Mary Anne, eldest daughter of Nicholas Selby, of Acton House, Middlesex, married Sir Charles Wolseley, eighth Baronet (1813-54), in 1834. She died in 1873, 449, 500.
- Wood, Charlotte (1789-1873), was the widow of William Wood (1768 or 9-1841), a Student at Christ Church, Vicar of Fulham 1811-34, and then a Canon of Canterbury. She was a disciple of Newman, and when she was about to become a Catholic in Nov. 1845, Archbishop Howley sent his chaplain, Benjamin Harrison, to try to dissuade her. She and her daughter, also Charlotte, were received together and went to live at Ryde in the Isle of Wight, remaining always close friends of Newman. One of her sons, Granville, a Naval Captain, became a Catholic in 1849 and a Jesuit, 133.

Woodgate, Henry Arthur (1801-74), was matriculated at St John's College on 30 June 1817, and elected to a Fellowship which he only resigned on becoming Rector of Belbroughton, near Birmingham, in 1837. In 1821 he took a First in Classics, and was for a time a tutor in his College. He became friendly with Newman in 1825, and was present with Isaac Williams at the dinner on 4 Jan. 1828 at which Newman's sister Mary was taken ill. In 1839 he dedicated his Bampton lectures to Newman, who was godfather to his eldest daughter. In 1864 in *Apo.* p. 16, Newman spoke of how the 'two persons who knew me best at that time are still alive, beneficed clergymen, no longer my friends'. Rickards was one, the other was Woodgate. He wrote in 1865 that he had no reason to complain of Newman's remark, but that he had always held him in affectionate remembrance. After that they met frequently at Edgbaston and Rednal. In 1872 Newman dedicated *D.A.* to him, and visited him for the last time two months before his death. (*Boase*, III, 1484, H. Tristram, *Newman and his Friends*, pp. 194-9), 503-4.

Woodlock, Bartholomew (1819-1902), educated by the Jesuits in Dublin and at Clongowes Wood, studied theology at the Apollinare Seminary in Rome. He returned from Rome to become Professor of Dogmatic Theology at the College of All Hallows on its opening in 1842. In 1854 he was made President of the College, and only left it in 1861 to become Newman's successor as Rector (after a two-year vacancy) of the Catholic University. There he remained until his appointment to the Bishopric of Ardagh in 1879. He retired in 1894. (*Boase*, v, 946), 6, 11, 32, 152-3, 341, 422, 428, 491.

Wootten, Frances was the wife of the Tractarian doctor in Oxford, who died in 1847. She became a Catholic in 1850 and was one of Newman's most loyal friends. She came to live in Birmingham and was the first matron of the Oratory School, in 1859. She died in 1876, 60, 190.

Wordsworth, William (1835-1917), second son of John, Vicar of Brigham, who was the eldest son of the Poet, went to school

at Sedbergh, and then to Balliol College, Oxford in 1855. At first he took a delight in Newman's writings but gradually came under Jowett's influence, and by the time he took his degree had given up belief in the Christian dogmas. He took a First in Law and History in 1859, and after teaching at Radley College for a year, entered the Indian Educational Service in 1861, as Principal of Poona College. From 1862 to 1873 he was Principal of Deccan College, Bombay. In 1864, after reading *Apo.* he felt drawn towards the Catholic Church, and corresponded with Newman about his difficulties. From 1874 to 1890 Wordsworth was Headmaster of the Elphinstone Institute, Bombay, and from 1889 to 1890 Vice-Chancellor of the University of Bombay, retiring in the latter year, and going to live at Capri. He married in 1862 Mary Emma, daughter of Morris Reynolds of Ambleside. She died in 1898. His second wife, daughter of the American General Hayes, whom he married in 1900, died in 1903, 265.

Würzburg, Philip Hartman Veit, Baron von, of Bavaria, married at Athens in 1839 the elder daughter of the first Lord Lyons, who was serving in the Mediterranean Fleet. After his wife's death, Würzburg became a Jesuit, 385, 390.

Yard, George Beckwith (1812-73), went up to Trinity College, Cambridge, in 1832. He was admitted to the Inner Temple in 1835, but in 1840 took Orders, and was Rector of East Torrington with Wragby, Lincolnshire, 1842-59. In the latter year he resigned, and assisted for a time as curate at All Saints, Margaret Street. He was received into the Church by Manning, at Paris, on 7 Feb. 1863. Later in the year Yard visited Newman, and followed his advice as to his vocation. In 1864 he was ordained priest in the diocese of Westminster, on his patrimony, and had hopes of being Newman's curate in the Oxford mission. He lived the rest of his life near the Oblates of St Charles at Bayswater, 76, 285.

Yore, William (1781-1864), Vicar General, and Parish Priest of St Paul's, Arran Quay, Dublin, 11.

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